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HISTORY OF MODERN ASIA

*(Being the history of the Middle East and South-East Asia
during the nineteenth and twentieth century)*



CHALANTIKA
SEVEN, NABIN KUNDU LANE,
CALCUTTA—NINE

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Foreword

History of Modern Asia composes the Volume III of the *History Preparatory Series* and roughly covers Asian History excluding South and Central Asia, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is designed on the model of a help-cum-text book in order to serve the various purposes of different standards of examination. It is therefore, a need-based study for the examinees, and so it does not pretend any originality. Different approaches to the Asian History are considered, and most of the available up-to-date books are consulted during the preparation of the answers to the problems. Expert comments and reasonable suggestions are cordially invited from the readers, so that the book may be improved further. Printing mistakes are not, however, entirely avoided.

B. GHOSH

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THE MIDDLE EAST

PART ONE

TURKEY

CHAPTER I

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Q. 1. Trace the history of the Ottoman Empire till the beginning of reform.

The early history of the Ottoman Turks, who ruled for more than 630 years, is shrouded in obscurity. What could be deduced from the Turkish legends was that they were a nomadic tribe of Turanian stock who had started their march from their original homeland in Central Asia, early in the sixth century A.D. By the tenth century they had settled down in north-western Anatolia bordering on the declining Byzantine Empire. They spoke a Uralic-Altic language and followed a primitive form of Shammanism. Their counterpart of the Ghuzz federation of tribes, the Seljuks, were then ruling the empire. In course of time, they embraced Islam and warlike as they were, soon they became its defenders. Their leader Ertoghrul and his followers were, a Seljuk chronicle tells, granted lands in north-western Asia Minor, by the Seljuk Sultan, Ala-el-din, as a reward for their services in defeating Tartar invaders in 1251. But the Seljuks had to give way to the Mongols, who only established their suzerainty, the real authority being transferred to the local Turkish chieftains. Of these independent tribes, the Ottoman tribes succeeded in defeating others in a struggle for supremacy in Asia Minor. Ertoghrul's son, Osman or Uthman did it and established an eponymous dynasty and empire.

The Ottoman dynasty lent all the thirty-six Sultans of whom the reign of the first four has been described as the

“Rise of the Empire.” The possibilities of this ‘rise’ were inherent in the prevailing state of things : in Asia the Arabs were ruined by the Mongol invaders, while in Europe the Byzantine Empire by the Fourth Crusade and the Latin Occupation. Osman (1290-1326) extended his possessions in the east upto the Marmara and Bosphorus at the expense of the Byzantine Empire. He captured the city of Brusa (Bursa) from the Greeks, which was developed into the capital of the empire by his son Orkham (1326-1359). The new Sultan married a Byzantine princess, crossed the Dardenelles and conquered Thrace, Serbia and Bulgaria, taking advantage of the religious schism between the eastern and western Christian churches. His son Murad I (1360-1389) created the Corps of Janissaries from among his Christian slaves and also transferred the capital to Adrianople (1366). He and his son Bayazid I (1389-1402), however, netted the whole of the Balkan peninsula within the fold of Ottoman rule. Since Asiatic adventures were few in this period the Ottoman Empire was established in Europe.

The Ottoman Empire attained its zenith during the reigns of Muhammed II (1451-1481), Selim the Grim (1481-1520) and Suleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566). Employing the material and human resources, these Sultans soon overlorded the Turkish principalities in Asia Minor. In 1453, Muhammed II captured Constantinople and thus put an end to the Byzantine Empire. He made the city the seat of his government and turned the Mediterranean into a “Turkish lake.” But the real hero of expansion on the Mediterranean front was his grandson Selim the Grim, who conquered Egypt, Syria and northern Mesopotamia. The story of the transference of the Caliphate from the Abbasids to the Ottoman rulers followed from his conquest of Egypt. Suleyman the Magnificent, however, revived the tradition of ‘Facing the West’ ; and this time it was facilitated by the conflict between the Emperor Charles V of Austria and the French King Francis. Belgrade, most of Hungary and Transylvania were incorporated in his

Pax-Ottomanica. In the east, however, he conquered large parts of Armenia and Mesopotamia, including the cities of Basra and Baghdad from the Persian Emperor. He developed the naval power of the state and with its help extended the empire to Aden and the south-eastern coast of Arabia. He succeeded in expanding his dominions in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic and north Africa. His empire stretched from the Danube to the Persian Gulf and from the Ukranian steppes to the Tropic of Cancer in the Upper Egypt.

But Turkey at the crest of her expansion had to enter into a prolonged contest with her neighbours, the Habsburg Empire and Venice in Europe and Persia in Asia. The Austro-Ottoman rivalry, which lasted for a century and a half, led to a Franco-Turkish alliance, in 1535, between Suleyman the Magnificent and Francis I. The treaty, while introducing a phase of prolonged friendship and collaboration, yielded destructive consequences in the long run. Decadent Venice made only a side-show in the Austro-Ottoman rivalry.

Signs of decadence of the Ottoman splendour were to be seen from the end of Suleyman's reign. His death was followed by the rule of a succession of weak and utterly degenerate sultans. Under Selim II (1566-1574) administrative and economic life of the empire sank in dissipation, corruption and bribery. Although Murad II (1574-1595) and his successors tried their best to keep up the empire against external enemies, the Ottoman failure to seize Vienna in 1683 set in the beginning of the end of the empire which had given primacy to warfare only. The military monarchy under weak successors only resulted in the degeneracy of the royal line, harem influence in the palace, corruption in the high circles and the decline of the prowess. The Kuprulu family of Albanian abstraction spent its efforts in vain to stop them. The decline became manifest in 1799 when she was defeated by Austria and forced to sign the humiliating Treaty of Carlowitz. Turkey was to surrender a large part of her European possessions to the

Habsburgs and to Poland. With it she lost her predominance in the West.

The downward course of the Ottoman Empire was pushed further when Russia embarked upon a career of aggression over it. Its objectives were "to open the window on the Baltic" and to secure warm-water ports in the Black Sea. Peter the Great wrested Azov in 1696; and between 1768 and 1774, Catherine the great conducted successful campaigns, which ended in the most humiliating Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji. The Turks were to pay a heavy indemnity and to allow free navigation to the Russian vessels in their waters. Later in 1792, she was to recognise the Russian occupation of Crimea in the Treaty of Jassy. As a result Russia emerged as the most important power in Asia Minor and began to meddle in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. Britain and France took exception of this Russian advance, more particularly after the Vienna Settlement of 1815. The Ottoman Empire was made a cockpit of European diplomacy and balance of power, "the sick man of Europe."

Q. 2. Give an account of the structure of the Ottoman Empire.

Osman set up a military dynastic system which in course of its march embodied Slavs, Greeks, Albanians, Kurds, Armenians, Arabs, Jews, Christians and Moslems. In the Ottoman Empire which stretched far in Europe, Asia and Africa, the Ottoman Turks themselves were a racial minority and enjoyed the support of only Sunnite Moslems. In other words, the Ottoman sultans were to face the same situation as their Arab predecessors, the Umayyads and Abbasids, which they conformed more or less with the same general principles as the latter. But in their case, they ruled for centuries, because the rush on the part of the conquered never assumed mass proportion except in Anatolia. They developed such institutions, traditional and new, as would help them to continue their rule; some of which in course of time assumed dangerous proportions and led to their decline.

The Ottoman Sultans took up the depreciated title of the Caliph, which etymologically means successor. It was first applied to Abu Bakr, who succeeded the Prophet Mohammad as political and military chief of the Islamic community, and had the privilege of leading the people to prayer (Imamate). By the middle of the thirteenth century, the Caliphate came to an end in all practical purposes except in name in the face of Mongol inroads under Halagu. Since then it was used by the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt to legalise their rule to the Muslim Community. Then its mantle was taken away by the Ottoman Sultan, Selim the Grim in 1517. From that time till its end in 1922, the Ottoman Sultans were the only claimants of the Caliphate. But none of them, however made much play of the title until the era of despotism in the late nineteenth century.

The Ottoman state was basically a theocracy and its sultans adopted the Sunni interpretations of the 'Sheriat' or the sacred laws of Islam which were embodied in the Koran. They replaced the 'Kazaskar' or the Judge of the Army, by the 'Ulema' or the Council of Holy Men, who were the custodians, teachers and interpreters of the 'Sheriat.' At the head of the judiciary of holy and learned men there was the 'Sheikh-ul-Islam' or the 'Grand Mufti'. He could issue the 'fetwa' and declare any law or act of the sultans contrary to the 'Sheriat'. In the 'sanjaks' or districts there were 'Kazis' and 'Muftis,' the judges of the civil law, who were to be consulted in matters involving the 'Sheriat.' The 'Sheikh-ul-Islam' did not ordinarily stand against the decisions of the sultans. The Ulema sponsored the mosques, schools, courts and the great Muslim religious orders out of their orthodox interpretation of Islam and thereby kept the Turkish society and politics profoundly conservative.

The Ottoman government at the centre was represented by the term 'Sublime Porte'; Europeans took it to be synonymous with the Turkish term 'Babiali' or the High Gate, which was originally applied to the residence of the Sultan's Grand Vezir or Chief Minister. In course of time other ministers

were also housed in the 'Babaili' and eventually it became a seat of administration of most of the departments of the State. It was a duty of the Grand Vezir and other ministers to assist the Sultan in matters of drafting policies and to carry them out.

In a polyglot state, like the Ottoman Empire, where religion and nationality had been inextricably interwoven, the non-Muslim subjects could not be compelled to submit to the 'Sheriat.' So, the Ottoman government was to create the 'Millet' system in order to bring them, especially the Jewish and Christian subjects, within its fold. It ran in conformity with the Arab tradition, and Byzantine practices. In the 'Millets' they were given a limited autonomy under the chief ecclesiastical leaders of their respective religious sects, who were empowered with extensive influence. The 'Millet' system under conservative and reactionary religious leaders, checked the tide of the Renaissance and the Reformation on the one hand, but created a vast gap between governing class of political, military and religious officials headed by the sultan-caliph and a governed class of merchants, artisans and cultivators on the other.

The Ottoman army in the early years of the empire was drawn from an agricultural and fighting population on the basis of feudal land tenure. The central authority maintained a firm hold upon the feudatories of the army, the 'Dilriks' and the 'Sipahis'. But with the extension of the empire in Europe the standing feudal army proved inadequate to its needs. The sultans took recourse to a new device and created a new army from among the kidnapped Christian boys. According to the Islamic law 'the Devshirme' the sultans were entitled to a fifth of whatever booty collected from a war against the infidel. In conformity with this rule, every fifth Christian boy taken prisoner in the campaigns in Europe became a slave of the sultan. He was 'Islamised, Turkified, rigorously trained, and pressed in the service of the State.' Some became administrators and members of the state bureaucracy, the

Royal Institution, while others were given a military education in order to enrol them as 'New Troops' or 'Yeniceri' anglicised as 'Janissary.' With the help of the Janissaries, the Ottoman sultans wielded effective control over the far-flung empire. But they were something more than the 'praetorian guards' and mercenary troops. They had wider affiliations with the 'Sheikh-ul-Islam', 'Muftis' and 'Kazis' and acquired elements of political power. It was also facilitated by the growing corruption in the military state and weakness of the Sultans. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Turks were also enrolled in it. Since the Janissaries were ill-paid, they took recourse to crafts and commercial activities and thus came to be associated also with the economic organisations. The corps became potent instrument of political power, which ultimately undermined the military power of the empire. In consequence, it was exposed to foreign invasions and the existence of orderly government was threatened until this dangerous incubus was disbanded in 1826, by Sultan Mahmud II.

Regarding the foreigners residing in the empire, the Arab and Byzantine practice was to let them be ruled by their own laws. It was not considered detrimental to sovereignty; and the consular authorities were held responsible for the conduct of the foreign nationals. The practice was recognised by the Turks, when the Ottoman sultans certified the rights and privileges of the Genoese and Venetian merchants of Istambul. This was termed 'Capitulation', being derived from 'Capitula' or chapters of the treaty, in the treaty of amity and commerce concluded between Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent and King Francis I of France in 1535. Under the 'Capitulatory' system, foreigners were exempt from the Ottoman laws and various taxes, their houses and shops were inviolable; they had full religious liberty as also the custody of the religious places; and they were liable to be arrested and tried by orders from their own consulates and by their own laws. Those rights virtually amounted to extra-territoriality, and

inspired other European powers to seek similar concessions for themselves. These were gestures of good will of Turkey at the zenith of its power ; and with the growing weakness of the Ottoman government, these were regarded as the acknowledgement of its own decrepitude. This led to the increasing advance of the western states within the empire's politics and economy by encroaching upon the sultan's sovereignty.

Since the empire's standing army was derived from the feudal grants, land was categorised into 'Miri' or State property 'Wakf' or the property of the religious foundations, and 'Mulk' or the private property of the peasants. The 'Miri' constituted the largest property of the state, and the right to its taxes was held out to feudal chiefs, who were obliged to furnish armed forces to the sultan in return. They collected taxes from the 'Raya' or the peasants, and their right was not hereditary. The system co-existed with a money economy and urban society, which differentiated it from European feudalism. In the later days of the empire, the system of military feudalism became permeated with corruption, and these feudal grants were made to the favourites, courtiers and eunuchs of the harem.

The Ottoman sultans, however, fully adopted the Arab and Byzantine principle of provincial administration. Each Turkish province was called a 'Pashalik', which was governed by a 'Pasha' appointed and sent from the 'Sublime Porte'. He was to be assisted by a 'Kazi' and a Mufti'. His primary functions were to provide revenue and soldiers to the sultan, and to look at the internal security of his province. The mountainous abode of the Druzes and Maronites, the province of Lebanon, was, however, given a wide autonomy, which in course of time amounted to defiance of the central authority. Its example was followed by other provincial governors, when the control of the sultans was relaxed as a result of their growing weakness.

The Ottoman sultans built a kind of military despotism upon these institutions, much of which they had inherited from

the Arab and Byzantine Empires. The claims of the Turkish historian Mehmed Fuad Kopruluzade, who has denied such inheritance, has no foundation in this regard. These institutions at their beginnings contributed to the strength of the empire. In the same way, they led to its decay when the Ottoman despotism was passed into weak hands. The whole structure was directly associated with the imperial harem under which the later sultans became either puppets or 'caged' princes. The petty-court governments were run by their favourites and the wealth of the state was drained to the greed and luxury of these ladies. Corruption entered not only in the 'Sublime Porte,' but in the 'Sheikh-ul-Islam' and the 'Janissary' corps as well. In consequence "the fish begins to stink at the head" trade-routes lost, and the natural resources left unexploited. Theological affiliation of the state and government led to an intellectual stagnation which prevented the entrance of western developments inside the empire. The state of things became acute and led to reform and revolution and ultimately to the end of the empire after the First World War.

CHAPTER—II

EARLY REFORMS.

Q. I. Narrate the history of the attempted reforms in the Ottoman Empire till the accession of Sultan Mahmud II.

The death of Suleyman the Magnificent was followed by a series of weak successions under whom the Ottoman Empire was increasingly given to corruption, degeneracy and official abuses. The need for drastic reforms was first felt by the Kuprulus late in the seventeenth century. Their reforms were confined in the officialdom, in the finances and in the better treatment of the non-Muslims. They were carried on the lines of medieval institutions ; and western ideas and developments could not penetrate inside the empire. Turkey was defeated by Russia. Catherine II forced her to sign the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji in 1774, allowing the latter a free hand in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. Other European powers also began to take interest upon the Ottoman Empire, which threatened her dismemberment. The Ex-officials in their treaties proposed vigorous reforms to revitalise the empire and the Porte began to share their ideas from the eighteenth century onwards.

The new reform efforts were moved from the military weakness of the sultans and they were influenced by the West specially France. As early as Turkey's humiliating treaties of Carlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz with Austria and Prussia respectively, the Grand Vezir, Damad Ibrahim Pasha (1718-1730) had made an attempt to imitate and adopt certain selected elements of the civilisation of western Europe. He

had sent ambassadors to the courts of Europe to study their civilisation and education. Under him was organised a fire brigade in Istanbul, the admiralty and navy, all under French supervision ; and reforms were introduced in the municipal services. The spirit of westernisation, although protracted by the Persian invasion under Nadir Shah, continued in the reigns of Sultan Mahmud I (1730-54), Mustafa III (1757-74), and Abdul Hamid I (1774-1789). The Bombardier Corps was reformed on European lines in 1731 and a new training centre, the 'Hendeschane', was opened at Uskudar in 1734. They managed to have European experts and artisans to teach new methods in the army. Among non-military adoptions, introduction of printing under the supervision of the Phanorite Greeks and Frankish manners and styles were noticeable developments.

The reign of Sultan Selim III (1789-1807) coincided with the French Revolution, the ideas of which found a ready welcome among the Muslim leaders and thinkers. He was the most enlightened descendent of Osman in the eighteenth century and he had the unexpected opportunity to introduce reforms. Europe was engaged in the French Revolution and the seventh Russo-Turkish War had come to an end. Reform was suggested on two lines : to adopt western ideas and technique in the army or to return to the code of laws promulgated by Suleyman the Magnificent. The sultan shared the former and invited European experts. He raised a small band of soldiers, trained and dressed in European style; and promulgated a whole set of new regulations and instructions in 1792-93, collectively known as the 'New Order' or 'Nizam-i-Cedid'. The new regulations provided improvements for provincial government, grain trade and other administrative and fiscal matters. He revived the military schools and opened 'a second window to the west'—that of diplomacy, through which he raised a group of westernised Turks to replace the Phanorite Greeks and Armenians in the bureaucracy.

Sultan Selim III carried on his reform measures in colla-

boration, with mainly French experts; and it came to an end with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798. This very incident again provoked other European powers, notably England, Austria and Russia, to meddle in the Ottoman Empire. Again, the revolutionary ideas of liberty, equality and 'fraternity', although not shared by the sultan, had something to do with the Christian subjects of the empire. In 1799, the Serbians, aided by Austria, rose in revolt against the Turkish, which was to become a part of the European tangle of international diplomacy. Turkey was forced to a French alliance and she was compelled to be sympathetic to France against the Third Coalition of England, Austria and Russia. Russia took up this opportunity and led her eighth invasion in the Danubian provinces (1806). Britain co-operated with her ally and demanded the expulsion of the French general, Sebastian. Soon she retired from this foolhardy adventure and France was able to repair the damages in the defence of the Straits. Russia, however, secured wider political rights over the orthodox Christians of the Danubian provinces.

Meanwhile, inside the empire, the 'Nizam-i-Cedid' evoked widespread reaction among the obscurantists, which its handful supporters could not fight out. The 'Ulema' incited the people of Istanbul to rise against the Sultan in 1806; and the new troops were defeated by the 'Janissaries.' The sultan decreed out the 'Nizam-i-Cedid' in May, 1807. But still the 'Sheikh-ul-Islam' pronounced a 'fetwa' declaring it lawful to depose an impious sultan. In the same year, the 'Janissaries' compelled Salim III to abdicate and then murdered him and other advocates of reform.

Selim III was succeeded by his cousin Mustafa IV, who was a partisan of the revolt of the Janissaries. But soon he changed his mind and rallied round him the surviving reformers. He obtained the control over Istanbul and took up a project of reforming the Janissaries and a whole series of long-standing abuses. They were approved by the Chief Mufti; but attempts to put them into effect roused a furious uprising

of the Janissaries. Mustafa Bayrakder (standard bearer) was deposed in 1808 ruling only a few months. He was succeeded by his brother Mahamud II.

These early reform efforts in the Ottoman Empire were inspired by Western ideas of the Renaissance and the Reformation—the ideas of the period of benevolent despotism rather than of the French Revolution. They were sponsored by the sultans from top down and there was no spontaneous urge from the common people. These sultans tried to adopt the military arts and sciences of Europe ; but they had not the despotic energy of Muhammad Ali of Egypt to counteract reaction. Again, these reforms based on western institutional orders were against the nature of the evolution of the Ottoman Empire, which was predominantly agrarian and pastoral. As half-measures, they led the Christian subjects to the path of revolt, while it evoked widespread reaction among the Janissaries and other classes, whose vested interests were likely to be hampered by these measures. In the end, the citadels of obscurantism could not be broken through and the efforts were frustrated by the revolts of the Janissaries. The Ottoman Empire continued weaning.

Q. 2. Discuss the measures taken by Sultan Mahmud II to modernise political and social life of Turkey.

Or, Describe in detail the inauguration of the Tanzimat era by Sultan Mahmud II of Turkey.

Reform in the Ottoman Empire was first successfully carried through in the endeavours of Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839). He was determined to implement the programme of reforms initiated by his predecessor Selim III, and yet he was mindful of the terror and tumult of the time of his accession. He began slowly by reasserting the long-eroded authority of the central government and gaining support of the powerful and traditional opponent of reforms, the Ulema. But not until 1826 did he do anything towards westernising the political and social life of the empire. He suppressed the

Janissaries, the most powerful road-block to any change and made attempts to improve the administration, health, education and communications. He inaugurated the Tanzimat, or the reform movement in the empire.

From the end of the Russian war in 1812 Sultan Mahmud II started his reform efforts with caution. A realist as he was, he felt the needs of the support of public sympathy and of the orthodox Ulema. The nationalist revolt of the Greeks and Serbians delayed his reforms, but at the same time discredited the Janissaries for their failure to quell the rebellions. The Sultan did it with the help of a comparatively smaller army. Again he championed the cause of the Sunni faith against the Wahabi heretics and thereby enlisted the support of the Ulema. The Janissaries were thus isolated from their strongholds, the public and the Ulema. But when the sultan ordered them to drill in European fashion, in June, 1826, they rose in a revolt. The Sultan, with the sanction of the 'Sheikh-ul-Islam', employed his new troops and blew up the Janissaries in their barracks. Their suppression was successfully followed up in the provinces. The episode is known in Turkish history as 'The Auspicious Event'; because it cleared away the most powerful barrier to any reforms.

Yet Turkey sustained a great loss in the Treaty of Adrianople (1829). Serbia, Greece, Wallachia and Moldavia all became practically independent. The most formidable danger, however, came from Muhammad Ali of Egypt. The sultan called upon him to suppress the rebellion; but he was not satisfied with the rewards. Turkey was fortunately saved by the timely intervention of Russia. But ultimately she was to pay the price of this assistance in the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (1833). The reforming sultan found that owing to the military weakness, the empire was humiliated and humoured in its national and international affairs.

So, with the Janissaries being rounded off, Mahmud set himself to the formation of a new army, popularly known as the 'Muslim Soldiers'. He created the office of

'Sarkar' which combined the functions of the Commander-in-Chief and the Minister of War. He issued a code of regulations for the conduct of the new army and employed Prussian experts like Helmuth von Moltke for its training and equipment. He revoked the feudal fiefs and reorganised the administration of land revenue to meet the rising expenses for the army, and other branches of administration. The traditional feudal cavalry and other levies were to go for ever. The new army however, enabled the Sultan to destroy the autonomy of the 'Pashas' and to bring Anatolia and Roumelia into subjection. But centralisation with the help of the new army proved inoperative in the Egypt of Muhammad Ali and in, Morea, where the Sultan was compelled by the European powers to recognise the freedom of the Greeks.

But the Janissaries were not the only citadel of obscurantism. The 'Ulema or the religious leaders also frustrated many an attempt at reform previously. Here Mahmud II was to appear in the role of Henry VIII of England. As has been already told, he silenced their opposition by championing the Sunni cause. Then he proceeded to attack the 'Dervish' orders, to exile the Bektasi leaders and to confiscate the 'wakf' (religious grants) lands. But here the Sultan was less successful. More successfully did he deal with the opposition of the 'Seikh-ul-Islam' with regard to the publicised aspects of modernism. He ordered the adoption of modern and uniform dresses among the government officials. Thus the traditional turban was to give way to the fez, and garments to frock coats, especially in the urban centres.

The Sultan's ultimate objective was to strengthen and reorganise the government and to free it from long standing abuses. For this he reoriented the existing apparatus on European lines and redistributed the powers and functions of its different departments. He turned the 'Vezirates' into ministries and in 1838 set up the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances to discuss and draft new regulations. He staffed the offices with better trained civil servants and introduced

a regular diplomatic corps. Better emoluments on promotion on the basis of *mérít* lessened the tentacles of corruption and abolished many sinecures. He introduced the system of travellers' passport and devised a new postal system. He also established a nation-wide police system and prescribed the quarantine system. European techniques of government were studied and employed.

Foreign wars and large scale modernisation of the army and the administration left Turkey almost bankrupt. Here instead of using the natural resources of the empire, the sultan revoked the feudal grants. He farmed out the tax collection to the highest bidder and reduced the number of these agents. He innovated the 'Iltizam' system of land revenue administration. Again, the abolition of the Courts of Confiscations and the creation of new roads improved the trade and commerce of the empire. These measures at least helped the Sultan to get rid of his financial stringency.

Sultan Mahmud II also added stimuli to sustain the spirit of reform longer. Side by side with the military and medical colleges, which he opened in 1830, he established a large number of secondary schools and made primary education compulsory. In 1834, he organised a nation-wide militia to impart rudimentary training remote in the provinces. Again, he established presses at Istanbul and Izmir, and an official newspaper—'Le Moniteur Ottoman'—with its French and Turkish editions. He also sent students to European countries and thus allowed them to get in touch with the eighteenth and nineteenth century liberal ideas. Sultan Mahmud II died in 1839.

Much was thus accomplished by Mahmud in the westernisation and modernisation of the Ottoman Empire. The most vigorous roadblock, the Janissaries, was removed and lockgate to reforms was opened. A modern army, an improved administration and the enthusiastic beginnings elsewhere—put an end to Turkey's medieval history and laid the foundation of an era of reforms—the Tanzimat. More particularly he paved

“the way for a system of government based on malleable and interchangeable groups instead of powerful and entrenched individuals” (Bernard Lewis). He was the first of the sultans to do away with Byzantine traditions and to look forward to the West. He initiated a process which was to be carried to completion about a century later by the Ankara government.

But his reforms were too little to become more than a step forward in his own life time. They antagonise many of his people like that of Peter the Great of Russia whose innovations had “cleft the soul of Muscovy”. Again, his objects were purely to centralise the administration, and in doing so he made a wide gap between the theory and practice of European liberalism. He was more an oriental despot copying his enemy, Muhammad Ali of Egypt, than a monarch giving a meaningful regeneration to the empire. In spite of all his deficiencies, he inaugurated a meaningful programme which was broadened in the activities of the Tanzimat statesmen. He set the ball rolling.

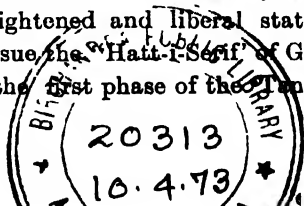
CHAPTER III

THE TANZIMAT

Q. 1. Discuss the salient features of the Tanzimat. Why did the reform movement fail in the long run ?

The term 'Tanzimat' is derived from a root meaning 'order' and implies "regulations for the re-organisation of all branches of the administration". By usage it covers the reform movement in the Ottoman Empire in the years 1839 to 1878. It was directed towards westernisation building on the lines of Selim III and Mahmud II to preserve the empire as a going administrative concern against diplomatic pressures and domestic disruptions. In contrast to earlier reforms, the new efforts were not moving from the sultans, who favoured reforms but did not take the initiative. These reforms were not a total success some of them were half measures. But they marked the breaking away from the past usages and the end of attempts for going back to the days of Suleyman the Magnificent. They were meant for the development of administrative institutions on the principles of equality, representative government and secularisation, which attained its climax in the Midhat Constitution of 1876.

Reforms, which had already been started in the Ottoman Empire, received a meaningful regeneration with Mahmud II's death and the accession of his son Abdul Majid in 1839. A broader programme was instituted in the same year when Mustafa Rasid Pasha, an enlightened and liberal statesman, persuaded the new sultan to issue the 'Hatt-i-Serif' of Gulhane. This was the beginning of the first phase of the Tanzimat'.



The Noble Rescript of the Rose Chamber started by promising the security of life, honour and property of all Ottoman subjects. It emphasised that trials should be made public and according to regulations, confiscations be abolished. Secondly, it proposed to replace tax-farming by the creation of an orderly system of fixed taxes. Thirdly, it afforded to establish military conscription on a regular system with the term of service much reduced. These imperial concessions were to be extended to all Ottoman subjects—Muslims and non-Muslims. To carry out the promises, a parliamentary procedure was to be introduced in the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances, which was to discuss and elaborate the needed measures. Rasid also issued a series of laws and regulations to convert these general principles into a programme of action.

The 'Hatt-i-Serif' for the first time in Ottoman history announced equality of all Ottoman subjects on an official policy. It foreshadowed multinational brotherhood and more secular and westernised concepts of state and citizenship. Although it embodied the revolutionary principles of "life, liberty and property," it intended only to make monarchy more modern and centralised. It had a dual personality of reconciling the absolute equality of the Ottoman subjects with "the precepts of the glorious Koran and the laws of the empire— of reconciling old institutions of the faith and the state with new and westernised ones. It was a real move to revitalise the empire and not simply a window-dressing to gain European sympathy. But it was opposed by the conservative Ulema, Greek clergies, provincial governors and others whose interests were best served in maintaining the status quo. As a result, these reforms remained in paper only as a manifesto of pious platitude.

A lull overtook the reform movement in the period beginning from 1840 down to the Crimean War as Rasid, its driving force, was removed from Istambul in 1841 as the ambassador to Paris. The opponents of reform took the ascendancy and

succeeded in raising doubts in the sultan's mind as to the desirability of reforms. But Rasid once again returned to the office of the Grand Vezir. Despite opposition several important beginnings were made in the codification of western laws and in the creation of mixed tribunals and secular schools. Currency was reformed and bank established to improve the empire's finances, "the slough of Despond of the Turkish reformers." Perhaps the most important beginning was made in the provincial administration, when a Council of Provincial Notables in the capital and Councils of Notables in the provinces were formed and inspectors sent to the provinces. But these measures could not yield any impressive results.

The sloth was removed by the impact of the Crimean War on Turkey, when Sultan Abdul Majid was persuaded by France and Britain to issue a new reform edict in 1856. This was known as the 'Hatt-i-Humayun' and engineered by Grand Vezir Ali Pasha in collaboration with Foreign Minister Fuad Pasha. It was formally noted by the Great Powers in the Treaty of Paris, and its drafting was partly influenced by the British Ambassador in Istambul, Stratford de Redcliffe. Essentially a re-affirmation of the Gulhane rescript, the new edict looked much ahead and contained not a single mention of the Sheriat. It laid greater emphasis on the absolute equality of the sultan's non-Muslim subjects and on the principle of representative government. Non-Muslim representatives were henceforth to be included in the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances and in the provincial and communal Councils. To blur the millet barriers, it decreed the formation of councils of the laity to supervise their temporal affairs in collaboration with synods of clergies. It declared all public offices open to all Ottoman subjects irrespective of caste and religion. It guaranteed full liberty of conscience, prohibited torture, promised prison reform and authorised foreigners to acquire property subject to some restrictions.

The promulgation of the 'Hatt-i-Humayun' or the Noble Rescript periodised the second phase of the 'Tanzimat'. Ali

and Fuad Pashas formulated a meticulous programme of reforms to avert further foreign pressures and to hold the empire together. But the decree received more opposition than enthusiasm. Rasid, then out of office and motivated by a personal pique, criticised his disciples for lowering down the honour, independence and integrity of the state and sultan by yielding to the pressures of Great Powers and the non-Muslim subjects. He ventilated the general Muslim resentment against complete equality. But the 'hat' was greeted by almost all Christian subjects except the clergies. In consequence, revolt broke out in the Capital, which led to a spell of resentment in the Muslim provinces of the empire. The incidents of Roumania brought Rasid to the Grand Vezirate, to be succeeded by obscurantism Kibrisli Mehmed Efendi. Reforms stopped at the door steps of the Sublime Porte till the death of Abdul Majid I in 1861 and the accession of Abdul Aziz.

The reformist new sultan brought Ali and Fuad back to their offices, who now took steps to make the promises effective in practice. Pressure of Pan-Slavism led them to reorganise the non-Muslim millets on the basis of gradual divorce of religion from government. In 1864, they reorganised the provinces into three tiers—vilayets, sanjaks and kazas—each to be governed by officials named from the Porte in collaboration with the local representative councils—an administrative council, a council of civil and criminal courts and a general assembly. It combined centralisation with decentralisation and it was effective in Tuna and Baghdad vilayets under Midhat Pasha. In 1868, the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances was divided into a Judicial Council and a Council of State—a step towards the separation of the judiciary from the executive and introduction of parliamentary government. In the same year, mixed education on European lines was introduced. The 'lycee' of Galatasaray, the University of Istambul and a school of law were opened. A set of comprehensive laws was issued for reforming the school system, and thereby to rationalise and secularise it. Several

codes of law were formulated on lines of the Code Napoleon to be used in the mixed courts and the proposed Judicial Council was set up in 1869. Abuses of land tenure were detected and edicts issued for their removal. Capitulatory privileges were attacked and 'Waqf' (religious endowments) lands were resumed. Reforms in the army on Prussian model and under Prussian experts were also set into action. Fuad died in 1868 and Ali in 1871, and their end marked the end of an era in Ottoman history.

Voices of protest against the reforms of Ali and Fuad were raised even during their life time by a group of young intellectuals in exile through press, pamphlets and literary activities. With their death the Ottoman Empire was overtaken by a period of chaos. There was utter administrative instability at the centre and the Grand Vezirate of Mahmud Nedim gave way to the sultan to exercise more influence within its frame. Serious economic crises, an agricultural crisis of 1873-74 and a treasury crisis of 1875, loomed large upon the empire. War in Yemen and the bid for autonomy by Ismail of Egypt were more immediately dangerous as they threatened its integrity. The rise of Pan-Slavism and the revolts in Bosnia and Herzegovina were almost a last straw in a series of dangers. European pressures were renewed and financial problems increased. Austrian chancellor, Andrassy, issued a note demanding more reforms and the fulfilment of the earlier promises of the Sultan. Inside the empire, anti-Europeanism and a revolt of the theological students posed yet another problem. Half a dozen of Grand Vezirs in a period of three years (1872-1875) toiled in vain to solve these foreign and domestic issues. Abdul Aziz was deposed in 1876, and within the same year his successor Murad V went mad and Abdul Hamid II came to the throne with a promise of granting to the empire a Constitution. It was engineered by the Grand Vezir Midhat Pasha and promulgated in December, 1876.

The Midhat Constitution constituted the final phase of the

'Tanzimat'. In it the prime of importance was given to the independence and territorial integrity of the empire. The sultan's great powers were listed and equality of all Ottoman subjects was emphasised. Really a Belgium-type parliamentary representative government was introduced. But it was not a perfect constitution and it was subjected to merciless criticism. On its Exile Power Clause arose a difference between the sultan and its author, which ultimately led the dismissal and exile of the latter. In absence of Midhat Pasha, and in the end of western diplomatic pressures, forces of obscurantism enabled Sultan Abdul Hamid II to shake off the Constitution. He became increasingly a despot and with it reform movement in the Ottoman Empire was metamorphosed for a period of thirty years.

For this abrupt end of the 'Tanzimat', later generations of Ottoman statesmen have criticised its authors more for their superficiality and lack of understanding than for their failure to oppose Abdul Hamid's despotism. Some of them accused them of grafting alien institutions to the old Turkish society and thereby creating a fatal dualism of European and Oriental institutions. Other critics have, however, emphasised that the 'Tanzimat' reformers were not radical enough to abandon the relics of the dead Islamic culture. Considered separately these criticisms have undoubted merits. But collectively they disregarded the necessity for change in history—for doing what is possible in the context of time and temperament. The main objective of the 'Tanzimat' statesmen was to preserve the empire by invigorating it. For this, they did not allow all the reform measures to remain as several varieties of waste papers only to deceive the western powers.

That the Tanzimat reforms failed in the long run was due to conditions arose inside the empire. They represented the views of a minority—of the bureaucratic and intellectual elite, and not even all that elite. A vast majority of the masses remained ignorant and unenlightened. They joined in the reaction of the Ulema and other people whose yested

interests were exposed to danger by the reforms. The non-Muslims, especially the Christian subjects of the empire had already been inspired by a strong sense of nationalism and now considered the reforms too little to serve their purpose. Yet another group of western educated Muslims considered these reforms as symptoms of weakness for submitting to foreign pressure. While the 'Tanzimat' was hallowed by only a microscopic minority, it was opposed by all layers of people. Moreover, reforms from top down had obvious defects. They appeared at times backward or forward of time and in half measures, the consequences of which helped Abdul Hamid II to suppress the Constitution. Taking advantage of political and religious obscurantism he made himself a despot.

Q. 2. Discuss the structure of the Ottoman Constitution of 1876.

The Ottoman Constitution of 1876 was destined to convert the age-old absolute autocracy of the house of Osman to a constitutional monarchy. It was envisaged that sovereignty was to continue to reside in the person of the sultan, while his subjects were entitled by law to enjoy certain basic liberties and to participate in the Government. In other words the authors of the Constitution, Midhat Pasha and his liberal associates, desired a real parliamentary regime—a plan which was accepted by the Abdul Hamid II only to ensure his succession and to ward off European intervention. The latter had neither embraced the spirit of the Constitution nor had the slightest desire to enforce it. The liberals drafted it in a haste to win a tactical victory over him. So, it contained many flaws both of commission and omission and no regard was paid to its validity in Ottoman soil. It endorsed simply a frame work, of which many of the details were to be enacted in the parliament.

More specifically, the Constitution declared sovereignty to be vested in the person of the sultan "in accordance with the rules established *ab antiquo*". The sultanate was made sacred and its recipient was not responsible for his acts. It

implied an utter lack of safeguard against a despotically minded sultan. He was again recognised as the protector of Islam under the title of Supreme Caliph—a provision much against the desire of the European Turcophobes. Besides, the sultan's most important prerogatives were listed but none of his former powers was specifically denied. Ministers were to serve at his discretion and his right to absolute veto rendered parliamentary legislation illussory. Moreover, he was empowered to declare a state of seize and authorised to exile any one deemed dangerous to the severity of the state by virtue of a special law. It was reluctantly inserted and it led to the disgraceful end of Midhat Pasha.

Originally the draft Constitution envisaged the abolition of the post of Grand Vezir to ensure collective responsibility of ministers to Parliament instead of traditional individual responsibility to the sultan. But this feature was not incorporated in the final version. It was provided that the Grand Vezir and the Sheikh-ul-Islam were to be personally invested by the sultan, where other ministers were to be nominated by imperial irade. The Grand Vezir could ordinarily preside over Cabinet meetings and take decisions on his personal capacity. But in a case of dispute with other ministers regarding decision, he could not get rid of the minister concerned, since the latter owed his positions and loyalty to the sultan. The Chamber could bring a minister for trial only on concurrence with the sultan. The Ministers had the exclusive right to initiate a bill, which was to be submitted in the Parliament. In a case of controversy between them, the sultan could either replace the minister or dissolve the Chamber or simply to order the minister to withdraw the bill to promulgate himself. Again, in case of emergency decrees, issued by ministers with the approval of the sultan, and submitted to the Parliament in its next session for approval. The Constitution did not provide as to what would happen if the latter refused to approve them. Moreover, ministers could be called for explanation by a majority of

the members of Parliament, but they could postpone it for an indefinite period and no steps were provided for unsatisfactory explanations. Ministerial responsibility to Parliament remained an illusion.

The liberals succeeded in having a representative Parliament, the General Assembly, composed of a Senate or 'Majlis-i Ayam' and a Chamber of Deputies or 'Majlis-i Meb'usan'. In conformity with European models, the Constitution provided for the senators and deputies normal parliamentary immunities and limitations. But abnormally their membership was made remunerative. A law bill, initiated by a minister, was to be submitted to the Chamber of Deputies and then to the Senate. But before becoming law it required the approval of the Sultan who could withhold it against which no provision was made in the Constitution. The method of legislation was at variance with any recognised parliamentary procedure. However, the Parliament was to vote the budget, which was to be submitted to the Chamber each year immediately after the beginning of its session. All unbudgetary taxes and expenses were forbidden. To assist the Parliament to control the finances, a Court of Accounts was to be created and it was to examine all financial operations and to submit an annual report to the Chamber of Deputies. Yet parliamentary control of the finances was rendered minimal by contradictory provisions which authorised and unauthorised the Chamber in the different articles of the Constitutions. Again the same procedure and fate was accorded to emergency taxes and expenditures as emergency laws. In the end, the General Assembly was "little more than a debating society and a sounding body for grievances." Yet at least in theory it became a public form and recognised the people's right to take part in the government.

In its chapter on the judiciary, the Constitution stipulated the irremovability of judges, public trials and the interdiction of any interference with the Courts. It ensured a greater degree of judicial independence. It also envisaged a High

Court of Justice and the Courts of Cassation and Appeal to be convened by the sultan, and made room for two types of courts, civil and Sheriat. But these were to remain in paper only and very little was done to raise the level of justice. The most radical provisions of the Constitution were concerned with the question of individual rights. The ambitious goal of Midhat to weed out racial-religious discrimination was incorporated in it. It was declared that all subjects of empire were to be called Ottomans without distinction, and they were equal before the law, possessing the same rights and duties without prejudice of religion. Appointments in the offices were to be made solely on the basis of fitness, merit and ability, provided the candidates knew Turkish. The Constitution also contained security of person and property, inviolability of domicile, freedom of the press and of association, right of petition, and prohibition of confiscation, forced labour and torture. But this "Ottoman Bill of Rights" was not without weaknesses and inconsistencies. The Sultan retained the power of arbitrary exile, and non-Muslims were to suffer discrimination in the Sheriat courts as well as in giving evidence in other courts. Moreover, these theoretically extensive individual rights were vitiated by the phrase "except as provided in law" or "within the limits of law", i.e., within the grip of the sultan.

Further the Constitution devoted a chapter on provincial administration and thus attempted to solve the longing question of local autonomy. It was unequivocally stated that henceforth provincial administration was to be based on the principle of decentralisation; and its details were to be made by special laws enacted by the Parliament on the principles outlined in the Constitution. Provinces and their sub-divisions were to be governed by representative councils and there was to be a deliberative general assembly attached with each of the provinces. There should be elected councils for each religious community in the districts, and municipalities were

to be governed by municipal councils whose details were to be determined by special laws.

The Constitution did not postulate any overnight transformation and former laws and regulations were allowed to function until they were expressly amended or superseded by other. Amendments were to follow the process of ordinary laws, except that each Chamber had to approve them by a two-thirds majority. The sultan was thus deprived of the right to alter the Constitution by decrees. But, such amendments were restricted to "some" provisions only. As has been noted already, the Constitution had defects and limitations. Yet it would have transformed the theory and structure of the Ottoman state had it been strictly enforced. Its makers were satisfied with the clause which stipulated that none of its provisions could be suspended or neglected on any pretext. It did not provide any penalties for the violation of these provisions ; specially where the Sultan himself was the violator. Nothing short of a *Coup d' etat* could safeguard the Constitution. Taking advantage of this platitudinous nature of the Constitution Sultan Abdul Hamid II first prorogued the Chamber and then proceeded without serious opposition to neglect it for the next thirty years.

The Constitution of 1876 was the culmination of all previous efforts beginning from the approach of reforms. Its institutions were ephemeral and yielded little that was substantial or lasting. Its importance in Ottoman history did not end with the rise of Hamidian despotism. It marked the beginning of Constitutional Government in the empire. The Young Turk revolutionaries in 1908, did not institute but restored Constitutional Government. They only amended the Midhat Constitution and reconvened the Chamber of Deputies. In this sense Robert Devereux is fully justified when he has called this, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period*.

Q. 3. Discuss the significance of the policies of Mustafa Rasid Pasha and the views of the Young Ottomans. To what

extent they were able to liberalise the structure of the Ottoman Empire ?

It was a general concern of the Ottoman statesmen of the mid-nineteenth century to preserve the empire in a world increasingly ordered by European power and civilisation. The men of the Tanzimat tried to solve it by authoritarian reforms mostly aimed at strengthening royal absolutism. In search of a remedy they opened the western window to educate administrators in European literature, culture and statecraft. But all was not well with this plan. Some of the young members of the governing elite also stuffed their minds with new beliefs and ideas and raised voices of protest against increasing despotism of the sultans. Many of them were disciples of Mustafa Rasid Pasha and all criticised the policies of Ali and Fuad Pashas through the new media, the press. These men had no uniform views, but they organised themselves upon certain basic ideas of liberalism and parliamentary government. Most of them had to serve terms of exile, but they succeeded in creating a public opinion in Turkey. Their movement for a constitutional government for the empire attained its climax in 1876, when their basic ideas were fulfilled at least theoretically.

Liberal and constitutional ideas appeared in the Ottoman Empire long before the Kuleli incident of 1859, which was carried on rather orthodox lines. They were seen if faintly in the writings of Sadik Rifat Pasha and influenced the policies of Mustafa Rasid Pasha. A western educated and accomplished administrator as he was, Rasid from the Sublime Porte felt the need to treat the people of all creed with equality. He also desired to enhance the role of the ministers and to safeguard the bureaucracy from the arbitrary whims of the sultan. He also knew that politics was the art of the possible, and he decreed in the *Hatt-i Serif* what was possible in 1839. Its ingenuous tone arose out of his effort to reconcile western secularised concepts of state, and

citizenship with the sacred laws of the Koran. It was not a recital of western constitutionalism, because the sultan neither abdicated his law-making authority, nor had he any effective check upon his powers. Rasid only succeeded with outside help in introducing the new nation of Ottomanism or Osmanlilik to check the separatist tendencies of non-Muslim millets. He was also able to create a western educated administrative elite, which in later year stood for or against any reforming measures.

In the office of the Grand Vezir, Rasid was the real architect of the Tanzimat. But soon he fell from power and became the indocile critic of government policies. The Hatt-i Humayun of his disciples Ali and Fuad Pashas elicited his bitter criticism. Rasid referred to the new edict of 1856 as the farman of concessions to the foreigners. He argued that complete equality was objectionable to Muslim opinion and it would affect the wish, honour, independence and integrity of the state and the sultan. Although he was moved by personal pique against Ali and Fuad, he echoed the general reaction of the orthodox Turks against the Hatt-i Humayun. But he did not oppose it from the point of constitutionalism. Soon he returned to power only to mark an indolent enterprise. Nevertheless no change was introduced in the state of affairs in Turkey, nor there was any vociferous claim for a constitutional government, until a new generation of statesmen appeared as its relentless advocates.

Nevertheless, the Tanzimat reforms facilitated the spread of western ideas and their acclimatisation with Turkish social and political attitudes. A new generations of people, having influenced with this, revolted against classicism and brought about a literary renaissance. The pioneers of this literature were Ibrahim Sinasi, Ziya Pasha and Namik Kemal. All of them were favourite disciples of Rasid Pasha and served as members of the civil service. But they were not on good terms with Ali and Fuad Pashas and had to spend years in exile. They roundly criticised their policies

and propagated the ideas of freedom and nationalism. These people were credited with the rise of independent journalism and expressed their views in such journals like the 'Tercumen-i Ahval', the 'Tasvir-i Efkar', founded and edited by Sinasi and the latter edited by Namik Kemal after him, and the 'Muhbir' edited by Ali Suavi. These journalists not only caused great concern to the sublime Porte officials ; but also "completed in a remarkably short time the evolution from report to comment, from comment to criticism, from criticism to opposition, and from opposition to defiance" (Lewis). Certainly did they do it in the years following the Crimean War.

This journalistic opposition against government policies soon crystalised into organised political conspiracies. In 1865, half a dozen of youths, including Namik Kemal, gathered at the Bosphorus Villa to find out ways and means to get rid of absolutism. They decided to establish a secret society of Polish and Carbonaro model and named it as the "Ittifak-i Hamidyat" or the patriotic alliance. Their object was to bring about changes in the Ottoman administration and to promote constitutionalism. The original members were Namik Kemal, Mehmed Bey, Ayetullah Bey, Refik Bey, Nuri Bey and Resad Bey, and others like Agah Efendi, Mustafa Fazil Pasha, an Ottoman-Egyptian statesman and Murad, son of Sultan Abdul Majid, were supporters. They were engaged in a conspiracy in 1867 ; but unlike the men of 1859, it was inspired by their first hand observation of western Europe. It marked the beginning of modern political agitation in the empire. Loosely grouped together, these young men hurriedly called themselves the "New Ottomans" or "Jeune Turquie". or "Yeni Osmanlililer".

These Young Ottomans were never a political party ; but they organised in 1867 under the leadership of Mustafa Fazil Pasha. They were essentially individualistic intellectuals ; but they had some common attitudes towards the situation of the empire in 1860. They opposed Ali and Fuad Pashas both

on personal and political grounds. They resented at European interference and consequent weakness of the empire and they sought to hurry along the literary renaissance. They desired a constitutional monarch in consonance with the development of 'Osmanlilik.' Ali Suavi preached a constitutionalism in which the state affairs should be based on the Koranic doctrine of the public taking of counsel. But Namik Kemal was their best exponent in the years 1865-1867. He had three general categories of ideas of what this progressive group believed. He stood for equality or Osmanlilik of duties as well as rights without much caring for the growing strength of nationalism. He had a general demand for reforms not specifically for constitutionalism; but hinted at the desirability of chambers of deputies and freedom of thought and expression. He was trying to create a public opinion favourable for change.

In 1867, in a despatch from Istambul, Mustafa Fazil was mentioned as the head of the party of the 'Jeune Turquie.' He was the brother of Ismail Pasha, the Governor of Egypt; but joined the opposition being unceremoniously cut off from the line of succession. He wrote two letters, couched in the form of a ringing emotional appeal to Sultan Abdul Aziz, 'as reminiscent of Mazzini's eloquent letter of 1831 to Charles Albert of Piedmont. He twice compared the Ottoman situation to pre-1789 France and suggested freely elected provincial assemblies, delegates from which would form a national assembly. Individual rights and perfect equality would be guaranteed, and royal power be limited. Such a constitution would restore individual initiative and strengthen the empire internationally by removing grounds of foreign intervention. In his pleas he went far off than Namik Kemal. His letters were published in the Belgian journal *le Nord*, and it brought a cohesion between him and the New Ottoman journalists in Istambul. At a time of diplomatic crisis, their upison made the agitation in the capital a force to be reckoned

with. The Grand Vezir, Ali Pasha, by swift if disguised action sent these young agitators to exiles.

The exiled Young Ottomans met Mustafa Fazil at Paris and completed their statutes of organisation in August, 1867. It was named "Organisation de la Chancellerie de la Jenue Turquie". They endorsed the reform programme of Prince Mustafa Fazil in addition to the change of regime. Like the Polish revolutionaries, they aimed at the destruction of the Russian influence and propaganda in the east. Their constitution provided that Turks would handle internal and military matters while Plater and Deutsch would take over external policy and press propaganda. Mustafa Fazil was to bear the entire annual expenses. Accordingly, an agency with nine branches in the Balkans, was set in Istambul to counteract Russian influence, while others propagated different opinions of Osmanlilik. In the meantime, in September' Sultan Abdul Aziz accompanied Mustafa Fazil in his European tour and induced him to return to Istambul. There was a breach of opinion between Ziya Pasha and Namik Kemal and Mustafa Fazil. The New Ottoman Society was never again re-constituted.

However, the Young Ottomans succeeded in moulding a new public opinion in the 1860s. They derived their ideas from the jurisprudence of Montesquieu, the politics of Rousseau, and the economics of Smith and Richardo. In part they aimed to influence European powers against the regime of Ali Pasha and to persuade them to believe that Islam was compatible with sound reform. But due to their consideration of European action in the Eastern Question they failed to do so. They had rather more success in influencing public opinions and politics within the empire. Although some members of the Organisation of the Young Ottomans went so far as to prescribe republicanism, their real prescription of political reform involved popular sovereignty, representative government and some form of constitutional monarchy. Namik Kemal and others regarded Islamic law to be befitting

with parliament and other reforms. They idealized Islam for political democracy and progressiveness. In addition to these, the New Ottomans in exile also strongly advocated economic and educational progress to catch up with the achievements of western Europe. They tried to imbibe something of the mid-eighteenth century European cult of material progress. Their writings however influenced Muslim statesmen of the Empire like Hayereddin Pasha to issue pamphlets and programmes prescribing radical reforms.

In the 1870s, the New Ottomans were disunited with defection of their princely patron. Some members protested against this betrayal, while others accepted his allowances. Namik Kemal, however, managed his return to Istambul towards the end of 1870. All others, except Mehmed and Suavi, followed him after the death of Ali Pasha in 1871. Again his death was followed by a period of rebellion, repression, bankruptcy, war and defeat. In that chaos, Namik Kemal reconstituted in Istambul the New Ottoman group of Paris, and resumed his journalistic endeavours as the editor of the "Ibret." He criticised the administration, advocated copying western economic development, cultivated love of fatherland, preached the unity of Islam, praised the 'Sheriat' and advocated government by consultation. His new play, 'Silistria' created a furore among the governing class, for which he and his comrades were exiled again. Ziya Pasha, however, seems to have abandoned his former ideals and compatriots.

In the meantime, Ottoman politics wore on into dramatic events. In 1876, Abdul Aziz was deposed, Murad became mad and Abdul Hamid II ascended the throne as a seeming champion of constitutionalism. During the close of the year, Midhat Pasha promulgated a constitution from the Grand Vezirate. It was declared compatible with the sacred law, and a continuation of the reforms of Abdul Majid. The expressed aims of the Constitution were the welfare of the Ottoman people, who should enjoy blessings of liberty, justice

and equality without any distinction, and the safeguarding of the government from the arbitrary domination by one or more individuals. It was a cumulative effect of a process of creating a new public opinion of the Young Ottomans. Although it was compatible with their thought process, their ideas of constitutional government and the doctrine of Osmanlilik seemed to bear their fruits in it. Their vision of constitutional liberty under the Holy Law seemed to be realised. But they were sharply critical to its author, Midhat Pasha and suspected him as another authoritarian reformer. The Constitution was subverted by Abdul Hamid II; and his ruthless despotism offered the Young Ottomans a chance to realise their revolutionary aims in the years preceding the revolution of 1908.

CHAPTER IV

THE HAMIDIAN REGIME (1876-1908)

1. Describe the circumstances which made Sultan Abdul Hamid II increasingly despotic.

The reign of Abdul Hamid II has been recorded in Turkish annals as thirty years' squalid despotism—and it is true. Taking advantage of the gloomy national and international situation, he came to the throne, in 1776, when his half brother Murad had developed mental derangement. He was trained in the principles of survive and overcome and lived up with the constitutionalists to gain the throne. True to his reputation, he made Midhat Pasha his Grand Vezir and granted a constitution in which autocracy was checked and equality of the subjects granted. But the sultan was not schooled in democracy ; nor had he any desire or belief in constitutional monarchy. He took it as a gesture necessary for the circumstances to flatter his subjects and to befool the Europeans. Soon he set out to destroy it and made alliance with the reactionary forces within the empire. He not only took recourse to old-fashioned despotism, but made a political use of the caliphate to secure his supporters. He was determined to wash away the recent history of liberal, constitutional agitation in the Ottoman Empire.

To revert to despotism it was necessary to do away with the liberal constitution, the representative assembly and the liberal reformers. Here Abdul Hamid had a good start. In the second year of his reign, his troops were installed at Plevna in Bulgaria to check Russian advance against constantinople.

The Tsar had declared war in support of Turkey's rebellious subjects in the Balkans. The Russo-Turkish War gave the sultan the excuse to shelve the Constitution and to prorogue the Assembly. He adopted a variety of ways and means of the old regime, like removal from office, exile, judicial proceedings, imprisonment, unobtrusive murder etc, to eliminate the leading liberals. He employed these age old methods to get rid of Midhat Pasha and other leading Young Turks, many of whom died or murdered in exile.

Abdul Hamid lived in constant fear for his life and throne from the Turkish liberals. So he began to rely on force and repression. To control the rank and file and to crush the movement, he developed a highly centralised secret police and spy system. The press was effectively censored and no journalistic or literary outlet was left for the reformists and revolutionaries.

To preserve his life and throne, Abdul Hamid II, applied repressive measures against societies, whether Muslim or Christian, plotting against the sultan or the state. But these measures did not produce the desired results and often ended in war and massacre. Nationalist aspirations in Armenia led to the massacre of 1894, the failure of which was followed by another in the next year, a wholesale one in which thousands of Armenians perished. Similar movements in Crete and Macedonia led to wars, the effects of which were not wholly in favour of the Ottoman Empire. By his ruthless repression of the nationalist movements, Abdul Hamid won the title of Red Sultan.

Having laid the ground work of his power within the empire, Abdul Hamid proceeded to retain it and to increase the rate of despotism if possible. He was aware of Turkey's weakness among the nations, and shrewd enough to maintain its security amid the rivalry and jealousies of the powers among themselves. Fed up with the nationalist aspirations of his Christian subjects, the sultan was determined to make his empire more Asiatic than European. To strengthen his

position internationally, he began to make an Eastern Orientation of his foreign policy based on the antiquated theory of Pan-Islam. "He invoked the power of religion to his aid in the political field."

The idea of Pan-Islam was preached by Jamal-ud-din al-Afghani, and he was the most articulate advocate of this theory. He expounded the thesis of the modernisation and progress of Muslim states, by the adoption of western science and technology. He also desired their union under one caliphate into an empire capable of coping with the European powers and resisting their apprehensions. Sultan Abdul Hamid II welcomed him into his capital. But the sultan did not espouse Jamal-ud-din's ideas. Since a majority of the subjects of the empire were Muslims, it was an attempt on his part as the Sultan-Caliph to display his prerogatives as caliph of Islam to strengthen his authority as sultan of the Ottoman Empire. It also provided him with a pose as a champion leader of Muslims everywhere to make a nice showmanship of his position to the European powers.

Within the empire, Abdul Hamid restored the Caliphate to its proper place, partly out of a false analogy with the papacy and identified it with the sultanate to stimulate loyalty to his throne by playing on the feelings of the devout Muslims. He created a reserve of energy, in the form of religious fervour, for its possible use in war. He adopted all the advertising aspects of the caliphate and specially designed it to influence the non-Turkish Muslims, particularly the Arabs. He used the caliphate "now as a prop and then as a lever for the attainment of purely political ends." Therefore, it is quite right to comment: "As Abdul Hamid II developed personal authority as Khalif, so he developed his personal autocracy as a temporal ruler."

Despotic rule of Turkey under Abdul Hamid II roughly corresponded with the period of black reaction in Russia under Alexander III. But events in the two empires took different turns. But as the statesmen of Europe failed to grasp the

historical significance of the period between 1815—1848, so also Abdul Hamid underestimated the significance of the pre-1878 events. He attempted to check the stream of progress, dam the flow of ideas and turn the hands of clock permanently. But he could not check the secret activities of the intellectual descendents of the group to which Midhat belonged. By repression, persecution and violence, he only made a revolutionary change in the empire inevitable. In the face of coup of young officers in his army in 1908, wily Abdul was obliged to restore the Constitution of 1876, which he had abrogated, and to order the abolition of censorship and espionage and the release of all political prisoners. Even after that, he was caught intriguing with the palace officials and so deposed in April, 1909.

2. What did Abdul Hamid II do to prevent the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire ?

Or, Do you agree with the view that Sultan Abdul Hamid II was greatly responsible for the decline of the Ottoman Empire ? Give reasons for your statement.

The forces of disintegration had already been at work in the Ottoman Empire ever since the death of Suleyman the Magnificent. Time and again it had been threatened with internal dissensions and external invasions. In fact, the empire was slid into bankruptcy and decay due to corruption, degeneracy and harem-influence in the ruling line, and rise of nationalism among the Christian subjects and frequent Russian invasions. During the Tanzimat period, all the statesmen attempted to preserve the empire as a going administrative concern. Various reform measures were effected or suggested to strengthen it or to maintain its integrity. But situations worsened during the period of chaos between 1871-1876. Lack of stability and quick changes in the throne accelerated the process of decline. Turkey was in the throes of serious political and financial crises and revolts broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as in Serbia and Montenegro,

which enticed foreign intervention. In the face of such formidable domestic and foreign problems, Abdul Hamid II was invested to maintain the integrity of the empire in 1876.

Abdul Hamid II began by bringing back the authoritarian rule of his predecessors. Although he granted the Constitution of 1876 to make a show of his liberalism he, suppressed it as soon as opportunity availed and sent the liberals into exile. But he was not opposed to modernism and westernisation in general. He opened secondary schools in almost all the towns and encouraged compulsory primary education. He opened the University of Constantinople and improved the system of justice. To strengthen centralised authority he improved the communication system, by constructing roads and erecting an elaborate telegraph system. He also made a remarkable, if not uncensored, contribution to the development of the Turkish press. In executing these reforms, he fostered to preserve the integrity of the empire by old fashioned despotism.

But he was a jealous opponent of all progressiveness. To get rid of the liberals, he introduced a net work of espionage, censorship of the press and repressive measures against political societies. Not contented with these, he invoked religion to increase the rate of his despotism. He implemented the antiquated doctrine of Pan-Islam to secure loyalty of the Muslims to his rule by using the Caliphate. Moreover he organised a new army composed of the Kurds and Arabs, called the 'Hamidieh' to crush any uprising anywhere in the empire. But these were measures repugnant to its recent history. By invoking Pan-Islamism, he not only refused to accept the doctrine of 'Osmanlilik' but at the same time added momentum to the nationalist movements of the Balkan Christians. He also denied the Turkish and Arab nationalist movements, which reacted in a revolutionary way to effect the end of his rule ultimately. In any case unity at the national level was abandoned.

The most crucial problem of the Hamidian regime was the

THE HAMIDIAN REGIME

intervention of the Great Powers of Europe who were seen conferring at Constantinople at the time of his accession. They persuaded the Sultan to grant a constitution, and the rejection of the proposals of the conference was reacted in the Russian war of 1877. Turkey had to enter into a humiliating treaty with Russia, and then she had to accept the dictates of the Great Powers gathered at Berlin. She was already bankrupt and owed a huge debt to European investors. Suspension of its payment made European influence upon the empire more imperative. In consequence, a large part of the Balkan provinces, Cyprus, and some territory in Asia Minor were amputated from the 'Sick Man' by the Great Powers, and Abdul Hamid had to agree to introduce reforms in the so-called Armenian vilayets.

Assuming personal control over the Ottoman government, Abdul Hamid proceeded to deal with the pressing financial problem. In the Treaty of Berlin (1878) it was imperative that to forestall the possibility of official intervention by foreign governments, the sultan should arrive to a settlement with the foreign creditors. For want of legal means to enforce their claims upon Turkey, foreign bondholders created an organisation to put pressure upon their respective governments. Indefinite suspension of debt payments would not only yield external aggression but close the European money centres for further borrowing. Like Egypt, Turkey was to surrender to the foreign creditors should Abdul Hamid fail to act promptly. He arrived at a settlement with private representatives of the foreign bondholders in December, 1881 ; and devised the Council of Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt to collect and disburse revenues and taxes on their behalf. They were made official by the famous decree a Muharram, by which he eliminated control of the Great Powers upon the finances of the empire. But these measures were not consonant with complete sovereignty, but they prepared the way for the flow of foreign private capital into Turkish industry, public works and railroads. He escaped

a fatal end ; but made a revolutionary change of this economic imperialism inevitable.

An astute sultan, Abdul Hamid realised that the Great Powers were essentially competing political and economic units, upon whose rivalries he might play upon. He took up the policy of dividing the powers, which was facilitated by the developments in Europe. France and Britain remained rivals until 1904 ; and Britain and Russia until 1907. Germany under Wilhelm II developed an active interest in the economic exploits of West Asia. But the blunders of the sultan, and his hatred against the Christian powers yielded different results in Egypt and North Africa. He conceded the demands of Britain and France over Egypt and deposed Khedive Ismail in favour of his son Tewfik. He was the suzerain power of Egypt and England and France had a dual control upon the Egyptian finances. Against the foreign moneylenders and absolute monarchy, a group of intellectual liberals under Arabi Pasha staged a revolutionary movement early in the 1880. To safeguard her capitals, Britain was bent on intervention and won a singlehanded victory before Abdul Hamid could arrive at a decision as to whether to accept or reject the British proposals. To effect a re-entry in Egypt in the face of manifold international complexities, the British government now began special negotiations with Abdul Hamid, the suzerain power. But to accept the British occupation of Egypt, was to adhere to a demand, upon which France and Russia would occupy Lebanon and Eastern Anatolia. So, the sultan dallied with time, and let Egypt to become a British protectorate in all reality. He surrendered to the caprice of England and set a bad example threatening dismemberment of the empire.

The Hamidian regime was singularly unsuited to the conditions developing in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. His obscurantism created maladjustments with the nationalists and religious sentiments in the Christian millets of the empire. In consequence revolts broke out in

Armenia, Crete, Macedonia and in the Balkan region in general. The Armenian question was an old one, and in Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin, the Sultan assured that "The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out without delay the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against Circassians and Kurds. It will be periodically made known to the Powers who will superintend their application." Nothing was done to improve the lot of the Georgian Catholics and Protestants of the Armenian Vilayets, when in the 1890s their political societies revolted against authority. Contrary to his promises Abdul Hamid executed ruthless and cruel atrocities by "hanging, crucifixion, decapitation and drowning", which were intermittent in the years between 1894-1896.

After the terrible Armenian massacres, the Red Sultan, then turned to deal with the Cretan question. Here the problem of Greek nationalism had deep historical roots and caused repeated insurrections and European intervention. Defeat of Turkey in the Russo-Turkish War and the Treaty of Berlin stirred the hope of the Cretans, who were stimulated for another insurrection ending in the still further concession of the modification of Organic Law of 1868. It was embodied in the Convention of 1878. But as usual the sultan did nothing to implement the promises. As a result, there were disorders and uprisings in the 1880s. A revolution broke out in 1894 and continued till 1897 when Crete went into the occupation of the European Powers during the Graeco-Turkish War. The affairs of Crete were entangled with Greek irredenta movement; and during the nationalist uprising of 1905, Crete was united with Greece. In 1908 Prince George was recognised as High Commissioner to Crete under suzerainty of the sultan. Abdul Hamid lost another of his provinces for all practical purposes, and his efforts to crush revolution and to prevent European intervention met with failure.

The Treaty of Berlin of 1878 was solely concerned to the European part of the Ottoman Empire, i.e., the Balkan region. The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were given to Austria-Hungary; and the principalities of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia became autonomous under Turkish suzerainty. The region between the Black and Marmora seas, known as Rumelia, was subdivided into Kossova, Albania, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, the Vadar and the Struma valleys, the ports of Salonika and Thrace. The entire area was seething with social and political unrest, accompanied by religious and nationalist fractionalism and foreign intervention. It became 'a power keg of Europe'. Particularly, Macedonia with its composite population of Turks, Greeks, Bulgars, Serbs, Albanians, Rumanians and various other groups, became the important seat of religious and political agitation after 1885. Faced with Komitaji rebels, Abdul Hamid made a promise of issuing an imperial decree for reforms, which he was unwilling or incapable to carry out. However, this time he was saved by the agreement of 1897 between Austria-Hungary and Russia, which discouraged the Macedonian Christians. Abdul Hamid conserved a major part of the Balkan tinderbox which threatened his sovereignty by taking advantage of the rivalry of the Great Powers and the antagonism between, Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian nationalists.

The Ottoman subjects of Abdul Hamid incorporated a large number of Jews, who lived both in the Asiatic and European parts of the Empire. These Jews were no problems of the state until they launched movements against Messianism and Talmudic medievalism. They were organised into a compact body and raised slogans for a national home in Palestine. They set up the basically necessary organisational machinery for a world movement. Abdul Hamid foresaw the effects of Zionism upon the Empire, and made futile endeavours to prevent it. The development of railway communications under foreign patronage improved facilities for

travel. The Empire was drawn more and more to the West and the Arabs and the Turks became more aware of its backwardness. It intensified their determination to get rid of this regime and they began to foster revolutionary movements culminating in the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. Parallel developments of Arab nationalism and Zionism brought them to head on collision, which eventually resulted in two separate independent states.

During the long thirty years of the Hamidian regime, the Ottoman Empire enjoyed solidarity which was more apparent than real. It was gradually sold out and pawned off to foreigners by the Sultan. Egypt was permanently given away to Britain. The Hamidian regime failed to deal with the problem of the Balkans, the Armenian, or even with the nascent Zionist and Arab nationalist movements. He prevented a wholesale foreign intervention by playing off the Powers against one another. His invocation of Pan-Islamism likewise, prevented national unity and made foreign interventions imperative. Abdul Hamid succeeded in avoiding basic changes in his empire, but there were symptoms of weakness everywhere, which threatened its integrity. Price has candidly remarked ; "The Ottoman Empire was indeed in decline, but no one dared to give it the *Coup de grace*."

Q. 3. Describe the character of Abdul Hamid II. Do you agree with the view that he 'was the most capricious or rather the most notorious Osmanli Sultan since Sulaiman' ?

The personal character of Sultan Abdul Hamid II is a matter of historical importance as Turkey was under his personal rule for a period of thirty years from 1876 to 1908. By birth and up-bringing he was the product of the old order. He was the second son of Sultan Abdul Majid born of a slave dancing girl of Circassian extract. There was a wide spread rumour that his father was an Armenian cook named Tablakiar. However, he was born within a palace system typical to the old historical Ottoman world. Again, he spent his youth within the four walls of the harem and grew up in debauching

and enervating environment among slaves, females and eunuchs. A man of short stature and sickly Constitution, the prince developed ruthless habits conditioned by fear and hatred, to overcome the intrigues of the Sultan's household. He was a product of his upbringing and environment. His training and education uncovered the character and motives of a tyrant, whose policies were to be governed by fears and motivated by beliefs.

Abdul Hamid was cunning, shrewd, and ruthless ; and he was always concerned with the security of his life and position. Reactionary forces, the bigoted and fanatical Muslims were solidly arrayed behind him. The anomalous position of his mother made his position insecure, and the gossip about his parentage instilled in him a deep sense of distrust and fear. He also developed a significant feeling of insecurity. His antipathies and loyalties were closely related to his feelings. In consequence, Abdul Hamid developed fear and hatred against the Young Turk reforms, against the Armenians and the English, and above all against Europeans and Christians. He became bitterly indignant at foreign interference in the internal administration of the empire.

Likewise his loyalties were shaped by his beliefs and ideas of the old order. Abdul Hamid was a devoted Islam and held the Muslim Caliphate above Turkish patriotism and loyalty to the Ottoman sultan. He moulded the international policy of the Ottoman Empire on the doctrine of Pan-Islamism. He considered himself the Caliph of millions of Muslims, and preached them to unite under him. He gave up drinking and led a disciplined life to establish his image before the eyes of his subjects. He developed a policy of indigenous progress of the Muslims and vehemently opposed to the introduction of Western and Christian innovations. These fanatical ideologies largely affected his personal and official actions and reactions.

Governed by these obscurantist ideas, Sultan Abdul Hamid II developed his tyranny. He suppressed the Constitution of 1876 as its idea sprang from the civilisation of Christian

Europe. To retain his despotic control upon the empire he created an elaborate espionage system, censored the press and committed inhuman massacres. He and his minions seriously attempted to restrain and retard the process of change. His atrocities, where they were committed, were ruthless and knew no standard. He was so conspicuous for his massacres that his name went down in history as the Red Sultan.

It has been rightly commented by historians that "he was the most conspicuous or rather the most notorious Osmanli Sultan since Sulaiman." Indeed, none of the sultans of Osman's dynasty committed so horrible atrocities after Sulaiman, nor did they make much individual contribution towards the decline of the empire. Suleyman had started the legacy of giving concessions, and extra-territorial privileges to the foreigners. Abdul Hamid II carried this process into a climax by nicely relinquishing his authority in Egypt and in the island of Crete. He became conspicuous in the annals of Turkey, as none of his predecessors made much use of the position of sultan-caliph. Moreover, none of his predecessors after Suleyman were able to develop tyranny so successfully.

He was the most notorious of the Osmanli Sultans after Suleyman. The latter had extended the frontiers of the empire by committing atrocious massacres irrespective of caste or creed. Like his predecessor, Abdul Hamid followed the same policy to check the nationalist tide. He recruited a new army, called the Hamidieh, to punish the rebel anywhere in the empire. His *agent-provocateurs* created a furore in the minds of the people. His rule caused untold suffering to his subjects and earned world-wide detestation.

Yet he was not wholly against any humanitarian reforms. He started secondary education in almost all towns, and made primary education free and compulsory. He established many civil and military schools, including the University of Istambul. He developed the system of communications by

constructing roads, telegraphic system, and extending railways by means of foreign collaboration. During his rule, more books and journals were published. But these were all authoritarian aimed at the well-being of the Muslims. But these could not undermine or balance his atrocities; nor could reflect modernism. He was a blood-thirsty despot and remained so until he was deposed by Young Turk revolutionaries in 1908.

CHAPTER V

THE YOUNG TURKS

Q. 1. Trace the history of the Young Turk Movement and give an account of the Revolt of 1908. Discuss its significance in the history of Turkey.

Or, What factors were responsible for the outbreak of the Young Turk Revolution (1908) ?

History :—The genesis of the Young Turk movement may be traced in the intellectual fermentation in Turkey during sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century. With the opening of the 'western window', Turkish intellectuals began to leave the confines of the Ottoman Empire to pursue studies in Western Europe. In course of their becoming aware of European civilisation and culture, some of them developed an appetite for a liberal government in their country. They began by writing against the rule, and gradually culminated their activities in organisation, when other similar minded people drew together. The cruel despotism of Sultan Abdul Hamid II accelerated the growth of liberal ideas in the Empire. The tenor of revolution gradually spread into the army, and when the international situation once again became menacing for Turkey, the revolution broke out. It was the culmination of a process, aiming at the termination of the absolute rule of Sultan Abdul Hamid II.

Long before 1908, a group of western educated Turkish youths waged a ceaseless war against classicism and brought

about a renaissance in Turkish literature. Indeed, the new Turkish awakening was first felt in the writings of Ibrahim Sinasi, Ziya Pasha and Namik Kemal. It was in their writings that Turkish nationalism received an artistic expression. Profoundly impressed with European thought and literature, Namik Kemal was the first to introduce such strange terms like 'Vatan' (fatherland) 'hurriyet' (freedom) and 'mesruiyet' (constitutional government) in Turkish literature. They developed the Ottoman press and clamoured for reforms. Authoritarian reforms were carried out in bits and pieces by the sultans. But their cry for a liberal constitutional government was detrimental to the conservative interests of the empire and so they were rewarded with terms of exiles.

Discontent against absolute rule became more intensified during the years of Hamidian despotism. The first organised revolutionary group was formed at the Istanbul Imperial Medical College in 1879—the centenary of the French Revolution. Principal purpose of the society was to overthrow the sultan—and not the sultanate as an institution. Soon the movement spread into other government schools and its adherents began expanding. In the mid-1890s, many of them went off to Europe as life became either unpleasant or unsafe in the empire. Paris became their headquarter; and there the core of the Young Turks gathered to agitate against Ottoman rule. This group published a variety of periodicals and smuggled them into Turkey through the foreign post offices, which operated within the framework of 'Capitulations'. Armenian, Kurdish and other revolutionary groups soon joined hands with them to overthrow the Hamidian regime.

The Young Turks organised themselves in the Carbonaro model and they were deeply imbued with the revolutionary ideals of liberalism and nationalism. They undertook to translate the Young Ottoman thought, modelled after Montesquieu and the concept of material progress. Particularly they were fed up with the Hamidian regime and his ubiquitous spies and *agent-provocateurs*. Everywhere there was discon-

tent. The Ottoman army was underpaid and in arrears. The non-Muslim subjects were smarting under Pan-Islamism, while the Muslims were destined to establish a constitutional government. Of them, the army—the mainstay of autocratic government—turned into a living volcano, while the constant propaganda barrage thrown up by the disaffected intellectuals from outside generated substantial publicity and ill will against Abdul Hamid II and his government.

The First Congress of Ottoman Liberals, met in Paris in 1902. Its members plotted the overthrow of Hamid, and took an abortive move in 1903 to do so. Nothing but to alert the sultan was achieved in this premature move. It excited him to organise a stronger protection for his person, the sultanate and the caliphate. In the meantime a group of army officers including Kemal, organised a subversive movement against the regime in 1900 both from within and outside the empire. It was Kemal who took the first steps in creating a military organisation known as the Fatherland and Freedom Society to overthrow the sultan. The centre of subversion was Salonika, where the Ottoman army was in heavy arrears. The Fatherland and Freedom Society soon submerged in the Ottoman Society of Liberty, a larger organisation. A vast organised military body was there within the empire, while an articulate revolutionary movement was fomenting abroad under the banner of the Committee of Union and Progress. The situation became highly explosive and the sultan was alarmed. In September, 1907, the two groups were united under the single banner of the Committee of Union and Progress,—an association which had a strong military flavour. In December, the second Congress of Ottoman Liberals met at Paris, which committed to overthrow Sultan Abdul Hamid II, 'by violence if necessary'. The events seemed to have been influenced by developments in Russia.

European intrigues precipitated the impending revolution. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, although generally meant for the partition of Persia, prompted the Ottoman

Government to grant a railway concession to Austria. The latter would build a railway from Serajevo in Bosnia to the Turkish Sanjak of Novibazar. Austro-Russian co-operation in the Balkan affairs came to an end, and Serbia under Russian backing demanded a similar concession to build a railroad from the Danube to Montenegro through Serbia and Macedonia. The question of Macedonia became crucial, particularly after the meeting of Tsar Nicholas II of Russia and King Edward VII of England at Reval. The members of the C. U. P. apprehended loss of Macedonia and they held Abdul Hamid II solely responsible for this crisis.

Factors which were immediately responsible for the Young Turk Revolution were not ideological. Due to arrears in payment the army officers began to have increased contact with European military missions. But they were constantly under guard by the spies of the sultan. As a reaction against this, there was a series of army mutinies in 1906 and 1907. Against the Sultan's instruction to investigate the situation in Salonika, the Executive Committee of the C.U.P. decided upon an uprising in June, 1908.

The Revolution of 1908: The Young Turk Revolution started in July, 1908 when army units stationed at Salonika, openly demanded restoration of the Constitution of 1876. The sultan sent an emissary to placate it, but he was shot. Various Third Army Corps officers fled to the Macedonian mountains and organised under the leadership of Envar Pasha a junior officer. Alarmed for his own safety, the sultan issued an 'irade', a decree, convening "the chamber of deputies whose form of organisation is set forth in the Constitution established by His Majesty." The event took place on July 23, 1908,—a development causing astonishment to his subjects and disappointment to the revolutionaries.

The 1908 Revolution was a bloodless one, and the whole empire went wild with joy irrespective of caste and creed. Everyone expected the beginning of a new era, which in 1908, the C. U. P. could not do due to their lack of organisational

strength. For this, the sultan succeeded in making it appear that he himself conceived the idea of restoring the constitution. In fact, none dared to speak against the sultan himself due to the religious significance of his office. The Sultan, however, played his new role very efficiently. He opened the new Parliament in person and Ahmed Riza, one of the veteran Young Turks, was elected president of the new chamber. The C. U. P. members remained behind the scene, while the sultan organised a counter-revolution on April 13, 1908. The consequences were fatal to him. The Macedonian army headed by Mustafa Kemal, once again seized Istanbul. The Parliament was re-convened, and in its first session, the 'Sheikh-ul-Islam' issued a 'fetwa', declaring the deposition of the sultan. It was unanimously voted and his brother, Muhammad was named to succeed him.

Its significance : The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 was the first successful endeavour to bring down absolute rule in the Ottoman Empire. Never before 1908, liberal constitutionalists could demonstrate their triumph in Turkish history. But it was not unique in modern history as most of the despots of the world were to bow down before the waves of liberal and democratic movements. Again, it was an effective link between the empire and the republic. Although people had expected the beginning of a new era, the Young Turks could not gratify their wishes. Their rule did not prove better than the Hamidian regime. Yet they struck a serious blow on the roots of the divine consecration of the theory of Islamic kingship. By deposing the sultan and installing another in his place, the Young Turks demonstrated that sovereignty in the empire rested ultimately in the hands of the people. They paved the way for the abolition of the caliphate and the sultanate in the long run.

Q. 2. Analyse the attempts made by the Young Turks from 1908 to 1918 to modernise the old empire ?

The Young Turks embarked upon a career of political control upon the Ottoman Empire in 1908 and retained it till

the 1918 Armistice except a brief interlude in 1912-13. Theirs was a colossal task as they were to transform a decrepit and outmoded state into a competent one to meet the challenge of the day. But they hesitated to lay the foundations for a new state as they lacked support from a majority of the population. The domination of the 'shariat' and the existence of 'millet' system forbade them to push through any fundamental reform. They announced certain minor reforms but they did not abandon the idea of an empire. So the task was rendered more difficult by hostilities of European neighbours and revolt of the non-Muslim nationalities.

After the coup d'etat of July 1908, Turkey had to face an international crisis within three months. Taking advantage of the situation, Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria declared her independence. Italy attacked in 1911 the Ottoman Empire in North Africa and occupied Tripoli and Benghazi. Later that year Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro attacked it from the Balkans and completely routed in Macedonia, Crete declared itself part of Greece and Turkey lost greater part of Thrace. She was stripped of most of her European possessions and even Adrianople was for the time being lost to Bulgaria. As Ernest Jaeckh has rightly observed: "To prove successful the Young Turkish revolution wanted ten years of peace, and instead it had got ten years of war."

Concurrently, the Young Turks themselves were divided between two tendencies. One favoured a democratic and decentralised empire to be obtained by peaceful means, while the second, military in composition, sought a centralised authority based on alliances with Great Powers. In the general election which followed the proclamation of the Constitution in 1908, the Party of Union and Progress won a huge majority; but the leaders of the old school like Kamil Pasha and Said Pasha were appointed Grand Vezirs. But within two months the Army units joined with the counter-revolutionaries to overthrow them from power. But the rising was speedily

crushed ; Abdul Hamid II was deposed and his brother was enthroned as Sultan Mahmud V with a declaration not to "swerve by one iota from the will and aspirations of the nation". The Constitution was revised and the sultan having deprived of his authority to dissolve the parliament, was reduced to a figurehead.

A struggle for power between the two ideological groups soon ensued. Taking advantage of the suppression of the counter-revolutionaries, the Committee of Union and Progress also suppressed the opposition parties, whose strength grew continually. The section, backed by the army, gradually alienated themselves from the people and took recourse to repression and political murder. They procured the dissolution of the chamber and managed a large majority in 'the big-stick election'. But they were to face a new military and conspiratorial opposition of the 'Saviour Officers'. This phase of uncertainty came to an end when Enver Pasha, a professional militaryman, and two others—Talat and Kamal—captured power in the empire in a *coup d'etat* of 1913. The triumvirate remained till the Armistice of 1918.

During the Young Turk rule the government policy was steered towards Ottomanism, hitherto a dynastic term. It was converted into a doctrine with a nationalist connotation in which all communities of the empire could be fused into one nation, owing loyalty to the sultan and the constitution. Turkish was made the official language. The state was to remain an empire under Turkish leadership. They contradicted Hamidian Pan-Islamism with a new doctrine of Pan-Turkism. The effects of such policy upon a multi-national and multi-denominational state were obvious. The separatist movements were stimulated and nationalist loyalties of the Greek, Arab, Armenian and even Albanian subjects were encouraged. The Turkish leaders were frustrated in their efforts to suppress these tendencies. They strengthened the martial law, proclaimed at the time of Abdul Hamid's deposition, with stricter censorship a net work of espionage

and immediate destruction of the opposition secret societies. This terrorism took a new lease of life with Turkey's entry into the First World War.

But that was the darker side of the picture. On its brighter side the Young Turk rule adopted suitable reform measures. Their ultimate concern was the survival of the empire, which was exposed to many dangers both internal and external. They tried to solve some of the fundamental problems by legislative and administrative actions. Of course all their attempts were neither well-conceived nor always successful, yet their efforts laid the way, at least in certain import respects, for the emergence of a new Turkey after their disappearance.

The Young Turk rulers reformed the local administrative organs. They developed a new system of provincial and municipal government, which supplied the administrative and legal framework for the provincial and local framework of the Turkish republic. The municipal organisation was improved and a new type gendermeric was set into action. In social life, they added momentum to the movement towards westernisation. Introduction of western manners and costumes was reacted by the 'Sheikh-ul Islam', and the Young Turks themselves prescribed punishment for those who would violate the fast of Ramazan. But they introduced almost thorough reforms in the educational policy of the state. They reorganised the primary and secondary education with the University of Istambul at the top. A new speed was introduced in female education. The position of women in society was elevated and they were allowed to serve in various public offices when man power became scarce due to its need in the war.

Marked developments were achieved in the economy of the country. Originally the Young Turks had a three-fold plan for economic prosperity. First, they desired to abolish the capitulatory privileges and to establish a national bank. Secondly, they undertook to encourage the Turks in trade and

commerce in order to undo foreign and minority control over the state economy. Finally and most importantly, they endeavoured to exploit the non-agrarian sector of economy by encouraging youths to enter into productive professions. They made a new start in this sector of administration and attained some success.

Q. 3. Why Turkey joined the Central Powers in the First World War ?

In the summer of 1914, when an international crisis arose round the murder of Austria's heir apparent Turkey threw herself to the cause of the Central Powers. The decision was taken by Enver Pasha while he was at the ministry of war. But why Enver made his decision in favour of Central Powers is a disputed question and arises much confabulations among historians. Particularly the question appears more formidable when one sees that the Young Turks had a liberal attitude towards Britain and France.

The Ottoman Empire had been regarded as the 'Sick man of Europe' and as such the European Powers had been trying to take political advantage of it, particularly Russia had been looked upon as a hereditary enemy of Turkey ever since the days of Peter the Great. It was well understood in Turkey that Russia's main objective was to capture Constantinople and control the Straits. Austria was another traditional foe, but she was regarded as a counter balance to Russian interference. Although Britain had pocketed Cyprus, Egypt and the Persian Gulf, she was considered a traditional friend of the Turks since the Crimean War. France was considered a historic friend of Turkey as she was adorned by the young intellectuals and opposed Russian encroachment along with Great Britain. Turkish statesmen were obliged to take the relations between the European nations into considerations ; and Turkey was saved by their policy of balancing the powers.

Sultan Abdul Hamid II was perhaps the ablest champion of this foreign policy. But towards the later years of his reign, there were new developments both in European politics

and in the Empire's foreign relations. Kaiser Wilhelm II's Germany emerged upon a career of 'Welt Politics' and Turko-German relations became more cordial, because the Kaiser proclaimed himself a friend of Islam, and because Germany played a vital role in the finance of the empire. Turkish foreign policy became pro-German, but the wily sultan did not allow Turkey to become a power at the hands of the Teutonic power.

During the years preceding the First World War there were dramatic turns in the European alliances and alignments as well as in Turkey's domestic politics. England and France had come to an understanding in the alliance of 1904 and the Anglo-Russian agreement with respect to Persia was signed in 1907. The ancient enemy and the traditional friends of Turkey were now aligned in the Triple Entente. These events were likely to make Turkish foreign policy a bit more realistic. But since Sultan Abdul Hamid II was pro-German and Britain and France were the protagonists of liberalism and democracy, the Young Turks at first adopted an immotional pro-English and pro-French foreign policy. But that did not cause any immediate danger to Turkey as Great Britain recognised the German railway concession from Haidar Pasha to Baghdad and Germany recognised Great Britain's special interests in the Persian Gulf and the Tigris navigation.

But soon the march of events took a new turn which was to tell upon the foreign policy. Army-men dominated as it was, the members of the Committee of Union and Progress turned to extreme nationalistic and racial doctrines, Pan-Turkism and Pan-Turanism soon became the central theme for those who dominated the C. U. P. Such a foreign policy was likely to alienate any British and French sympathies. The Young Turks were also uncertain of the attitude of England and France, when their ally, Russia, would try to realize her Mediterranean expansion at the expense of Turkey. On the other hand, Germany was sympathetic to their policy of Ottomanisation, and it would be possible to realise it in

aid of her. So, despite Germany's acquiescence in Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Italy's ambitions in Tripolitania, the Young Turk leaders turned towards her, for her expressed policy of maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Particularly after the *coup d'etat* of 1913, they were convinced of the attitude of the Triple Entente Powers to portion the empire among themselves. So, they were bent on an alliance with Germany for the survival of the empire.

Although there was a logic for the adoption of this foreign policy, it was not a unanimous opinion. There was a division in Turkish public opinion over the question of 'rapprochement' either with the Triple Alliance or with the Entente group. Although the dominating group of the Young Turks headed by Enver Pasha were in favour of an alliance with Germany and other powers of the Triple Alliance, the opposition party, the Liberal Unionists, suspected the designs of Germany and remained pro-English and pro-French. There was a third group from among the Young Turks, headed by the Minister of the Interior, Talaat Pasha, and the Finance Minister, Javid Bey. They were afraid of the sea power wielded by Great Britain and Germany and wanted Turkey to remain neutral. They desired a peaceful progress of reforms in the empire. But the scales were weighted in favour of Envar Bey one time Military Attache in Berlin, who became a Pasha and Minister of War by this time.

Threatened with the disasters of the Balkan wars, the ruling clique in the Ottoman Government decided to arrange for a German military mission to train the Ottoman army. Turkey did not receive the expected assistance from Great Britain and France in her critical situation. Germany readily responded to its call, and sent General Liman von Sanders at the head of a military mission to Turkey. But no sooner von Sanders had taken command of the Turkish First Army Corps at Constantinople in December, 1913, than the Russians and then the British and the French were loud in their protest

against it. But the crisis over the military mission soon subsided, when von Sanders was forbidden to retain the said command.

This unfriendly attitude of Great Britain and France in Turkey's crises helped Enver to enlist more supporters for a German alliance. Actually Grand Vezir, Prince Said Halim sought an alliance with Germany and membership in the Triple Alliance by the end of 1913. But neither Germany nor Austria wished to assume liabilities of alliance with Turkey, until they felt its need, when the First World War broke out. They secretly negotiated treaty of an offensive and defensive alliance was signed on August 2, 1914, the day following the beginning of the Great War.

The Turks thus undertook to help the Central Powers ; but the Turkish forces were not mobilised to at least defend her vulnerable frontiers. So everyone in Turkey agreed to mobilise and to close the Straits. The exponents of Turkey's neutrality were satisfied with these security measures, while the warmongers considered them an initial steps to fulfil her pledges to Germany. At the same time Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the British Admiralty ordered the seizure of two warships being built for the Turkish government under contract. This action aroused much resentment among the Turkish people as the money for the ships had been raised by popular subscription. Germany immediately reacted by making up the loss and sent two warships, 'Goeben' and 'Breslau'. They were handed over to the Turkish government in the person of the German commander, Admiral Souchon, but they were declared sold to Turkey to save her announced neutrality. But Enver and his pro-German party soon made their way to take part in the war when on October 27, the German warships were sent to bombard the Russian Black Sea ports. Russia offered an apology, but it was met with a demand from the Allies for the repudiation of treaty with Germany and expulsion of German naval and military officers from the Turkish forces. When the two groups in the Ottoman

Cabinet were dallying for a compromise, Russia declared war against Turkey on November 4, 1914. On the following day, her allies, Britain and France also declared war on Turkey.

In the ultimate analysis, Turkey's entry into the World War I on the side of the Central Powers was due to the initiative taken by Enver Pasha and his pro-German associates. They secured support from the Turkish people to their cause, because the latter were frustrated with the attitude of Great Britain and France. From their former protector, Great Britain, expected much but they saw with utter surprise that she not only joined hands with their hereditary enemy Russia, but also emerged in support of the Christian minorities to chop up the empire. Indeed, had the Western Allies help the peace party in Constantinople, Turkey would be saved from becoming an immotional partner of Germany in the First World War.

Q. 4. Evaluate the achievements and failures of the Young Turks between 1908 and 1918.

Do you think that the Young Turk movement really mark a break with the past in Turkey ?

The achievements of the Young Turk regime should be judged in the light of a reformist past and a republican future. No less important was its revolutionary present within its purview. So, an estimate of their rule was difficult and nonetheless formidable. There is no denying that they provided Turkey with a useful exposure of parliamentary government and yet it degenerated into a military dictatorship. A study of the forces at work which inspired the activities of the Young Turks would definitely lead to understanding their corporate position in Turkish history.

The political concept of the Young Turks was never an integrated one. Ever since its development in the nineteenth century it was obsessed with the twin ideas of secularist radicalism and individual initiative and decentralisation. The confusion was worse confounded with other allied doctrines of

Ottomanism, Islamism, Pan-Turkism and Turkish nationalism. They toyed with the idea of an Ottoman state or a Pan-Turkish state or a Turkish nationalist state, but they were not in consonance with the polyglot character of the Empire and as such it accelerated the separatist forces. To suppress them, they took a leaf from the register of the Hamidian regime and revived all the machineries of despotic rule. Specially after the Balkan Wars, in which the empire lost all her European possessions except a part of Thrace, the Young Turk rule was converted into a military dictatorship of the 'Triumvirate'. This led Turkey to many misfortunes. As usual, the Young Turk rulers failed to appreciate the nationalist upsurge of the non-Muslims and non-Turkish Muslims living within the empire. The high hopes of the bloodless revolution of the 1908 were soon frustrated. .

But that was the dark r side of the medal. On its brighter side, the Young Turks undertook a series of reforms for the survival of the empire. They were atropinned by the same idea of the nineteenth century statesmen, whether revolutionaries or reformist to preserve it as a going administrative system. They reformed the provincial and municipal administration on a constitutional basis. A new-style police system was introduced and its control was transferred from the Ministry of War to the Ministry of the Interior. The old method of reckoning time was replaced with the European twenty-four hour day. Building on the work of their predecessors, the Young Turks developed a new system of secular primary and secondary schools and other colleges with the University of Istambul at the centre. A remarkable progress was made in the develepment of women education. Ladies were emancipated from their bondages and substituted gentlemen in various walks of life. The Young Turks, however, paid lesser attention to the economic development of the empire.

The Young Turk leaders conducted their work of modernising Turkey on the lines of the 'Tanzimat' reformers. They

did not undertake massive reforms and preserved the conservative evolutionary process. These reforms were sponsored from the government and thus forfeited any democratic status. That their reforms remained authoritarian was because, as Price has summed up, "The Young Turks grasped at the substance of national unity, but they were still obsessed by the shadows of the old institutions that had come to them from an antiquated Ottoman Empire," Indeed, they yielded to the characteristic dualism of the earlier era between the 'Sheriat' and secular laws, the caliphate and the constitution, the traditional and the modern. For this due to their vacillating ideologies, Enver, Taalat and Jemal could not formulate any solid basis for modern Turkish nationalism.

Yet the young Turk regime made some important beginnings for the Turkish republic. The former provided the legal and administrative framework to the local and provincial government of the latter. The Young Turks demonstrated the necessity of change in the national objectives and made the Turks conscious of political and social changes. The liberal Ottoman nationalism espoused by Namik Kemal and pan-Turkism of Ziya Gokalp were confined to develop Turkish political nationalism of the republican Turkey. Indeed in the intellectual sphere, the Young Turk regime facilitated the combination of the ancient empire with modern Turkey, albeit it did not mark a breakage with the past tendencies.

CHAPTER VI

EMERGENCE OF THE REPUBLIC

1. What were the causes of resentment against the dictatorship of the Young Turks ?

The Young Turk revolutionaries overthrew the Hamidian regime, but 'took a leaf from its register'. They restored dictatorship in the Ottoman Empire under the triumvirate of Enver, Talaat and Jemal Pashas—and with more forceful measures. At the machinations of Enver, Turkey involved in the World War I on the German side. With it terrorism, took a new lease of life. But she had been the "sick man of Europe", and now she was unprepared and enfeebled. Soon Turkey found herself engaged in combat on four fronts ; and for four years she held out. After some months of Russia's collapse, Turkey also collapsed in October, 1918.

The Turkish people had been already fed up with despotism. They detested the martial law, strict censorship of the press, the net work of espionage and violence against opposition policies of the Young Turk rulers. Now they were not unaware of the state of affairs in Turkey in 1918, despite the most rigorous censorship of the dictatorship of the Committee of Union and Progress. There was a desertion from the army *en masse*. Widespread famine conditions were created in many parts of the empire devastating inflation and the deepening misery of the lay and middle class people crept the country's economy. Moreover, the Arab revolt of 1916 had a reaction upon the Muslim and Christian subjects of the empire. They were against the rule of the Ottomans. Prof.

Yale has rightly estimated the Turkish situation : "This was a shock to the old Turks but a stimulus to the Turkish nationalists". The Young Turks were held responsible for the emergence of such circumstances in the empire.

Situations within the empire became more menacing for the C. U. P. leaders with the success of the Russian revolution. The Russian revolutionaries disclosed all the secret treaties with the Allies regarding the partition of the Ottoman Empire, and their renunciation of all imperialistic objectives created a deep impression upon the Turks. Again, by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918, Turkish war with Russia came to an end, and this incident removed the *raison detre* for the support of the Turkish people of the suicidal war policy of Enver and Talaat. Their Government was hated and the C.U.P. discredited. The opposition against them rose to such a height that even the cabinet eased its attempts to support their policies.

The consequences of this mounting hatred against the Young Turk rule were obvious. Like the fall of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, they also came down. Censorship of the press was removed in 1916 and other measures followed. But the Turkish people did not drive the empire towards a revolution ; because they anticipated defeat and Allied support to seek a solution of their problems. In the meantime, the Turkish military became deplorable. They were defeated at Palestine and with the surrender of Bulgaria in September, 1918, their line of supply from the Central Powers ceased, which freed the Allied forces to proceed towards Constantinople. Bolshevik Russia also abrogated the treaty with Turkey. This was a helpless defeat for the Young Turks ; and the C. U. P. cabinet resigned. A new government was formed by Izzet Pa-ha which had only two C. U. P. members. The Committee of Union and Progress was disbanded ; and Enver and Talaat fled. Sultan Mahmud VI, Vahideddin reasserted his power as the sultan by reducing the government into

subservience, and himself became an obliging puppet of the Allies.

The Turkish were thus freed from the dictatorship of the Committee of Union and Progress. The Young Turk leaders were unpopular for their rule, but they were different from the old Turks. With their end, Turkey was reverted to the old-guard reactionary rule backed by the sultan. No other political group in the empire could afford a rallying point, for the Young Turks from where they could carry on their struggle against the old order. The Young Turks were a victim of their own excesses, which caused resentment of the Turkish people against them and for lack of support their rule came to an end.

2. How did the World War I end in the Ottoman Empire ?

The first World War came to an end in the empire when there was no more any Committee of Union and Progress to see that the dreams of a victory of the Central Powers did not come off. Turkey was defeated and the armistice signed at Mudros ended the four year old war. The Allied Powers supported the reactionary rulers, but their fleets and troops were seen to occupy the capital and its Straits. The Bolsheviks of Russia disclosed the secret treaties concerning the partition of the empire among the Allies. Russia renounced her claims, but Britain and France had already chalked out their shares of the empire in the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916. The Arab provinces were lost and Italy and Greece were fostering to net Adalia and Smyrna respectively into their territories. The end of the war in the Ottoman Empire was indeed very humiliating ; but a new war started which lasted for four years. The events in Turkey following the war aroused the nationalism of the Turks and soon they started a defiance and resistance movement under Kamal Pasha. The Allied victory of 1918 was transformed into the Turkish victory over the Allies in the Armistice of Mudaniya of 1923. Indeed the road from

Mudros to Mudaniya was difficult ; but the Turks succeeded in freeing their country from foreign domination.

The war in the Ottoman Empire was stopped by the Armistice of Mudras, signed on October 30, 1918. Turkey was forced to open the Black Sea to the Allied ships. It was intended to crush the Russian revolutionaries. But soon after this the warships of the Allied and Associate Powers sailed through the Dardenelles. Already lost of his territories of Asia Minor, the sultan's authority was brought to the restricted area of Constantinople, which was closely supervised and dictated by the Allies. Actually the Ottoman Empire ceased to exist, and the political details of its partition were embodied in the Treaty of Sevres.

The war left Britain as a predominant power in West Asia. There to increase her sphere of interest, the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, approved the plan of using Persia and Greece as satellites. He ignored the nationalist uprising of the Turks in Central Anatolia. In pursuance of this policy, the western Allies met at San Remo to prepare the conditions for a peace treaty with Turkey. Then the peace treaty of Sevres was signed and it was accepted by their protege Sultan Wahid-ud-din on August 10, 1920. At Sevres, the sultan agreed to remain in constantinople under British protection. Turkey allowed the Allies to occupy the Straits and any part of Asiatic Turkey. Eastern Anatolia was to become an independent Armenian state with the United States to arbitrate on the boundaries. The Arab provinces were lost to Turkey. Syria and Lebanon were mandated to France, Iraq and Palestine to Britain, Adalia to Italy, and Smyrna and western Anatolia to Greece. The treaty dismembered the empire and reduced Turkey to Constantinople. The Turks believed in the war-time propaganda of the Allied and Associate Powers ; but they were disillusioned.

Thus the victorious Allies were seen to pursue their own interests in the years immediately following the war. The Allied statesmen failed to appreciate the significance of the

profound changes which had taken place during the war and as a result of the defeat of the Central Powers. They followed policies which led to the tragic conflict between the Greeks and the Turks and to revolts elsewhere. Instead of moving along with the currents of the time, they tried to strengthen their position by backing the former ruling classes. For example' British post-war policy with regard to Greece was a going back to the proposal of Sir Edward Grey of March 1915 to give Turkish territory in Asia Minor to the Greeks. In the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, when Italy left it as a protest over the Fiume settlement, the Allies decided upon the occupation of Smyrna by Greek troops. By this time, some Turks began to realise that the Allies were planning to partition the Turkish homeland.

The Turkish awakening began when the Greek patriarch renounced his allegiance to the sultan, the Italian troops landed at Adalia and the Big Three at Paris authorised a Greek occupation of Smyrna. All the Turks were electrified with the landing of the Greek forces, and the slaughter which followed. The resistance movement which had already started in Anatolia under Rauf Bey, now gathered a momentum under Mustafa Kemal. Turkish patriots, deserters, peasants, as well as the civilian and religious leaders met at Erzerum under the chairmanship of Mustafa Kemal to discuss measures of defence. There, the "Anatolian and Rumelian League for the Defence of National Rights" was formed and a series of resolutions drafted. The Congress of Erzerum was the first step towards the Turkish determination to resist the partition of Asiatic Turkey by the victorious Allies.

The slogan of the new movement was "Turkey for the Turks." But its realisation would be impossible, unless it is helped by several complex and inter-related factors. Among them the most astonishing was the rift between Britain and France in Turkey over financial issues. The French investors held more than 60 percent of the Ottoman public debts and so they held financial interests atop. The British, on the

other hand, definitely subordinated financial to political interests. The French apprehended a Russian expansion to the detriment of her financial interests, while the British backed the Greeks to replace the Ottoman Empire as a buffer state against the Bolsheviks. In the post-war years, not only England and France had divergent interests, but Italy also began to explore the possibility of a deal with the Turkish nationalists. Russia had already renounced her claims upon the Ottoman Empire. Prof. Yale has candidly estimated the situation as "Mustafa Kemal and his associates developed the chance to divide the Allies and to secure at crucial moments in the Graeco-Turkish war aid from France and Italy as well as from Russia".

In the meanwhile, the servile government of the sultan declared Mustafa Kemal an outlaw under Allied pressure. But in July, 1920, the Turkish nationalists assembled at the Erzerum and Balikhissar Congress. They passed resolutions by proclaiming the right to resist any territorial occupation and all intervention by the Greeks or Armenians to establish their hegemony over any part of Anatolia. In their second congress, held at Erzerum, they not only allowed the principle of self-determination, but also demanded that the government should submit to the national assembly any matters relating to the fate and security of the nation. Mocking at the sultan's repressive measures, the nationalists held another congress at Sivas early in September, 1919. They became impatient with the government of Constantinople and sent an extraordinary telegram reaffirming their determination to resist partition. They had their loyalty to the sultan's government but they accused the Allies of having violated the terms of the Mudros armistice. They had a lack of confidence in Damad Ferid's Government and demanded a general election. Damad Ferid's cabinet fell on October 5, 1919 and Ali Riza was appointed the new Grand Vezir. The English began a deal with Damad Ferid while the French with Mustafa Kemal. In the general elections of autumn, 1919, pro-nationalist

deputies secured a majority in the Ottoman parliament. They met at Ankara and drafted a declaration which later became the Turkish National Pact, and the Ottoman parliament voted its adoption on January 28, 1920.

In the declaration, the pro-deputies accepted the loss of the Arab Provinces, but rejected any idea of partitioning Anatolia. They favoured complete sovereignty without foreign intervention, except in Thrace where they accepted the plebiscite results. This was a direct challenge to Great Britain and the British forces occupied Constantinople on March 16, 1920. The remaining nationalists were exiled and the nationalist movement was declared un-Islamic by the caliph and the Sheikh-ul Islam. The Ottoman parliament was dissolved. Against these measures of the old, the Kemalists acted with vigour and promptness. A counter fetwa was issued condemning the sultan-caliph and a meeting of the Turkish Grand National Assembly was summoned. A constitution called the Law of Fundamental Organisation was drafted, and a military convention was negotiated with Bolsheviks on April 21, 1920. In the Paris Peace Conference, Britain was anxious for the nationalists at Ankara although an Ottoman peace delegation was considering the terms. Lloyd George insisted that Greeks should undertake military action against Mustafa Kemal. Finally, at an Allied Conference at Boulogne in June 1920, Greek military operations in Anatolia was authorised by England and France, and it was reluctantly supported by Italy. The Greek offensive against the Ankara government started on June 22, 1920.

The Greeco-Turkish war was a conflict between the Turkish nationalists and Greek imperialists backed by Great Britain. The first round of the war was inconclusive, and the Greeks were in an advantageous position. But the strength of Ankara Government increased with the Treaty of Sevres when more Turks rallied round the nationalists. Meanwhile, the Turko-Armenian war ended under Bolshevik pressure, and a treaty was signed between the Moscow and Ankara

governments. On the other hand, the death of King Alexander precipitated a political crisis in Greece. The contest between Venizelos and Constantine in the general elections of November, 1920, and the return of the latter badly divided the Greeks. The Greeks and the Allies offered modifications of the Treaty of Sevres; but the Ankara Government rejected them with great diplomatic skill. The Ankara Government entered into secret agreements with France and Italy, and thus isolated Britain in West Asia. The Allies were not prepared for a general war and they were uncertain of the outcome. So, in order to protect their position in the Straits and at Constantinople they proclaimed a neutrality and established a neutral zone. When the Greeks undertook a second offensive, France and Italy abandoned their claims, and the Supreme War Council of the Allies declared it a "private war". The Greeks were left in the lurch, when the Turkish nationalists invested Mustafa Kemal with the supreme command of the Turkish forces. The consequences were inevitable. The Greeks were defeated at Sakarya and the French evacuated Cilicia. The Greek front became demoralised and Smyrna re-occupied by the Turks. During the whole episode, Britain made a sham show of diplomacy.

In the Greco-Turkish war, Mustafa Kemal and his associates converted the defeat in the First World War into a victory. It came to an end when the armistice of Mudanya was signed on September 29, 1922, between Greek and the Ankara Government. The parties agreed to return to the pre-war situation and to maintain a status-quo in Turkey pending a definite treaty. Turkish sovereignty was restored at Constantinople. The Treaty of Sevres became meaningless. In the international struggle for a control over the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish nationalists very successfully turned the "Sick man of Europe" into complacency. The 'Jehovah-like omnipotence and omniscience' of the Allies, which they achieved after the First World War swept away in the torrents of social discontent in the Ottoman Empire. Turkey found

a new lease of life which had favourable national and international consequences. Therefore, the First World War ended in the Ottoman Empire in a way contrary to what happened in Germany or Austria-Hungary.

3. Critically examine the importance of the Treaty of Lausanne in the history of modern Turkey.

Or, What were the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne ? To what extent was the treaty a victory of Turkey over her opponents ?

The Treaty of Lausanne succeeded the Mudanya armistice which marked an end to the Greeco-Turkish War. The peace conference began on November 20, 1922, and continued for a period of more than eight months due to diplomatic wrangling between the Turkish and British foreign ministers. The Treaty of Lausanne was finally signed on July 24, 1923 and it was the only freely negotiated treaty since the end of the First World War. It was highly significant in Turkish history, because Turkey was recognised as a fully independent state within her ethnic frontier.

In the peace parley of Lausanne, the representatives of the Sublime Porte as well as of the Turkish Grand National Assembly were invited. It precipitated a violent discussion in the Turkish Grand National Assembly and ultimately a bill was forced through the Assembly by which Sultan Mahmeud VI was deposed. Turkey was represented by Ismet Inonu. Representatives from England, France, Italy, Russia, Japan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Greece also took part in the deliberations. The United States, however, took an active part in the discussions from time to time by sending unofficial observers. For six weeks, a controversy between George N. Curzon, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Ismet Inonu over some economic issue dominated the conference until it broke down when the former left Lausanne. Late in April, negotiations resumed again, when the British representative was replaced. The treaty was signed on July

24, 1923, embodying virtually everything that Turkey demanded.

The problems of the conference were divided into topics and they were included in the Treaty of Lausanne and its accompanying conventions. By this treaty Turkey renounced all claims to the Asiatic Arab provinces as well as to Egypt, the Sudan and Libya. She recognised the British annexation of Cyprus and Italy's acquisition of Rhodes and the Dodecanese islands. Greek frontier was limited at the river Maritsa and all the Aegean islands, except Imbros, Tenedos and the Rabbit islands were included within Greek sovereignty. Populations were to be exchanged between Grèce and Turkey except the Greeks of Istambul and the Turks of western Thrace. Gallipoli was restored to Turkey ; but the Straits were to be demilitarised. Conditions were to be framed later on for the passage of foreign warships in peace and war times. The capitulations were totally abolished, Settlement of the frontier with Iraq was left for subsequent discussions with Britain. The Turks thus lost all vestiges of territory in Asia, Africa and Europe and reclaimed only those former Ottoman territories which were predominantly Turkish.

The Treaty of Lausanne superceded the terms of that of Sevres, and thereby, freed the Turks from the fetters imposed upon the empire by the Western Powers. The symbol of inferiority and subservience, the capitulations, were also abolished. The Turks regained full sovereignty, except in the Straits, and became the undisputed master of their own country. They succeeded in rising from the ruins and secured the acceptance of their own terms by rejecting the dictated peace imposed on her by the victors. All the basic objectives set forth in the National Pact of January, 1920, secured an international recognition in the Treaty of Lausanne. It was in this sense a victory over her opponents—the Allies. Nonetheless, the treaty also determined the political framework within which the evolution of the Turkish Republic was to follow.

4. "The Turkish Revolution (under Kemal Pasha) had two aspects : the defence of the Turkish State"—Explain.

Or, Give a critical evaluation of the Kemalist Revolution in Turkey.

Or, Discuss the circumstances leading to the emergence of the Turkish Republic.

Turkey was defeated in the First World War ; but this defeat had dramatic consequences on her internal history. The dictatorship of the Committee of Union and Progress had collapsed and Sultan Mahmud V was succeeded by his brother Mahmud VI in 1918. In the Constantinople agreement and in the Sykes-Picot agreement, Britain and France decided among themselves their respective shares in the Ottoman Empire. The St-Jean de Maurienne agreement was signed to reconcile the conflicting claims of France and Italy. Nothing was allotted to revolutionary Russia, and the Russian revolutionaries betrayed by disclosing all the secret treaties. A Turkish historian has rightly defined the Eastern Question as "the problem of how to divide up the Ottoman Empire." The reactionary ruling clique in Turkey was supported by these victorious Allies, who were the arch-enemy to the nation. The state of things in Turkey after the war awoke the Turks to resist the rape of their motherland and to get rid of corrupt government. Patriotic organisations sprang up. Particularly the problem of defence, laid the stage for a warrior hero to save the national honour. The leadership in the national resistance movement thus went to a single person—Mustafa Kemal, who reclaimed the country's full sovereignty, and turned the sultanate into a republic.

The new movement started, when the Allies occupied Constantinople, the Greeks occupied Smyrna and Italy landed troops at Adalia. The indignant Turks began to rally round their inveterate leader, Mustafa Kemal. This army officer was born in Salonica in 1881 and schooled in various military institutions of Turkey. He rebelled against the Hamidian

regime when he was a young cadet and joined the Committee of Union and Progress. Liberal and nationalistic as he was, he revolted against the Ottoman order and could not reconcile with the ruling clique of the C. U. P. until 1918. But Enver and his associates could not neglect his military competency, and he turned out to be the only successful general in the war, a national hero, because of his masterly defence of the Dardanelles. But, he was not in good terms with the capital, and soon he was sent to Anatolia to head a skeleton army there.

Meanwhile, in the Treaty of Sevres, the victorious Allies completed 'their arrangements for the disposal of the Sick Man's worldly goods'. But while the victors were busy with reducing Turkey into a shadow-state, the Turkish state was emerging in Anatolia under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. From the moment of his landing at Samsun, he was busy with organising the cadres of a national army at Anatolia. From there he sent a circular telegram to a number of civil and military officers stating that the integrity of the country and the independence of the state were in danger, and the central government would abolish their existence, if the will and resolution of the nation did not save them. He organised the Association for the Defence of the Rights of Eastern Anatolia at Erzerum on March 3, 1919, and convened a meeting of the delegates from the eastern provinces there in July next. He was to pay the penalty. The surviving sultan declared him an outlaw and terminated him from his services.

The Congress of Erzerum was convened on July 23, 1919, and Mustafa Kemal was elected its chairman. Its session continued till August 17, and it formulated the draft version of the declaration, which was to become the National Pact. The second and more important congress was convened at Sivas on September 4, and it was attended by delegates from all over the country. Mustafa Kemal was elected on the chair and he was to direct the discussions of the meeting. The Association for the defence of the Right of Eastern Anatolia

was transformed into the Association for the Defence of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia. It was to be supervised by a permanent Representative Committee with Mustafa Kemal at its head and it was to be used as the chief instrument for the political struggle.

There were no clear or united political objectives at the Sivas Congress; but certain resolutions were taken on majority vote. In the congress, the principles of the Erzerum manifesto were re-affirmed, and resistance as well as armed action were prescribed for the preservation of territorial integrity and national independence. The delegates re-affirmed their loyalty to the sultan-caliph, and expressed their lack of confidence in the ministry of Damad Ferid Pasha. They were against the minority privileges for the shake of political and social equilibrium. The idea of an Islamic empire was lost and they demanded an immediate convention of a national assembly to decide the nation's destiny. These extraordinary decisions were communicated to the sultan by a telegram of the army commanders. An Executive Committee was also elected with Kemal as its chairman to act as a provisional government. The Sublime Porte, however, made an abortive attempt with British help to stir up the eastern Turkish tribes against Kemal, which only precipitated the rupture between the Kemalists and Istanbul.

Within a month after the Sivas Congress, Damad Ferid resigned and was replaced by Ali Riza Pasha in the Grand Vezirate. The new government proceeded to come to an understanding with Kemal in the Amasya protocol, and the Kemalists were recognised by the Sublime Porte. At the nationalist pressure and persuasion new elections were held in December, 1919, in the Ottoman Parliament and returned a chamber of deputies packed with a majority of the Kemalists and their sympathisers. The elected deputies assembled at Istanbul on January 12, 1920, and within a fortnight they voted the National Pact based on the Erzerum and Sivas manifestoes.

The basic demands of territorial integrity and national independence were formulated in the National Pact. The delegates prescribed plebiscite in the Arab provinces and the three adjacent sanjaks. The remaining portions inhabited by an Ottoman Muslim majority were to form a whole which should not admit of any division for any reason. Among other things, the National Pact would not admit of any restriction which would hamper Turkey's political judicial and financial developments. Although Mustafa Kemal and the "Representative Committee" were in a strong position, the Allied Powers were not pleased with such bold words of the parliament in Istanbul. British military forces occupied Constantinople on March, 16, 1920, and the Turkish nationalists of the capital were arrested or exiled. The caliph and the Sheikh-ul-Islam issued a fetwa condemning the nationalist movement as contrary to Islam. The last Ottoman parliament was dissolved by the sultan.

Matters came to a head when, Mustafa Kemal called for elections to a new emergency assembly, on March 19. At Ankara, a body of delegates known as the Grand National Assembly met on April 23. They issued a counter fetwa and on January 20, 1921, the G. N. A. passed the Provisional Law of Fundamental Organisation. It was declared that the sovereignty belonged to the Turkish nation. The sultan's government was a captive of the Allies, and henceforth, the government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey should rule the country. It was to be composed of members, elected at every two years. There should be a council with a president elected by the Assembly and a Committee of Executive Ministers. To undo these moves, the sultan raised the 'Army of the Caliphate' and effected frequent changes in the Grand Vezirate. In doing so, he not only alienated public opinion, but, as Prof. Rustow has pointed out, "did permanent damage to the status of organised religion in Turkey."

In the meanwhile, the Greeco-Turkish War attained a climax with Lloyd George backing the Greeks. The defence

of Turkey was at stake, but the nationalists with Mustafa Kemal at the supreme command rolled back the Greek army to the sea. Mustafa Kemal won the title of Ghazi and his comrade at arms, Ismet, became Inonu. In the armistice of Mudanya, they rendered the humiliations of the Treaty of Sevres null and void. The nationalists succeeded in showing that the sultan and his associates were traitors. When the Allies invited representatives of both the Istanbul and Ankara governments in the Lausanne conference, a violent discussion was precipitated in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. As a consequence, Sultan Mahmud VI was replaced by his cousin Abdul Majid by a vote of the Grand National Assembly on November, 18, 1923. Turkey was represented only by Ismet Inonu in the peace conference, where the Turks triumphed over the Allies and Turkey was internationally recognised as a fully independent state within her ethnic frontiers.

The nationalist movement was started by the League for the Defence of Rights and ended in the military victories of the War of Independence. But controversy arose among the Turks with regard to the form and structure of the Turkish state. Mustafa Kemal advocated populism or peoples' government while many of the Turks upheld the sultan-caliph as the supreme embodiment of the Islamic state. Unlike the Young Turks, Mustafa Kemal broached a *modus vivendi*. He separated the sultanate from the caliphate and decided to abolish the former. A heated controversy ensued in the G. N. A. and ultimately resolutions passed on November 1, 1922. It was laid down that "the Turkish people consider that the form of government in Istanbul resting on the sovereignty of an individual had ceased to exist on 16 March, 1920 and passed for ever to history." Secondly, it was recognised that the caliphate rested on the house of Ottoman, and he should be chosen by the Assembly. But the abolition of the sultanate and the retention of a separate caliphate aroused ambiguity among the people with regard to the headship of the state. In order to get rid of this, Turkey was proclaimed

a republic on October 29, 1923, the date which is celebrated till today as independence day. Thus a new Turkey was born out of the womb of the old, and Mustafa Kemal was its military and political midwife. He became the President of the republic and Ismet prime-minister.

5. Why were the sultanate and the caliphate abolished in Turkey? What were the immediate reactions of the abolition on the Muslim World? What advantages or disadvantages were caused by abolition?

Turkish reformers before the Kemalist revolution had assumed the need for the continuity of the sultanate-caliphate and the inseparability of religion and state. All of them including the Young Turks had taken faltering steps to make the empire look like a modern state. They laboured in ambiguity to restrain the despotic sultan and to secularise life and order. But Turkey had not attained the military superiority of the western states. The Turks began to realise that modernisation, and the continuity of despotism as well as theocratic rule were not two isolated phenomena. Mustafa Kemal for the first time fully appreciated that no thorough-going abiding reform could be effected with two major road blocks in the way: the sultanate and the caliphate. Hence he engineered measures for their abolition.

Abolition of the sultanate :—Freed of foreign threat Mustafa Kemal held effective political power, by dint of his military victory and organisational backing. But he and his associates were faced with a crucial problem as to what should be the form and structure of the Turkish state. His government at Ankara and the sultan's at Istanbul could not run parallel in Turkey. The nationalists had from the beginning, insisted on their loyalty to the sultan, but at the same time adopted certain measures, which ran counter to the sultanate. Mustafa Kemal had developed his theory of popular sovereignty and established the Grand National Assembly in Ankara as the only representative of the people, and as the holder of both legislative and executive power."

But during and at the end of the Greeco-Turkish-War, the

sultan and his government were exposed to the nation as traiters. The nationalist government and assembly flushed with military success while the sultan's had also had a large body of supporters among the ancient supreme officers of the Muslim state and faith. The situation was extremely anomalous, and it was increased by the Allied invitation of the representatives of both the governments in Turkey in the peace conference of Lausanne. This international recognition of the traitor precipitated the downfall of the sultanate. Mustafa Kemal decided to separate the sultanate from the caliphate and to abolish the former. He introduced his decisions to the G. N. A. where after a heated controversy, it was resolved on November 1, 1922, that sovereignty should rest unconditionally on the people and that the caliphate would belong to the elected member of the Ottoman house. Accordingly, Sultan Mahmud VI was deposed and fled to Malta. His cousin, Abdul Majid was elected caliph by the members of the G. N. A. In this way, the age-old institution of the Ottoman Empire, which had already forfeited respect of the nation for its weakness, incompetency and collaboration with external enemies, was put to an end.

The abolition of the sultanate marked the end of a chapter and the beginning of a new. It meant that the political struggle, which had begun in the earlier century met with its desired end. It was a victory of the nationalists over the forces of obscurantism—truly a rebirth of the Turkish nation. Henceforward, the social and economic resources of the country were to be exploited not for the nourishment of an oriental despotism of a dynasty but for the well-being of the nation. Turkey was saved of the evils of weak government of the sultan actively intriguing with the foreigners to retain its supremacy. Moreover, the existence of the dual government was brought to an end, and political situation of the country simplified. The act of abolition did not, however evoke any large scale reaction among the masses. Turkey was soon converted into a republic.

Abolition of the caliphate : Mustafa Kemal had retained the caliphate at the time of the abolition of the sultanate. But his object was to transform Turkey into a modern secular state. For this, the primary thing to be done was to unseat the religious authority, because, virtually the whole structure of the Ottoman state rested upon religious laws, which in essence purported to be a logical extension of the divinely revealed sources and practices. The caliph was the recognised head of this legal order as also of the orthodox Sunni Muslim community. In order to create a modern, progressive secular state, the caliphate was to be swept away.

But Kemal was to move cautiously, for the abolition of the religiously significant office of the caliph would evoke opposition. This was an age-old institution and it could encourage an inertia of tradition and religion, which would be too great to permit a direct attack. The caliph was obeyed by the people of the whole of the Muslim world, nonetheless by the Turks. So, the question aroused sentiment among the conservative Turks and created interests far beyond the borders of Turkey.

Sagacious as he was, Mustafa Kemal unleashed a carefully-timed move. He strengthened the army command, the tribunals of independence and a political party. The opportune moment came, when two eminent Indian Muslim leaders, Aga Khan and Ameer Ali made anxious appeals for "the imminent necessity for maintaining the religious and moral solidarity of Islam by placing the caliph-imamate on a basis which would command confidence and esteem of the Muslim nations and thus impart to the Turkish state unique strength and dignity". Mustafa Kemal counteracted this by saying that "those who had attacked the caliphate were not strangers...they (the Indians) were Muslim peoples, who fought against the Turks under the British flag at the Dardanelles, in Syria and in Iraq." Mustafa Kemal agreed with his opponents that the caliphate was the link with the past and with Islam ; and it was for this he decided to abolish it. At Izmir he took the decision and in the next session of the

Assembly, the caliph was deposed. On March, 3, 1924, the abolition of the caliphate was passed and the last Ottoman caliph, Abdul Majid was packed out on board the Orient Express.

It has been suggested by General Kazem Karabekir that Kemal himself had entertained ambitions of making himself sultan and caliph. But it is an undocumented claim and Kemal himself had given a negative reply to any such offer. Robinson has rightly pointed out that this was untenable with his character, inconsistent with his behaviour and "it would render meaningless many of the things Kemal did".

The caliphate was the last of the traditional institution and its abolition freed the country from the fetters of mediaevalism. Theocratic unity of the Islamic world was broken and the largest roadblock to secularisation disappeared. The stage was thus set for the emergence of a fundamentally modern Turkey both in composition and appearance. Turkey ceased to be the centre of Islamic unity ; but it developed a new political and social philosophy to make of it a modern state.

But the abolition of the caliphate was an open assault to the entrenched forces of Islamic orthodoxy. In Islam, God was the only legitimate source of power and the caliph was His earthly vicegerent. From the abolition of the caliphate, large-scale opposition is anticipated not only from the Turks on the grass roots level but from the whole of Islamic community. Kemal avoided it by softening up various elements ahead of time. He fired a barrage of publicity against the departing dynasty. He convened a meeting of a group of the nation's leading newspaper editors and convinced them that the only move making possible the emergence of a modern Turkish state was the abolition of the caliphate. It was necessary for the continued independence of Turkey. For the rest of the Islamic world, King Husain of Hejaz made attempts to revivify the institutions. But he could do it since man could not put into life what history had condemned to death.

CHAPTER VI

THE REPUBLIC UNDER ATATURK

1. Analyse the political, social and economic ideas of Mustafa Kemal.

The Kemalist revolution which really began after the success in the War of Liberation was not merely a revolution of rulers and rising expectations. The cumulative growth of ideas, production and power developed outside the Turkish system had penetrated into it and torn out its repetitive pattern of balanced tensions. Mustafa Kemal developed a stable and resilient new pattern based on the six 'fundamental and unchanging principles'. They are embodied in the manifesto of the Republican People's Party which 'is republican, nationalist, populist, statist, secularist and revolutionary'. These were the six arrows of the party crest ; but Kemal's political, social and economic reforms stood for populism, secularism, nationalism and statism. These principles attracted the deep emotional and intellectual commitment of many, but they were never dogmatised into political myths.

Immediately after the end of the War of Liberation Kemal was confronted with the problem with regard to the form and structure of the Turkish state. It was a crucial political problem and Kemal desired to create a national political state in full possession of its sovereignty. So, the sultanate was abolished and Turkey transformed into a republic. It was for the same reason that the capitulatory and 'millet' barriers were broken and it was declared in the Article 69 of the constitution that all Turks are equal before the law and that all "privileges

of whatever description claimed by groups, classes and individuals are abolished and forbidden." Their shortest expression was "populism". Although it sounded like the doctrine of 'Osmanlilik', it was fundamentally different from the latter for the Ottoman Empire had ceased to exist. The expression was first felt in the emergence of the doctrine of sovereignty of the people and then it was extended to the upliftment of the peasants, the massive development in education and in the reorganisation of the Turkish alphabets based on Latin characters.

Mustafa Kemal chose to make a revolutionary leap to transform the traditional Turkish society and state. It was a locally rooted movement for modernisation and all pre-Kemalist reformers had attempted it by gradual secularisation of the state and the faith. Mustafa Kemal took secularism as a political creed, but avoided the mistake of his fore-runners of accepting the inseparability of religion and state. He and his associates found that Islam's hold upon society was the largest road-block to any progress and pervaded all aspects of life in Turkey. He separated Islam from the Turkish state and abolished the caliphate, the supreme embodiment of Islamic brotherhood. Once such a radical break with the past was achieved, progress towards secularisation and modernisation became easy. Mustafa Kemal ordered the prohibition of all religious orders and replaced Friday for Sunday as a compulsory day of rest. Polygamy was legally abolished and laws of divorce reformed. The hat was substituted for the fez and the use of veil discouraged. The old code of laws with its religious sanctions were discarded in favour of a Swiss civil code. The Muslim calendar was abandoned in favour of the Western Georgian calendar. The secularism of Mustafa Kemal was thus opposed to archaic religious practices. Far-sighted as he was, he did not challenge the Islamic faith.

Nationalism was a very important aspect of Kemal's ideas for, as it has been already noted, he wanted to make

Turkey a nationalist state. Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire was a product of the nineteenth century and it grew in diverse ways. Non-Muslim Christian subjects of the empire were moved towards autonomy and independence and the Turkish Ottomans, when they were touched by nationalism, were often waylaid by Pan-Islamism or Pan-Turanism. Mustafa Kemal was a fiery patriot and felt pride of being a Turk. He and his associates were purely Turkish nationalists and set out to make all Turks proud of their race and heritage. He ordered the printing of new histories in Latin scripts in which the history of the Ottoman Turks were minimised. He made Turkish popular and encouraged the development of the Turkish press. In the dramatic and publicised aspects of nationalism he went so far as to compel the Turks to adopt family names. Thus Kemal became Ataturk and Ismet Inonu. The slogans of the new nationalist movement were "Turkey for the Turks" and "the Turks for Turkey" and they were proudly accepted by the nation. The Kemalist nationalism was broad and clear, and it was non-expansive.

For the marshalling of the physical and human resources of the country and to make it industrialise without foreign interference Kemal developed a new economic idea—that of etatism. It was defined as a principle to interest the state actively in matters where the general and vital interests of the nation are in question, especially in the economic field, in order to lead the nation and the country to prosperity in as short a time as possible." In other words it prescribed state enterprises, without interfering private entrepreneurs. It was not a collectivist economy, nor a device to set up state monopolies, and agriculture was totally excluded from its scope. Accordingly, a five year plan was approved in 1934 under Russian loan and advice for the development of consumer industries and basic potential industries. But it could not achieve the marked goal and, as Thornburg has pointed out, prevented the expansion of private enterprise. Etatism has

also been labelled by some economists as a step towards communism while others considered it an approach towards totalitarian rule. A third group, however, supported it strongly as a type of state capitalism which would develop the nation without giving primacy to individual capitalists. More specifically Kemal Ataturk employed governmental initiative primarily for strengthening the power of the nation-state and its technocracy.

In respect of his ideas, Kemal Ataturk was an heir of the nationalist, positivist and westernising wing of the Young Turks. Turkish nation and its progress took primacy of place in his acts and beliefs. His nationalism was neither arrogant to the rights and aspirations of other nations, nor a neurotic rejection of the national past. For the sake of 'a civilized and progressive community', he discarded the illusion of Islamic traditions and institutions and set afoot a new regime based on secular and progressive ideas. But in doing so he was alert of not becoming a prisoner of his own ideas nor the executioner for its sake. Hence, Kemalist ideas were an empirical and a less-crystallised doctrine and remained still-evolving symbols of the revolution and its ideology.

2. Carefully analyse the efforts of Kemal Ataturk to modernise Turkey. How far did he succeed ?

Or, Review the internal transformation of Turkey under Mustafa Kemal.

Or, Estimate the historical significance of the achievements of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk.

Or, Describe Turkey as Kemal Pasha found it and as he left it.

There is a belief that Mustafa Kemal was the political and military midwife for the re-birth of a nation. The statement is true ; because he recovered the Turkish nation from the defeat of the First World War and the degeneration of the generations of obscurantist rule. He jockeyed Turkey towards a more rapid pace of modernisation. With careful moves, and

empirical ideas, Kemal led a national movement first against the Greeks and then to achieve massive reform for the salvation of the country. Because of his authoritarian rule, a modern, secular and progressive state emerged in Turkey, without which it would have been set back for many many years.

Before coming to power Kemal saw an exhausted country, having suffered an unbroken series of disastrous defeats. He gave a graphic account of the situation in his speech of May 19, 1919 : "The group of powers, which included the Ottoman government, had been defeated in the Great War. The Ottoman army had been crushed on every front. An armistice had been signed under severe conditions. The prolongation of the Great War had left the people exhausted and impoverished. Those who had driven the people and the country into the general conflict had fled and now cared for nothing but their own safety. Vahideddin, the degenerate occupant of the throne and the caliphate, was seeking for some despicable way to save his person and his throne...The Cabinet...was subservient to the rule of the Sultan alone ..."

Indeed, the state of things in Turkey in the post-war period was very deplorable. Turkey was not one nation and its people "accepted nationalism by identifying it with religion." In fact, other than the dubious ties of religion and region and at the top allegiance to the sultan, there was no common bond of unity between the Ottomans and Muslims, Sunni and Shisite and the non-Turkish nations. Economically, the country was in a hopeless condition virtually with no modern industries. Agriculture followed in the same cycle which had prevailed for many centuries. Plainly, there was no economic basis for the recovery of the excesses of the Great War and for the emergence of a modern state. Worse still, the people were held within the grip of highly traditional and fatalistic religions, encouraged by the sultan-caliphs. In the words of Richard D. Robinson, "Kemal faced a divided population, and one sunk in pre-industrial poverty, enervated

by religiously justified resignation, and exhausted by seven years of war."

Under such circumstances, the primary thing to be accomplished was to consolidate Kemal's personal power position. For a renewed national struggle, first he solicited personal allegiance of the top military commanders and key civilian administrators, which he readily received. He established the 'Societies for the Defense of Rights' and other local resistance movements to get rid of foreign occupation and pressure. He then proceeded to break the sultan's link with Anatolia, his headquarter, and to assure his own ability to communicate with the country. He made a dramatic declaration of national aims to attract popular support. He re-organised the troops and re-armed them to make them fit for victory in the War of Liberation. He established a provisional government at Ankara with an elected Grand National Assembly and succeeded in alienating the sultan from popular support. The victory in the battle against the Greeks established him as a national hero. Finally, in the Treaty of Lausanne, he freed Turkey from immediate foreign threat, and made the Turks undisputed masters of their own country.

Having wielded effective political power in his hands, Kemal set out to prepare the country for 'real salvation'. His immediate problem was with regard to the form and structure of the Turkish state. From the beginning of the nationalist movement, Kemal and his associates believed in the principle of popular sovereignty and abolition of privileges, which were broadly known as populism. This was a doctrine incompatible with the survival of the sultanate. He separated the sultanate and caliphate and abolished the former at the wake of Allied invitation to the representatives of the sultan's government and the provisional government of Ankara. It was decreed on November, 1, 1922 in the Grand National Assembly by a majority of votes. Sultan Mahmud VI slipped out of his palace and his cousin Abdul Majid was elected as caliph. Mustafa Kemal then formed

the Republican People's Party and transferred the seat of Turkish Government to Ankara. Finally, Turkey was declared a republic on October 29, 1923 in order to get rid of the ambiguity of the headship of the state after the abolition of the sultanate and retention of a separate caliphate. Turkey was now transformed into a nation-state with Mustafa Kemal as its president.

The largest roadblock "for new victories in science and economics" was the religious authority. Kemal realised that the whole structure of the Ottoman state rested upon religious laws, and the retention of the caliphate still attracted loyalties from many of the Turks. Unlike the pre-Kemalist reformers, he found that for a general secularisation and modernisation of the Turkish state, the essential pre-requisite was to get rid of entrenched barrier of Islamic theocracy. Kemal moved carefully and abolished the caliphate on March 3, 1924. He secularised authority and decided to root out the hold of the ulema lock, stock and barrel. Islamic hierarchy and Islamic brotherhood, were broken by the abolition of the caliphate, and all reactions, including the Kurdish revolt were suppressed with an iron hand. In the name of the latter, Kemal also took the advantage of suppressing his political opponents.

In the meantime, the Grand National Assembly suspended the constitution and passed a law giving almost dictatorial powers to Mustafa Kemal. The People's Party remained the only political party in Turkey and all appointments ranging from cabinet ministers to village clerks were made from the members of the party.

By abolishing the sultanate and the caliphate Kemal destroyed the traditional institutions of Turkey. In pursuit of secularisation and modernisation Mustafa Kemal prohibited all religious orders and forbade individuals to wear religiously significant clothing. The hat substituted the fez and the use of veil among women was discouraged. Polygamy was decreed illegal and the laws of divorce rectified. Latin script replaced the religiously significant Arabic in writing Turkish. The

'shariat' laws were discarded in favour of a Swiss civil code. German type criminal code and a mercantile code of Italian model. Western Georgian Calendar replaced the traditional Muslim Calendar. The whole system of education was freed from religious control. Finally, he introduced Turkish family names to stave of Islamic identities.

Kemal knew that the modernisation of the nation depended largely on the development of education and on the status of women. He freed education from the influence of the ulema and made primary education compulsory. Under his regime universal education was introduced and a university was founded at Ankara. English and French replaced Arabic and Persian in the school curriculum; and hired teachers from foreign countries imparted modern learning. Emphasis was given also to technical and professional education. Kemal encouraged education of the women and established their legal and political equality.

Mustafa Kemal left no aspect of life untouched. Attempts were made to modernise the economy and industry of the country. He introduced state enterprise in industries and a planned economy—collectively known as etatism. The flow of foreign capital was refused. Private Turkish Capital was to create new industries and modern agriculture. The Agricultural bank was organised as a joint stock company in 1923. The 'Is' (Business) Bank was organised in 1924 as a popular saving bank. The 'Eli' (Hiltite) Bank was to finance the minerals and metal industries and the Sumer Bank was to perform it in other industries. The banking structure was nationalised and the Central Bank of Turkey replaced the Ottoman Bank. The basic labour regulations were moved and enforced to improve the labour-management relations. A five-year plan was adopted in 1934 for the development of industries, calculated moves were also made in the farm-credit system, protective tariffs, land distribution, road development, the introduction of a small amount of machinery etc. To encourage both

agriculture and industries he organised occasional exhibitions and fairs.

In his reforms, Kemal materialised the six principles of the People's Party. In doing so he acted very much as a dictator, but not of a totalitarian stamp as there was a substantial area of private enterprise. But that was a necessity pending further education of his people. It was to the credit of Kemal Ataturk that he built up potentially democratic machinery and operated through it. He found that religion was the ally of oligarchic rule and therefore he discarded it for the sake of democracy and progress. In his reform measures, he was a successor of the nineteenth century reformers and the Young Turks. But unlike them, he did not believe in the attachment of the state with religion, nor he was obsessed with the idea of constitutional monarchy. He knew that economic development was the foundation of both national defence and social evolution. His policies were one of expediency and he succeeded in making the Turks a homogeneous people and Turkey a nation state completely free from cultural heritage. Turkey was modernised and the process of modernisation was completed with Mustafa Kemal.

3. Why is Mustafa Kemal Ataturk called "the Father of the Turkish Nation" ?

Or, To what extent Mustafa Kemal's claim as Ataturk justified ?

On June 28, 1934, a law was passed in the Grand National Assembly imposing on every Turkish citizen the obligation to adopt a surname. In the same session, the G. N. A. offered the title Ataturk to the President, Mustafa Kemal. Ataturk literally means father-Turk, but in Turkey he is known as the father of the Turkish nation. It was a title which Kemal rightly deserved. Indeed, it is the rightful recognition of the works of this inspired leader, who as Bernard Lewis has remarked "snatched the Sick Man of Europe from the death-bed and infused him with a new life and vitality."

In fact, Kemal emerged in an hour of deep despair, when the Turks were demoralised by their defeat and threatened with total annihilation of their national identity. As a soldier, Kemal shared the anxiety of the people and assumed their leadership to strive them to victory. He injected a sense of patriotism among them and organised a vigorous resistance movement against the ambitions of the Allied Powers. He gave Turkish nationalism a new form and raised the slogan : "Turkey for the Turks." Successfully did he lead the nation to a victory against the Western Powers, and thereby saved the nation from foreign domination. He restored self-confidence among the Turks and made his political power and position well established.

Yet it is not in these achievements, however great they may be, that the greatness of Ataturk lies. Only the military task was completed. Ataturk was to rebuild the nation dispassionately. It is the supreme merit of Ataturk that he transformed "the divided population and one sunk in pre-industrial poverty, enervated by religiously justified resignation, and exhausted by seven years of war" into a secular, modern and progressive nation-state. For two decades he made untiring efforts to emancipate the Turks from the highly traditional and fatalistic religious control. He made his people rely on bourgeois virtues to set up the economic and political basis of a modern state. He introduced broad and resilient principles for the earthly betterment of the Turkish nation.

In fact, Kemal Ataturk was the heir of the Young Turks in respect of his political programme. Nothing was more important for him than the Turkish nation and its progress. He had a non-expansive idea of nationalism, which was healthy and reasonable. He waged almost a crusade against the religious orthodoxy and Islamic brotherhood of the rank and file of the Turkish people. He abolished the sultanate and the caliphate and reduced the influence of ulema from almost all spheres of life. He completed the shattering of the glass.

But far-sighted as he was, never did he challenge the Islamic faith. Only he attempted to make the people free of the debris of eucharism. He established a democratic republic in place of obscurantist monarchy. He set up an economic system which was favourable for the emergence of a modern society and economy. He piloted Turkey from her Middle Ages to modernity.

A gifted man as he was, Ataturk had all the qualities of a great leader. He was a bold and indomitable commander in the field and a very imaginative army organiser. He was a man of quick wit and possessed the ability to infuse loyalty, courage and confidence among his followers. With his extraordinary oratory he brought the nation behind all his moves. He had almost super-human energies for doing boundless activities. He was great as a soldier ; perhaps he was greater as a statesman. He was the military and political midwife of modern Turkey.

Kemal has at times been labelled as a dictator, and in a certain sense he was. But, he was not one of totalitarian brand, as he allowed private enterprise and public discussion to continue. His dictatorship was a necessity pending further education of the people—a period of tutelage for the learning of democracy and secularism. Under his authoritarian rule, far-reaching changes were introduced in the Turkish body-politic. He destroyed more than he innovated. He brought a new life and hope to the Turkish people. He restored their energies and self-respect and jockeyed them towards independence and modernity. Ataturk died on November 10, 1938. But he remains immortal as a national hero—"the Turkish George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Franklin Roosevelt combined in one man."

4. Review the foreign policy of the Turkish Republic till 1938.

Or, Discuss the foreign policy of Kemal Ataturk after 1923.

Or, Trace the relations of Turkey with the U.S.S.R., Iran and the Arab countries between the two World Wars.

Introduction : Turkish foreign policy during the inter-war period, or more specifically in the Ataturk regime is a very important study. It is due to the fact that the division of the predatory international society into rival and competitive, states imposes dangers upon it. It is inherent in the strategic position of Turkey with respect to the new socio-economic order of the U. S. S. R. and the old capitalist order of the west. But the Turkish ruling clique of this period were neither capitalists nor communists. They were extreme nationalists, and as such they followed a policy of enlightened realism in their relations with other powers. At the end of the First World War the Turks, being afraid of the aggressive aims of the Allied Powers, turned to Soviet Russia for aid and assistance. But when the Allies settled their disputes with Turkey at the Treaty of Lausanne, Ataturk pursued a policy of cautious friendship with the U. S. S. R. and the western powers. And in respect with his relations with the Islamic states and Iran, Ataturk entered into an alliance with them, not on the basis of Islam, but on the concern over the Middle Eastern defence.

Russo-Turkish Relations : Russia had been taken by the Turks as their formidable enemy ever since the origin of the Warm-water Policy and the design to hold Constantinople of Peter the Great. The policy was pursued by his successors, and Russo-Turkish hostilities became more intensified when the Russians were given the right to protect the orthodox Christian minorities in the Ottoman Empire. The two neighbouring states were at war at least a dozen times during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

But the state of things in Russia and in Turkey took a new turn at the end of the First World War. During the war years, the Bolsheviks freed Russia from the autocratic rules of the Tsar and established a republic, whose existence was being threatened by the Western Powers. On

the other hand, Turkey was defeated in the First World War and the Allies were seen busy with partitioning the country among themselves. The leaders of the two states were struggling for their existence against the Western Powers and the ambitious designs of the latter forced them to come closer forgetting their traditional hostility. In consequence, a Russo-Turkish Treaty of Friendship and Brotherhood was signed in Moscow on March 16, 1921. Bolshevik Russia recognised the Ankara government as the only legitimate ruler of Turkey. By her returning to Turkish sovereignty the region of Kars and Ardahan, she won a great deal of good will. Turkey was benefited by the Soviet military and financial assistance during her years of struggle against the West. Diplomatically she was assisted by the Bolsheviks in the Treaty of Lausanne and in other aspirations.

The Treaty of Lausanne had some effects upon Russo-Turkish relations. Turkey's disputes with the Allies were settled there and with it her need for assistance seemed to have minimised. But, the Mosul question remained unsettled in the treaty, and it was what brought the two republics even closer together. On December 16, 1921, the League of Nations, when the matter was referred to it, awarded the territory to Iraq, and allowed Great Britain to hold it as a mandate for twenty-five years. Turkey refused to accept the ruling, and on the next day she entered into a pact of Non-Aggression and security with the U.S.S.R. The diplomatic move yielded results, and Britain and Iraq were obliged to persuade Turkey to conclude a treaty accepting the League's decision. The treaty was signed on June 5, 1926.

After the Mosul question Turkey's relations with Great Britain considerably improved and she was admitted to membership of the League of Nations. But Turkey was not moved to any alignments, and her friendship remained unimpaired. On October 29, 1933, it was made clear in the government news-paper that "the Turkish friendship for the Russian Soviet Republic is rooted in Kemalism. This friend-

ship was begun by Lenin and Mustafa Kemal and is now confirmed". Really, Russo-Turkish relations had another side which hold the two republics together for a long time. One of the basic ideas of Atatürk was statism or state-control and planned industrial development. The realisation of this principle would have been impossible, should Russia refuse to extend economic aid. The first five-year plan was inaugurated in Turkey in 1934 under Russian imitation and assistance. But this new friendship of the old enemies did not last long ; and Turkey was forced to align herself with the Western Powers, when Russia joined the Axis Powers on the eve of the Second World War. , But this did not take place in the life time of Kemal and Lenin.

Relations with the West. The West had ever been the source of inspiration to the Turkish reformers. The Ottoman Empire maintained a good relation with the Western Powers and the latter also lavishly extended their co-operation ostensibly to give aid but really to invest their surplus capitals. But this good relation with the Western Powers was broken by Turkey's entry into the First World War on Germany's side. Even during the War years a large part of the Turkish modernists relied much upon the idealistic objectives of the Western Powers.

But the glass shattered when the Russian Bolsheviks disclosed the Secret Treaties aiming at the partition of the Ottoman Empire among the Allies. The Turks lay prostrate after their defeat at the First World War. But they refused to accept the defeat and were organised under Mustafa Kemal for a War of Liberation against the West. Actual hostilities began in the wake of the Allied Occupation of Constantinople, and they rose to a climax in the Greco-Turkish War. The Allies, in the meanwhile, were divided among themselves with regard to their objectives in the Ottoman Empire. While France was trying to come to an understanding with the Ankara Government in order to safeguard her huge bonds, Britain avowedly championed the cause of the Greeks. How-

ever, the Greeks were defeated in the war largely due to the vicissitudes and shiftings of British foreign policy ; and the Turks emerged as the only nation to revert the verdict of defeat. The Allies were obliged to settle their disputes with Turkey except over Mosul. The hostilities ceased to exist and Ataturk developed a cautious but friendly relation with the Western Powers. The Mosul question was also settled amicably.

The Montreux Convention : Turkey regained more concessions from the Western Powers in the inter-war period. In the 1930s, Turkish statesmen were greatly perturbed by Italian irredentism. They were more afraid of an Italian aggression as they were denied of fortifying the Straits in the Dardanelles Convention of 1923. They referred to Great Britain their fear in a note in 1936. The Lausanne Powers conferred at Montreux to discuss the note ; and by the Convention of July 20, 1936, they returned the Straits to Turkish sovereignty under certain conditions. Turkey regained her right to remilitarise the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and she could forbid the passage of enemy ships, and any belligerent ships in times of war when she was neutral. She could close them to any warships and compel foreign merchantmen to pass during day time, should she consider that there is a threat of war.

After the death of Mustafa Kemal Turkey's relations with the Western Powers remained cordial. It is evident from the unopposed annexation of Hatay, the former sanjak of Alexandretta, within the Turkish republic. At the end of the First World War the area had been annexed with Syria, and the French had compelled the Turks to accept the situation in the Ankara Agreement of 1921. In the thirties France desired friendship with the republic, and taking advantage of this gesture of goodwill the Turks conquered the territory on July 23, 1939. This unopposed annexation led the way for Turkey's joining the Anglo-French Alliance a few months later. The Anglo-Franco-Turkish-Treaty was actually signed

on October 19, 1939. Turkey undertook to assist England and France in case of war in the 'Mediterranean area.'

The Balkan Entente : As has been already noted, Italian and Bulgarian irredentism caused the greatest worry to the Turkish statesmen in the 1930s. They could not forget the war-time aims of these two nations. International situation also did not present an encouraging situation before the Turks. They saw with suspended breath the Manchurian crisis and the rise of Nazi Party in Germany. Ataturk and his associates moved very cautiously. They joined the League of Nations and signed the Greeco-Turkish Treaty of 1933, whose aim was to prevent Bulgaria from an adventurist policy. In the next year Turkey entered into the Balkan pact, an alliance with Yugoslavia, Greece and Rumania. It was a defensive agreement, whose signatories agreed 'to preserve the Balkan frontiers and to consult together in the event of any threat to peace in their area'.

Relations with the Arab Countries and Iran :

Turkey's relations with her Asiatic neighbours attained abnormally when she was defeated in the First World War. Her Arab provinces were snatched away by the Allied powers and mandated to the victor powers. Thus Syria and Lebanon became mandates of Great Britain and Iraq of France. The traditional relations of Turkey with their countries were thus broken. They and the rest of the Islamic World were further alienated when the link of Islamic brotherhood also ceased to exist with the abolition of the Caliphate. King Hussain of Hezzaj attempted to revive it; but his attempts met with futility. In the twenties and in the first half of the thirties, Turkish statesmen were more Concerned with the European Powers and internal transformation than with the Arab States and Iran and Afghanistan.

The Saadabad Pact : Situations turned when, on July 8, 1937, Turkey's representatives signed the Saadabad

Pact at Tehran with Iraq, Persia and Afghanistan. By this pact the signatories agreed to preserve their common frontiers, to consult together in matters of common interests and not to commit acts of aggression on each other's territory. The Saadabad Pact has been interpreted by many historians as a return to pan-Islamism. But the idea was not incompatible with the laicism of Mustafa Kemal whose professed aim was to secularise Turkey. Again, Turkey refrained from sending any representatives to the Islamic Congresses held between 1926 and 1931. More positively it was a move for the defence of the eastern frontiers of the republic.

Conclusion: Clearly it is evident that the Turkish foreign policy after 1923 was wholly peaceful. Before that, on the eve of the emergence of the republic the Turks were to toil hard in the battlefield to win a victory over the victor powers. Ataturk steered the nation's relations with other states after 1923 in view of its needs and defence. He let the Turks forget their enmity with others and freed them from a passionate love to the West. Russo-Turkish friendship, he achieved, but he reorganised the republic after the models of the Western States. He settled his disputes with the Allies, but relied much upon Soviet military and financial assistance. It was a very cautious policy and he saved Turkey from committance to any power block. He adopted a policy of friendly neutrality, and for the defence of the frontiers, he entered into the Balkan Entente and the Saadabad Pact. When Russia joined the Axis Powers, the Turkish security was exposed to danger. She joined the Western Powers in the Second World War.

CHAPTER VII

THE REPUBLIC SINCE ATATÜRK

1. Write a note on the evolution of party system in Turkey. Trace the history of the two main political parties in Turkey and compare their ideologies and programmes.

Turkey's transition from a single party dictatorship of the 1920s to a multi-party system in the late 1940s furnishes a unique example in the history of modern Asia and Africa. The evolution was peaceful and deliberate. The Turks have shown that they could sustain modernisation while maintaining at least two parties that expected to yield power to each other from time to time. It was due to the fact that democracy in Turkey did not arrive as a gift from above and equally it was a result of domestic realities. Foreign relations had nothing very much to do with the evolution of party-system in republican Turkey.

The history of party system in Turkey may be traced from the origin of the Committee of Union and Progress, which captured power in 1908. In the next year, the liberal party was established, but it was disbanded when the C.U.P. inaugurated their dictatorial regime. The C. U. P. again became non-existent at the end of the First World War and a new party, known as the party for the Defence of National Rights was organised under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. After the victory in the War of National Liberation, the party was reorganised under the name of People's Party or Republican People's Party, which held power in Turkey for more than two decades.

The Republican People's Party stood for republicanism, nationalism, populism, etatism, secularism and revolutionism. The R. P. P. leaders, translated almost all these principles into realities. It abolished the sultanate and established a republic in its place. They raised the new nationalist slogan ; "Turkey for the Turks". In the R. P. P. regime, sovereignty rested in the people. For the development of industries, its leaders developed state enterprises and planned economy. The last vestige of medievalism, the caliphate was abolished, and the road to secularisation and progress was thus cleared. In the various reforms in the government, administration, education and society, the R. P. P. held up the undertone of the revolutionary spirit.

But the R.P.P. regime under Ataturk ended in the personal autocracy of the head of the state as the experiments with tolerated opposition failed. In 1924 the Republican Progressive Party was organised by General Kazim Karabekir and some others to put down the political monopoly of the R. P. P. They had worked closely with Mustafa Kemal, and had grievances against certain aspects of the latter's policies. But the new party soon developed reactionary attitudes and Ataturk was obliged to take drastic steps against all opposition leaders in the name of suppressing the Kurdish revolt in 1925. In 1930, another opposition party, known as the Republican Liberal Party, was formed under the leadership of Fethi Bey, former President of the Assembly. It started with the blessings of Kemal, but due to lack of unity among members, Fethi declared it impossible to oppose the Ghazi Pasha. Ataturk encouraged the growth of limited opposition only to use them as political safety-valves.

After the death of Ataturk, his authoritarian and paternalist rule degenerated into something nearer dictatorship in the hands of lesser men. To wido out constitutional opposition, his successors were to rely more and more on simple repression. During the war years the R.P.P. leaders revived the martial law, censorship of the press and extension of police activities.

They did not allow any free scope to opposition. But opposition was likely to come from land owners afraid of Republican attempts to pursue land reforms, from businessmen chafing at government controls. The ambitious and politically minded members of the R. P. P. also opposed it. Workers and urban consumers, dismayed at the spiralling rise in the cost of living. Religious conservatives, Christian and Jewish minorities, recently hit hard by a confiscatory tax and poor peasants all were drawn into opposition against the R.P.P.

In May 1945, a crisis arose in the R.P.P. over the question of the restoration of individual rights and liberties to which the Turkish government was giving its theoretical approval to the United Nations. Four of its members, Jelal Bayar, Fuad Koyrula, Adnan Menderes and Refik Koraltan either resigned or were discharged from the R.P.P. and organised the Democratic Party in January, 1946. The R.P.P. leaders however, assumed that their former allies neither would nor could organise a strong opposition from among the desperate elements of society and therefore tolerated its emergence as an innocent ornament of democracy. But within a few months they were frightened by the new democracy and rigged the elections of 1946 to defeat the rapidly gaining Democrats. Within four years, despite the repressive measures of the R.P.P. Cabinet and the split of the Democrats into extremist and moderate wings, the Democratic Party was able to gain massive popular support from among the masses of people. In the meantime Communist inspired, Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey was formed, but it was suppressed under martial law. A new electoral law was passed in 1950 to hold fair elections. In the free election 1950, the Democrats won a thumping majority and the Republican regime allowed itself to be defeated in it.

The victorious Democratic Party elected Jemal Bayar as the President of the Republic and Adnan Menderes as the Prime Minister. The Bayar-Menderes regime took up a tolerant attitude towards religion. The salient features of

etatism were eased and private enterprise and investment of foreign capital encouraged. They eased the censorship of the press ; but did not tolerate any opposition as it was evident in the rigid suppression of the National Party. Two more parties originated during the Democratic regime : the Democratic Workers' Party and the Peasants' Party of Turkey. Although they could not check price rise and inflation, the Democrats won an un-expected majority in the 1954 elections, whose fairness was challenged by others.

Between 1954 and 1960 the Democrats remained in power and once again revived the repressive measures. Menderes restricted freedom of speech, public assembly and the press. The activities of the opposition parties and the autonomy of universities were curbed. Turkey's educated men were neglected and ultimately alienated from the Democrats. The roads and tractors spread ; but two-thirds of the people remained as yet illiterate. By developing the countryside Menderes created a new economic group among the peasants on whose votes he relied upon. But, he could neither avoid damaging them by repeated economic crisis, nor meet their new aspirations. Corruption plainly began to take the place of ideas and organisation was replaced by opportunism. Menderes won the election of 1957 by fraud and by 1960, he became a repressive ruler ready to stamp out all opposition.

A comparison of the ideas and programmes of the Republican Peoples Party and the Democratic Party between 1946 and 1960 would show differences. The leaders of both the parties had a heritage of common beliefs reinforced by decades of earlier collaboration with each other. Between 1946 and 1950, the Democratic Party fought for greater political and intellectual freedom. The Republicans were obliged to fight against the repressive policies of the Democrats. The latter championed the cause of free enterprise against etatism, and after their victory they also relied on governmental planning. The Republicans now favoured more skilful planning for a more mixed economy. The Democrats won strong support from the

peasants by helping their cause. By the late 1950s, the Republicans began to speak more boldly in favour of assistance to the peasants to catch up with the democrats in rural areas.

In his repressive rule, Menderes went so far as to use the army as a tool to stamp out opposition. It climaxed the going movement in the army, "Yirmi Yedi Mayıs." The army rose in revolt to protect Turkish democracy and its political neutrality. In May, 1960, it took over the reins of government from Menderes to preserve the basic values of Atatürk Revolution—secularism, democracy and modernisation. But within eighteen months after the coup multi-party democracy was restored to Turkey ; because the system had already proved its worth. The Democratic Party was suspended ; and other parties like the Justice Party, the Republican Peasants' National Party and New Turkey Party appeared in the scene. The Republican Peoples Party once again hectored a majority in the elections of 1961.

2. Review the attitude of the Turkish Republic towards Islam.

Islam occupies an important place in the history of the Turkish republic by way of its disestablishment or rebirth. Since the days of Suleyman the magnificent it had become a hard legal system and abandoned the toleration of the earlier days. With its two levels ; the 'Sheriat' and the hierarchy of its exponents, and the mystical, popular dervish brotherhood, the 'Tarikat', Islam had blockaded any stride towards modernisation and secularisation. On the other hand, it had readily strengthened reactionary rule as it had been evident during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. The Young Turks had made moderate attempts towards secularisation ; but the greatest onslaught came on Islam at the end of the First World War. The Kemalist Revolution led to the creation of a secular republic, and Islam was radically disestablished in the Atatürk regime. Its influence was waived from all spheres of life ; but it survived beneath the surface. It revived again in its hierarchical aspects in the 1940's and

50's : but there was no revival either of the 'tarikats' or the theocratic state system. In the Turkish republic no attempts were made towards the reformation of the Islamic faith.

Ever since the beginning of the decline of the Ottoman Empire, the elements of toleration in Islam had been abandoned and the road to progress blockaded. It had sunk into conservatism and orthodoxy and entered into a *drujba* with the obscurantist forces in Turkey. Slogans of protest against this religious fanaticism had been raised from among the moderate and western educated people since the days of Mahmud II. As the reform movement in the Empire had spread the forces of secularism gathered a momentum. Several legislative measures were passed in the Tazimat era and even there were talks of separation of religion from the state. But nothing tangible was achieved and Islam attained a second climax during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Religious loyalty of the Turks also became more intensified with Turkey's defeat in several foreign wars. The Young Turk revolutionaries overthrow the despot, but they strove towards secularisation only in bits and pieces. Their performance of irreligion did much to lead the Muslim clergy with the Shaykh-al-Islam at their head, into a hostile attitude.'

The outbreak of the First World War made much to break the unity of Islam in the Ottoman Empire. The empire, at the instigation of Germany declared a 'Jihad' against the Allies, while the Arabs rose in revolt against it at the instigation of Great Britain. Taking this opportunity Kemal 'brought a new intensity of religious identification and loyalty' in course of his struggle for the defence of Anatolia. A bitter blow came on Islam when the 'Mufti' of Anatolia issued a 'fetwa' counteracting that of the caliph and the Shaikh-ul-Islam. Even then, the nationalists under Kemal did not like to arrive at a complete breach with religion. On the other hand, they convoked a pan-Islamic conference at Sivas in February, 1921, for rallying world Muslim opinion to the Muslim cause. But the terrorism 'of the army of the Caliphate' against the

nationalists made reconciliation impossible. When the Sultanate was abolished and Turkey was proclaimed a republic an utterly alien compromise was attempted by retaining the Caliphate under the republic. But that was also abandoned after a few months and a whole set of secular legislation followed soon. The Holy Law was repealed and Islam disestablished until April 1928, when it was wholly removed from the Constitution.

The basis of the religious policy of the Kemalist republic as Bernard Lewis has summarised 'was laicism, not irreligion ; its purpose was not to destroy Islam, but to disestablish it—to end the power of religion and its exponents in political, social and cultural affairs, and limit it to matters of belief and worship.' In other words, it was to separate religion from politics, and it was manifested in the law against High Treason which was passed in the Grand National Assembly on April 29, 1920. It was reaffirmed in the Criminal Code of 1926, which prescribed punishments for religious leaders in secular courts. The reorganisation of the hierarchy began with the law of 1924, abolishing the office of 'Shaikh-ul-Islam' and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. They were replaced by a Presidency for Religious Affairs and a Directorate-General of Pious Foundations. The 'ulema' was thus bureaucratised and became minor civil servants. General education had already been freed from religious authorities, and with regard to religious education, the old theological seminaries were closed and at the higher level the 'Suleymaiye Medrese' was reconstituted as a faculty of divinity in the University of Istanbul. The influence of religion was reduced or eliminated from social and cultural symbol and practices. Thus the dress and headgear were reformed, the calendar and the alphabet westernised. Islam was finally removed from the constitution in April, 1928 and legal secularism was fully proclaimed as the basis of the Turkish republic. The whole movement was anti-clericalist and any attempts to westernise the Islamic faith were discouraged or failed.

The policy of the Turkish republic was not avowedly anti-Islamic, but to end the power of organised Islam and to reduce its influence upon the Turkish people. Its pressure was felt very strongly in the 1930s when the republic converted the great basilica of Santa Sophia in Istanbul into a museum. But inspite of all these, the influence of religion in the villages and small towns remained little altered. Islam's popularity persisted in the form of the cult of dervish shaikhs. Ataturk's death was soon followed by the rumours of religious restoration. But, as Bernard Lewis has pointed out, "apart from the return of Muslim Chaplains in the army nothing very much happened."

The end of the Second World War was followed by a greater freedom of expression to all trends of opinion in Turkey. On the one hand, political parties grew up in the republic, and the religious leaders proclaimed more and more openly their hostility to secularism, on the other. The National Party was openly in favour of religious revival and the Democratic Party also fostered to take advantage of the disgruntled religious leaders. In 1946 a full dress debate took place in the G. N. A. on religious education. Although the ruling Republican People's Party stood for secularism, but eventually in 1949 it re-introduced religious education in the Turkish schools. Religious education was first introduced as optional, but in 1950 it was made compulsory in the fourth and fifth classes of primary schools. In 1953, the reading of Koran was made obligatory. In fact, in the late 1940s and 50s neither of the political parties were enabled to keep out of religion, and the religious leaders took this opportunity to revive their hold.

The question of religious higher education became a matter of public debate, when these changes took place and people began to greater interests in religious matters. Absense of religious instruction caused an acute shortage of competent teachers in the religious schools. A Faculty of Divinity in the University of Ankara was opened in 1949 for this purpose. The libera-

lisation of the attitude towards Islam became more manifest when in 1950 permissions were given to call prayer in Arabic. But vigilant eyes were maintained by the Ministry of Education not to allow Islam to undermine the secular republic. For this, the National Party was suppressed in 1953 and when in 1956, the Democratic government of Menderes gave lenience to religious reactionaries, the army took over to maintain the secular undertone of the republic.

It has been at time argued that the religious revival was encouraged after the death of Ataturk as an insurance against communism. But, the idea was not tenable with the spread of communism in the Muslim countries, nor Turkey a fertile soil for communist seeds. Religious revival was organised mainly by men of the older generation : but it was a national need, because Islamic roots of Turkish life and culture are still alive. But the future of Islam in the republic is not clear whether Turkey will slip back to the old fanaticism and orthodoxy or cause 'a synthesis of the best elements of West and East'. The possibility lies in a workable compromise between Islam and modernism, which will enable the Turks "to follow their fathers' path to freedom and progress and their grandfathers' path to God."

∴. **Comment on Turkey's foreign policy since the death of Mustafa Kemal.**

On the eve of the outbreak of the Second World War, Turkish statesmen definitely aligned with Great Britain and France on the defence of the Mediterranean area. But during the course of the war, they were seen to stand steadfast on a policy of passivity. Turkish foreign policy was now in the hands of lesser statesmen, because Ataturk died on November 11, 1938. As American successes began to dispel doubt about the final outcome of the war, Turkey declared war against Germany in February, 1945 and became a member of the proposed United Nations. She was benefited by the war-time American aids. When, at the end of the war, the world powers polarised into Capitalist and Communist Centres,

cold war corollary raised the strategic importance of Turkey to Western eyes. Turkey with her traditional rivalry with Russia and in view of the recent developments borne as a valuable ally of the western powers. Although there were changes in the government of Turkey due to the Democratic Victory in the elections of 1950 and the military coup of 1960, Turkish foreign policy continued on the same line of economic and political co-operation with the western powers.

The successors of Kemal Ataturk, Ismet and his associates, were determined to pursue the policy of neutrality in matters of Turkey's relations with European Powers. But international situations soon changed to the detriment of Turkish statesmen. Turkey had friendly but cautious relations with both Communist Russia and capitalist West. During the uncertainties of the mid 1930s of the Anglo-French appeasement policy she was tended to adopt a pro-Russian foreign policy. Again when in 1939, the Soviet signed a treaty of friendship with Nazi-Germany on the eve of the outbreak of the Second World War, the Turks became somewhat dubious about future plan of Russia and signed a treaty of alliance with England and France in October, 1939. Turkish statesmen wished neither to make their country a base for military operations against Russia, nor to give Russia any excuse for an attack on it.

During the war years, the relative position of the powers changed very rapidly. Russian hostility and extension of German powers and influence over most of Europe led the Turkish statesman, in June 1940 not to fulfil the obligations of the treaty of alliance. They remained firm on a policy of passivity as they did not like to repeat the tragic error of October, 1914. But when in 1941, the German armies advanced within 100 miles of Istambul, they signed a friendship and trade agreement with Germany, while at the same time they undertook to maintain the treaty obligations to Britain. Turkish policy became more positive when Germany invaded Russia, the hereditary enemy of the Turks and when President Roosevelt extended lend-lease aid to Turkey. Even then, Turkish

opinion in general supported Ismet's policy of neutrality. But by 1943, the Turkish government began to realise the Axis powers were doomed to defeat, and henceforward the Turks began to cultivate ever closer economic and military relations with the West. They broke of diplomatic relations with Germany, declared a war against it in 1945 and entered into the United Nations Conference at San Francisco.

At the end of the Second World War, Nazi Germany was defeated. Soviet Russia was engaged in the military occupation of Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria and established communist governments in all the Balkan states except in Greece. German influences were removed from Turkey and her defence with regard to Soviet Russia was seriously weakened. Henceforth, the Turks were to depend on the western alignment to counter-weight the powerful Soviet Union. Their western ally, Great Britain, also felt it impossible to check the spread of communism in the Middle East single handed. The British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, persuaded the United States to assume the necessary economic, political and military obligations inherent in the undertaking. The communist revolt in Greece and Joseph Stalin's demand for military bases along the straits and the return of Kars and Ardahan from Turkey precipitated the Truman Doctrine from the U. S., which among other thing, declared that "the integrity (of Turkey) is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East." The Turks could now pursue actively an anti-Soviet policy without having a British power.

In 1947, the Turkish Republic thus broke its splendid isolation and greeted American aid and assistance in order to get rid of the worse post-war economy. The Truman Doctrine was set to implementation, when the Congress approved the granting of \$100,000,00 to Turkey. From the Marshall Plan, Turkey accrued benefits. For the improvement of ports of Istambul, Izmir and other cities, a credit was accorded by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in

1950. The United States Economic Cooperation Administration offered a generous sum for the development of Turkish industry and commerce. American technicians and experts were sent in large numbers to co-operate with Turkey's developments. Although there was a change of government in Turkey in 1950, when the Democratic Party won a victory in the elections, in its foreign relations, there was no deviation from the clear way of identifying national interests with those of the West.

The new President, Jemal Bayar, paid a visit to the United States in 1953 and his Prime Minister, Menderes, followed him. In 1955, following the Communist aggression in Korea, Turkey announced her determination to join the United Nations forces. Early in the same year, she had joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) as a full member, although she was not a North Atlantic state. That year, she took the initiative to conclude a defensive treaty with Iraq and it was soon joined by Britain, Pakistan and Iran. It became known as the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO, or the Baghdad Pact, Baghdad having been chosen as headquarters. It was set on the lines of NATO, as a North Eastern tier to check any possible threat of Soviet aggression. Soviet Russia, however, considered it a link forged by the West to connect the NATO and the South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and denounced it. The United States did not join in the CENTO but extended moral and financial support. The United States military and financial support to Turkey continued to step up year by year. The Turkish Republic also signed a Treaty of Friendship with India on December 14, 1951.

Other than with Russia, the Turkish Republic faced problems with two of her neighbours, Syria and Greece. The Syrian problem was caused by her leftist move in 1956; but the problem with Greece attained serious proportions. The immediate post-war relations with Greece was cordial and Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia entered into a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation to guard against a possible

Russian drive through the Balkans. But with the outbreak of terrorism in Cyprus at the end of 1954, the Greek-Turkish relations deteriorated ; because at Cyprus there were a considerable Turkish minority. Turkey put forward a solution of dividing the island between herself and Greece. But it was found unacceptable to others. Cyprus was declared a Republic on August 16, 1960 ; but troubles flared up again in 1963 when President Makarios denied the Turkish claim to the right to intervene. The military government of Turkey, which superseded the Bayar-Menderes government in 1960, yielded.

Throughout the period under consideration, the foreign policy of the Turkish Republic was concerned more with the West than with Eastern countries. Indeed it developed strong economic, political and military ties with the West, and revived her long-standing enmity with Russia. But during the crisis over Cyprus, the Turkish foreign minister visited Moscow and secured Russian support over the issue. It raised doubts as to whether Turkey would revert to Ataturk's slogan of "Peace at home and Peace abroad" in case the present cold war would melt into another global war. But that would have been improbable because the Western Powers would force Turkey to remain on their side by pressing on their new military installations there.

4. Describe the present Constitution of Turkey.

The present Constitution of Turkey was promulgated as Law No. 334 of July 9, 1961. It was drafted by a Constitutional Committee and passed by a constituent assembly chosen by the National Unity Committee. But until the military coup of 1960, the Constitution of the Republic had been the Law of Fundamental Organisation, No. 491 of 1924. That had been amended in 1928, 1931, 1934 and 1937 until on June 27, 1960, the National Unity Committee promulgated a provisional Law amending the Constitution. The Turkish army, in order to protect the country and the Republic, acted on behalf of the nation and dissolved the Grand National Assembly. Power was entrusted to the N. U. C. provisionally and it was

the N. U. C. which finally gave the final shape to the present Constitution of Turkey.

The new Constitution begins with a lengthy preamble. Its objectives have been "to raise up our nation as a respected member, with equal rights, of the family of nations of the world, within the spirit of national unity, and with full consciousness of the principle of 'Peace at home, Peace abroad', of the spirit of national struggle, of national sovereignty and of devotion to the reforms of Ataturk in order to set up a democratic rule of law based on juridical and social foundations, which will make possible the realisation and guaranteeing of human rights and liberties, national solidarity, social justice and the well-being and prosperity of the individual and society..." At the same time it has been stated in Article 153 that, "No provision of the Constitution shall be construed as rendering unconstitutional the following Reform Laws which aim at raising Turkish society to the level of contemporary civilisation and at protecting the secular nature of the Republic..."

With regard to individual rights and liberties, the Constitution permits in Article 19 every individual "to follow freely the dictates of his conscience, to choose his own religious faith and to have his own opinions." "No person shall be compelled to worship, or to reveal his religious faith and belief." Religious toleration is thus restored and by Article 22, complete freedom is given to the press. Article 39, prescribes nationalisation of private enterprises which bear the characteristics of a public service. The Constitution speaks for a standard of living befitting human dignity and entitles employees and employers to form unions and to resort to strike. It has provisions of relief for the poor and the destitute and it regulates the rules of Turkish citizenship. By Article 57, the Constitution obliges the political parties to conform to the principles of a democratic and secular republic and to account for their income and expenditure to the Constitutional Court.

The Constitution introduces bi-cameral legislature for the

first time in the Turkish republic. The Grand National Assembly is to be composed of 450 deputies elected by general ballot. They must not be below thirty years, and have military experience, and literacy. They must have never been sentenced to penal servitude or five years' imprisonment or have been convicted of breach of trust and fraudulent bankruptcy. Judges, officers and military officials are eligible in the deputyship, subject to the resignation of their position. Elections to the Assembly are to be held at every fourth year but it may decide to hold them earlier.

There is to be a Senate composed of 150 elected members and 15 chosen by the President, one-third of which are to be selected every four years. The chairman and members of the reconstituted N. U. C. are ex-officio members of the Senate ; but they are liable to forfeit their membership in case they join a political party. Elected Senators must be above 40 and have had a higher education. Nominated members are to be selected by the President from various walks of life, 10 of which must be non-party men.

Laws must pass both the houses of the Grand National Assembly. They are debated first in the Assembly and then referred to the Senate. Lacking the approval of a Senate majority, an absolute majority vote of the Assembly members may pass a bill into law. If a bill is rejected by two-thirds vote of all Senate-members, the vote of two-thirds of all Assembly-members is sufficient to make it a law. Laws are promulgated by the President of the Republic within ten days.

The President of the Republic is elected by a secret ballot, at a plenary session of both the Houses from members above 40, who have had a higher education. He is elected for a term of seven years and not eligible for re-election. He must dissociate himself from his party and is impeachable, and not accountable, for high treason on the proposal of one-third members of both the Houses at a plenary session. The Chairman of the Senate acts for him, in his absence, illness or death.

From among the members of the G. N. A., the President designates the Prime Minister. Other ministers are nominated by the Prime Minister from among the members of the G.N.A. or from among those who qualified for election as deputies. The members of the Council of Ministers are collectively responsible for the implementation of government policies. The President represents the office of the Commander-in-Chief and he 'is inseparable from the spiritual being of the G. N. A.'

By Article 114, the Constitutional Court is empowered to judge the constitutionality of legislative acts. By Article 120, guarantees of absolute autonomy are given to universities and by Articles 132 and 133, to the judiciary. Neither the supervisor nor his subordinates are absolved from responsibility, if the latter carries out an order which by its nature constitutes a crime. The Constitution proposes the establishment of a state planning organisation. Constitutional amendment is possible by two-thirds vote of all members of each House of the Grand National Assembly.

The present Constitution of the Turkish republic is regarded as an improvement over that which it replaced. The statement is true for more than one reason. To begin with the unlimited guarantees of personal freedom and the several checks on the political leadership make the revival of arbitrary authoritarian rule difficult. On the other hand, these provisions make it impossible for the Turkish government to proceed with a realistic and consistent programme for an appreciable period of time. By introducing bi-cameral legislation, the present Constitution makes a definite stride over the old. It has the tenor of the Constitutions of Great Britain and the U. S. A.

CHAPTER IX

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. Give an account of the early history of Persia.

The history of civilisation in the vast plateau ranging from Armenia and the Caucasus in the north-west as far as the borders of Sind in the south-east, from the Tigris-Enphrates basin in the south-west as far as the River Jaxartes in Central Asia, and from the eastern limits of Asia Minor in the west as far as the Hindu Kush in the east,—known as Iran—is of great antiquity. It has an uninterrupted chronology from the fourth millenium B.C., and a history of monarchical rule for more than two thousand and five hundred years. The latter is dated from Cyrus, founding the Achaemenid dynasty in 550 B.C. The land mainly consists of desert and steppe ; but its medial geographical position between Asia and Europe has made ancient Iran the only trade routes before the discovery of oceanic communications. Due to her isolated geographical locations Persia has developed a unique and special type of civilisation.

The Persian Empire was established in the sixth century B.C. by Cyrus when Persia was united with Media. Cyrus belonged to the Achaemenid dynasty under which Persia prospered and developed a special civilisation. Before that Persia had had a civilisation which rivalled the Babylonians and the Assyrians around 1,000 B.C. But under the Achaemenids the Iranians developed a single language and uniform customs and manners. They adopted Zoroastrian religion and they

fought heroic battles with the Hellenes. The Achaemenids brought glory to Persia.

But the dynastic history of Persia does not reveal the continuance of native rulers. At times the native kings were replaced by alien rulers. Thus, when the Greek conqueror Alexander the Great invaded Iran, the first and truly Persian dynasty of the Achaemenids (558 B.C. to 331 B.C.) was to go. Alexander's rule was followed by that of the Selucids, who were again succeeded by the Arsacid Parthian dynasty. The Arsacid Parthians ruled Persia for more than four hundred years from 250 B. C. to A. D. 228. Originally a predatory nomadic tribe, they claimed descent from the Archaemenid Artaxerxes II. They inherited the Archaemid system and borrowed institutions from the Selucids. They inscribed Greek legends on their coinage and developed Pahlavi as their official language. Their kings assumed Greek surnames used by Selucids and Ptolemies. During their rule Hellenism spread into the life of the empire.

The Parthian rule was followed by a native Persian monarchy of the Sassanids who ruled from 242 A.D. to 651 A. D. The Sassanid was the third great dynasty to rule Persia and consisted of some forty rulers. Unlike the Parthians, the Sassanid kings were nationalistic, energetic and aggressive. In their development of Zoroastrianism and claim to world domination, they were more a successor of early Achaemenid kings. They revitalised the empire and seriously challenged the Byzantine hegemony in western Asia. But Persians and Byzantines fought until their mutual exhaustion, when in the battle of Nehavend the Arabs defeated the Persians.

The Arabs ruled Persia with the help of a series of viceroys of either Arab or Persian descent. The Persians were converted into Islamic religion. Under the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs Persian scholars, scientists and artists attained heights hitherto unapproached. The era of Arab rule came to a close with the Mongol invasion. The Mongol invader Halagu, captured Baghdad in 1258, and thereafter began a new period

of foreign domination in Persia. Long after eight and a half centuries of national eclipse, the country once again rallied round the native dynasty of the Safavids.

The Safavid kings reigned in Persia during the years between 1501 and 1736. It was the only dynasty in Persia which claimed Arab descent and presented a radically different look from the Sassanid dynasty. The Safavids followed the Muslim faith and used a neo-Persian language. They alienated Persia from its Hellenistic and antique heritages. Unlike the Sassanids who had propagated Zoroastrianism, the Safavids were inspired by Shufism, which they endeavoured to propagate westward beyond their realm. Under Abbas the Great (1587-1629), Persia attained her meridian and experienced a regeneration of her culture.

After the reign of Abbas the Great, internal weakness and external aggression brought upon Persia a period of uncertainty. The Safavids were deprived of power by the Afsharids. The Afsharids were a Turkoman tribe, and they were brought to power by Nadir Shah. After seizing power from the Safavids, Nadir conducted a series of brilliant military campaigns and was remembered in history as a veteran warlord. But his despotic exploitation only yielded restlessness and impoverished the country. The Afsharid dynasty had altogether four Shahs, but after the death of its founder, the country was again plunged into a state of anarchy.

The integration of the Persian Empire was seriously affected by the chaotic condition. Afghanistan declared independence and other parts were hotly disputed by different chieftains. The south-western part was taken over by the head of a nomadic tribe, the Zand, named Karim Khan. A triangular conflict ensued between Afghans, Kajas and Zands and the Zands won the victory. The Zand dynasty (1750-1794) comprised seven rulers, who ruled as regents. They transferred the capital to Shiraj. Karim Khan was the most benevolent of the Persian rulers, and under his quasi-patriarchal rule, the country enjoyed a sorely needed peace. But his death was

followed by the usual struggle for power among brothers and other relatives. The state of anarchy continued until in 1794 another tribal chief, Agha Muhammad of the Turkoman Kajar tribe, seized the throne. "In the accession of the Qazar dynasty a new leaf was turned in Persian annals" (Hitti).

The history of Persia down to 1794 is a record of several epochs representing various trends. The Achaemenids developed the base of the Persian nation. Under the Selucids and Arsacid Parthian domination, the country increasingly leaned towards Hellenism. The Sassanids re-established native rule, but they were not immune from the influence of Pan-Hellenism. With the Arab conquest, Islam penetrated into Persia and it became a centre of Shia faith. A new chapter opened in Persian annals with the advent of the Safavids. Zoroastrianism was replaced by Sufism and Persia turned into an independent state. A type of quasi-patriarchal rule was established by Karim Khan of the Zand dynasty. But due to its geographical divisions the country all through its history presented a picture of two nations : civilised and tribals. It had periods of foreign domination and periods of native rule one yielding place to the other at different times ; but all along the structure of the state was monarchical.

2. Write a critical note on the foundation of Kajar rule in Persia.

The Kajars came to rule Persia when they seized power from the quarrelling princes of the Zand dynasty in 1794. They were one of the several Turkoman tribes, which settled in the Safavid period. They were a militant tribe and furnished troops for the Persian army. Their leader, Agha Muhammad Khan founded the dynasty, which counted seven shahs and lasted till 1925. Agha Muhammad established Kajar rule by his cruelty and malice, but some auspicious beginnings were also made in the administration of the country.

The eldest son of Muhammad Husain Khan, Agha Muhammad was captured and castrated by Adil Shah, a

political enemy of the Kajars, when he was a boy of five. He was the only eunuch founder of a dynasty for all times and his mutilation gave him a pathological personality dominated by vindictiveness and sadistic lust for domination. His sister was married to Karim Khan of the Zand dynasty, and by virtue of his being the brother-in-law of the ruler, Agha Muhammad lived in the court as a hostage with all comforts.

Agha Muhammad Khan was a man of shrewdness and capacity. When he heard from his sister that Karim Khan was at the point of death, he quitted Shiraj, the Zand capital, and on his return he learned that the Regent died. Immediately he rode to Isfahan to seek support of his tribesmen. Many of them rallied round him and he did not assume any title like his half-brother, Murtaja Kuli, until he made himself master of the Caspian Provinces. He entered in his successful military career.

Agha Muhammad Khan captured Tehran in 1779, and made it his centre of military operations. Cunning as he was, he futed the Russian expedition of 1781 by stratagem. He then led a series of terrible campaigns against the independent provinces to consolidate his rule at home and abroad. These provinces like Khorasan, Meshed and Kurdistan were torn into pieces by internal discord and struggle for power between the rivals. The two neighbouring states, Afghanistan and Turkey, were peaceful, for the former was too much engaged with internal troubles and the latter with European politics, to take any active interest in the Persian affairs. In one sense, therefore, his task of consolidation was made easier.

An expedition was led against Georgia in 1755. There, Heraclius declared himself independent and annexed Persian territory upto the Araxes, following the death of Nadir Shah. As a security against re-united Persian invasion, he signed a treaty with Catherine the Great of Russia. By this he renounced all connections with Persia and entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with the Northern Power.

But no Russian troops were maintained in a position to defend the integrity of Georgia and in the event of Agha Muhammad's expedition of 1795, Heraclius and the Georgians were overpowered and defeated. Tiflis and Erivan fell to the Shah but Shista continued to resist. On his return from the successful expedition into Georgia, he was coronated at Isfahan in 1796.

Agha Muhammad determined to subdue Khorasan immediately after his coronation. On his way, he subjugated Meshed. He was enticed by the splendid jewels which, he knew, were in the possession of Shah Rukh, the ruling prince of Khorasan. Again the country was strategically important as it could be used against the Uzbek trouble-mongers. In his expedition into Khorasan, the pitiless Kajar succeeded in securing the spoil of Nadir Shah by means of inflicting untold agonies upon the ruler. Khorasan was subdued in 1796. In the same year Agha Muhammad repelled a Russian invasion and conquered Shista from Georgia.

But the most horrible cruelties were inflicted upon the city of Kirman, in the south-east. It had been selected by the last Zand prince as the last refuge. This very fact excited Agha Muhammad's ire. Sir John Malcolm writes, "Nearly twenty thousand women and children were granted as slaves to his soldiers; and all the males who had reached maturity were commanded to be put to death, or to be deprived of their eyesight. Those who escaped cruelty, owed their safety neither to mercy nor to flight, but to the fatigue of their executioners, who only seized to be the instruments of glutting the revengeful spirit of their enraged monarch, when they themselves were exhausted with the work of blood." In this way Agha Muhammad Khan completed his subjugation of the country. One historian has rightly commented, "His rise to power was marked by pyramids of skulls, holocausts, mass blindings".

Thus, in his establishing the Kajar dynasty in power, Agha Muhammad Khan bade farewell to the concept of 'tutigari' or

"blood-brotherlines" of the Zand rulers. He made Tehran the centre, which is still retained. But nomadic habits were not given up altogether. The royal practice of living in camps was retained in the summertime and in times of hunting expeditions. Princes were appointed provincial governors to realise, at least in theory, the family's domination over the whole of Iran. Religious hierarchy was retained uninterrupted and Agha Muhammad Khan undertook to support the Shi'ite faith. He refused to wear the great crown of Nadir Shah, which showed his determination to restore to the Crown of Persia all the territories occupied by Nadir Shah.

Apart from his cruelty and malice, Agha Muhammad Shah introduced security and vigour in place of vulnerability and caprice. A strong central government was established. Clerical and urban forces were revived. In all these there was a tendency to revive the Safavid traditions. The landed magnates were encouraged to cleave to the centres of power. The peasants were left to be overseen by intendants and bailiffs. This resulted in the inevitable growth of bureaucracy. In 1797 Agha Muhammad was assassinated by two of his servants, whom he had condemned to death for some trivial reason. But he established a dynasty whose rule introduced a new epoch in the annals of Persia. The Kajars attained hegemony by a process tantamount to conquest and re-established the central government, including the vazirate or the chief ministry. Henceforth Iran was to be governed by despotic rulers assisted by a strong bureaucracy.

CHAPTER X

KAJARS IN EUROPEAN POLITICS

1. Examine how European politics had its way to Iran and account for the Anglo-French-Russian rivalry over it during the early years of the reign of Fath Ali Shah.

Persia had been known to the European traders from the very ancient times. The Venetian dealers had established a monopoly of what there was of international trade. But the Portuguese were the first to establish themselves firmly on Persian soil. During the reign of Shah Ismail they seized Hormuz, the important link mart on the Persian Gulf connecting overland trade to India. The Portuguese exploited the carpets, cotton, wool, fruits and gums of the city until 1622, when the Persians recovered it with the aid of forces supplied by the Dutch and English East India Companies. By virtue of their first display of troops in Asia, the English secured special privileges in the Shah's court. They began to outweigh others in the Persian Gulf and established factories at Bushir, Basra and Bandar Abbas. While the English had established themselves as the paramount power, the French secured permission to trade in Persia in 1664. On the other hand, Russia, since the days of Peter the Great, had wanted to expand toward the south. Russia's approach to the Persian Gulf threatened Britain's position in India.

During the Kajar era Persia was made a Tom Tiddler's ground in modern world politics. British authorities in India consistently opposed Russian expansion in the Persian Gulf. Their concern over Iranian affairs were signally demonstrated

by the strenuous efforts of Sir John Campbell and Sir Henry Lindsay to bring Fath Ali Shah's grandson to the throne. In fact the balancing of Anglo-Russian claims in Persia became the most dangerous concern of the Iranian statesmen in the nineteenth century. But when a third power threw its might on the scales, the balance was upset. During the early years of the reign of Fath Ali Shah (1794-1834), the successor of Agha Muhammad Khan, the Anglo-Russian balance was affected by the situation in Afghanistan and Napoleon's plan for an attack on India.

The Indian expeditions of Zaman Shah between 1793 and 1800 warned the British statesmen in India of this Afghan peril. Although his first invasion was cut short by the Kajar Shah's conquests of Khorasan and Meshed, its lessons were not lost to the British in India. In 1799 the latter urged Fath Ali Shah to move eastward against the Afghan potentate. But Zaman Shah succeeded in persuading her neighbour not to yield to the British. In the event, Sir John Malcolm's first mission was sent from India to Iran in 1801. The mission bore fruits. A treaty of mutual aid, known as Malcolm's Treaty, was signed between Hajji Ibrahim Khan, the Persian Prime Minister, on behalf of the Shah, and Captain John Malcolm, on the part of the Marquis of Wellesley, Governor-General of India.

In the Malcolm's Treaty, it was envisaged in Article 2 that the Shah of Iran would invade Afghanistan, if Zaman Shah should "ever show a resolution to invade India." Article 4 stated that if ever a king of the Afghans or 'any person of the French nation' showed hostility against Persia, England would send arms and men to the aid of the injured party. The French threat was mentioned here rather obliquely. It was more explicit in Article 5, in which it was stated that if a French army attempted to settle in any part of Iran, the two contracting states were to join in its expulsion and 'extirpation.' Moreover, the Shah agreed to refuse permission to any 'great men of the French nation' to reside in Persia. In this

renewed British attempt to establish diplomatic relations with Persia a commercial treaty was signed giving several advantages to the British and Indian traders in Persia.

Napoleonic imperialism and the Bonaparte's plan to lead an attack on British India through his conquest of Egypt was a serious concern to the British. In view of this, the Malcolm's Treaty was a very valuable diplomatic success to them. The treaty was important to Fath Ali Shah as well for the British pledge to aid him in resisting external aggression. But he could not lightly dismiss Napoleon's invasion of Egypt at the end of the eighteenth century. Nor did he receive the contemplated help from the British at the time of Russian invasion of 1802. In his search for security the Shah was quite willing to abandon the somewhat negative friendship with England. He entered into negotiations with the French Colonel, Romieu, who had arrived at Tehran to offer him an alliance and a subsidy. The Shah sent a return envoy to Napoleon. The Treaty of Finkenstein was signed between France and Persia in May 1807. It confirmed the preliminary arrangements to provide mutual aid against Russia and Britain. A French military mission under General Gardanne also arrived in Iran.

Shortly after the Treaty of Finkenstein there was a change in Napoleon's Russian policy. In the Treaty of Tilsit signed in July 1807, Napoleon and Alexander I of Russia came to terms. The Iranian dischantment at Tilsit was very soon realised when Russia seized Nakhchavan and Erivan. The French Mission lost its original political usefulness and in 1808. Sir John Malcolm returned to encompass the departure of Gardanne's Mission. This time England did not limit negotiations with the representative of the East India Company and sent Sir Hartford Jones to negotiate another Anglo-Persian Treaty on behalf of the king of England. In view of Napoleon's betrayal at Tilsit, the Shah gladly welcomed the British mission in return for a British subsidy to Persia. British officers joined the Persian army ; and Britain received an Iranian Mission in 1809.

But this Anglo-Iranian mission suspended very soon, when Napoleon invaded Persia in 1812. Britain was more concerned with the French expansion, and therefore, attempted a reconciliation with Russia. Its effects were two-fold in Persia. On the one hand, Britain disregarded her promises to assist Persia in the event of a Russo-Persian dispute; and Russia was emboldened to step up her pressure upon Persia taking advantage of Britain's softened attitude on the other. The Shah was forced to sign the Treaty of Gulistan in 1813 under duress. He lost claims on Georgian and Caucasian cities to Russia and agreed to Russian domination on the Caspian coasts.

Britain viewed the suspension of the Anglo-Persian alliance as a temporary expedient and hastened to conclude with Persia "the definitive" Treaty of Tehran as soon as French threat was parried. It was signed in November, 1814 and confirmed more or less the arrangements with Sir Hartford Jones. But to Russia, the Treaty of Gulistan was more than provisional; it opened the way for a steady rise of Russian influence. She declared war against Persia in 1828, on some pretexts, immediately to advance upto the strategic banks of the Aras river and in the long run to bring Persia under subjugation. Since Britain's assistance was limited to a few subsidies Persia was defeated and ceded territories upto the Aras river to Russia in the Treaty of Turkomanchai (1828). The treaty paved the way for Russian supremacy in Persia, and put Persia's foreign trade at the hands of Russia.

Diplomatic possibilities and necessities of the Great Powers of Europe in Persia, therefore, increased during the early years of the reign of Fath Ali Shah. British fear to safeguard the Indian interests against Napoleonic imperialism made the Shah's Court in Tehran a stage for an intricate play of British and French intrigues. The Shah had an important role in the consequent treaties in view of the Russian danger. But at every time he was betrayed to the effect that Persia was reduced to a pawn or a kind of Tom Tiddler's ground in the

game of Big Power rivalries. In consequence as George Leczonwski says, "the principle of integrity of Persia became a corollary of Ottoman integrity" in British and Russian foreign policies.

2. Discuss the significance of the Treaties of Gulistan and Turkomenchai in the history of Russo-Persian relations.

Russia had been stamped as the key enemy in the history of Persia's diplomatic relations. This attitude had developed since the days of Peter the Great's inauguration of the policy of southward expansion. It had been a part of the Russian policy of aggrandisement and it was revived by Catherine the Great. Frequent clashes became inevitable when the Kajar rulers of Persia also inaugurated a policy of consolidation in the late eighteenth century. Hostility between the two neighbouring powers centred round the occupation of Georgia, and it was renewed by the successive Tsars. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Persia's strategic importance in international relations increased with the emergence of Napoleonic imperialism and Britain's problem of defending the Indian empire. Russia had been undoubtedly a danger to Britain's Indian interests, but for the time being her attention was diverted to France. Taking advantage of these diplomatic wranglings with the Shah, Russia defeated Persia twice and forced upon her the Treaties of Gulistan and Turkomanchai.

Russo-Persian hostilities entered into a new stage with Fath Ali Shah's claim on the Georgian king, George XII to send his eldest son as a hostage to Tehran. The humiliated king turned towards Russia for help and General Lazareff was sent at his requests, Georgia was finally amalgamated with the Russian Empire, which was thereby brought into direct contact with Persia in 1800. It was formerly a tributary to Persia and so she remonstrated against its annexation. The relations between Russia and Persia embittered on this issue and it was decided in the Battle of Aslandaz in 1812. At this time European diplomatic situation took a new course. Russia and Britain composed their differences in order to step

down their common enemy, Napoleon. In the event of Britain's disregard to her promises to assist Persia, the latter was defeated and she was compelled to sign the Treaty of Gulistan in October, 1813.

The terms of the Treaty of Gulistan were disastrous for Persia. She lost claims on the Caucasian cities like Derbend. Baku, Shirvan, Shaki, Karabagh and parts of Talish to Russia. She was compelled to abandon all pretensions in Georgia, Daghostan, Mingrelia Imeritia, and Abkhasia. Russian navy was allowed to control the Caspian Sea indirectly. In return, Russia agreed to support the claims of Abbas Mirza on the Persian throne. The treaty was signed between the Russian Governor General of Georgia and Prince Abbas Mirza. Sir George Ousley used his good offices for this purpose.

The treaty was extremely humiliating to Persia and the religious leaders were shocked at the invasion of Georgia. They were ready to declare a 'jihad' against the infidels which meant a second war. But Fath Ali Shah was reluctant to bear the expense of another war and desired a peaceful settlement without further humiliation and loss with the new Russian plenipotentiary, Prince Menchikoff. But there was a war party in Terhan who were impeded by suspicion of the possibility of Russia's support of Abbas Mirza as future Shah. Its members assumed that a second war with Russia might lead to Abbas Mirza's final discomfiture in both the foreign military field and in the field of internal rivalries. So there was a demand for a second war from all quarters and Fath Ali Shah was compelled to return Prince Menchikoff's passport. Iran took up arms against Russia in 1826 over the dispute about Gokcha.

In the second war Persia was again defeated and compelled to sign another humiliating treaty, the Treaty of Turkoman-chai, in 1828. By this treaty, Persian claims to the territory north of the Aras including the fertile provinces of Erivan and Nakhchivan were annulled (Article 4). Under Article 6, Russia demanded an indemnity of 20 million roubles. In the

Protocol it was laid down that if the indemnity were not paid within six months, Russia would be obliged to separate the province of Azerbaijan from the rest of the country 'forever'. The treaty also emphasised on Russia's gesture to protect the Christians. By Article 8, Russia secured freedom for navigation on the Caspian Sea and the right to land on the Caspian shores. In Article 11, she was given the right to appoint consuls and commercial agents wherever their presence could be justified. Moreover Abbas Mirza was recognised in Article 7 as the heir to the throne of Persia.

The Treaty of Turkomanchai has been very appropriately described by Peter Avery as "the driving home of the lesson administered by the Treaty of Gulistan fifteen years before." Weakness of Persia was exposed to the European powers, and she was compelled to give Russia almost extraterritorial privileges. In matters relating to the protection of the Christians and commercial concessions, the situation was a corollary to Turkish capitulations. Territorial encroachments ceased to be a part of the international rivalry over Persia and henceforth other European powers demanded similar privileges as in the capitulations. Russia on her part fully utilised all these privileges not only to reduce Iran to a veiled protectorate, but to push her interests in Afghanistan and India as well.

The Treaties of Gulistan and Turkomanchai affected the Russo-Persian relations in other ways. The increase of Russian pressure in Persia aroused an alarm to Britain, who were dreadful of Russia's economic interests. Again the people of Persia, particularly the religious leaders and the opponents of Prince Abbas Mirza reacted in a very different way. Their resentment against this Russian encroachment caused such restlessness among the Iranians that the Russian envoy Griboedov was murdered. Although Russia did not allow the Griboedov episode to become the cause of further conflict, henceforward anti-Russian forces in Iran had a larger role to play in Russo-Persian relations.

3. Evaluate the importance of the Kajar policy of invading Herat in Persia's relations with European powers.

Herat and other parts of Afghanistan had been originally Persian territories, and their recovery had been a national dream of the Persians. The Afghan question received importance after the territorial losses in the Caspian region. In fact Abbas Mirza turned towards Afghanistan in order to balance the losses in the north. His attempts were futile, but it did not lose importance in the subsequent years. The episode attained its climax in 1856 when Shah Nasir-ud-din led an expedition to Herat. During these years Afghanistan and Central Asia became a cockpit of Anglo-Russian rivalries. For strategic and diplomatic reasons Russia backed the Persian expansionism to the detriment of British interests in India. Afraid of the seriousness of the episode Britain counteracted the challenge of Persia and brought her to control in the Treaty of Paris. The Afghan question ended in loss of Russia's influence in Iran and its replacement by Britain's.

The terms of the Treaty of Turkomanchai with the extra-territorial privileges had definitely increased Russian influence over Persia. This was terribly reacted in Persia, more especially in Khorsan. Crown Prince Abbas Mirza, whose succession to the Persian throne after Fath Ali Shah had been recognised in the above treaty, went Khorasan to suppress the rebellion. He then turned towards Afghanistan not only to divert the attention of the people but to compensate the losses in the Caucasian provinces as well. He was willingly supported by Russia, whose objects were to secure her recent gains in Persia from internal rebellions and to extend her influence in Central Asia through her protege, Abbas Mirza. From Central Asia, the Russians could threaten the British position in India, and, therefore, the region was strategically important for both Russia and Great Britain. But this early effort ended in failure.

Attempts to capture Herat, the gateway to Kabul and Kandahar, were renewed in 1837 during the reign of Muhammad

Shah (1834-1848). In the meantime, both Russia and Britain made vigorous attempts to establish diplomatic supremacy in the court of Kabul. The new Shah and his prime minister, Hajji Mirza Aghasi entertained a hostile opinion against the British. It became evident when the Shah dismissed the British military mission in 1836. In the next year he sent an expedition against Herat. The mediation for a settlement made by the British envoy to Persia, Dr. McNeill, yielded nothing. The affairs led to the First Afghan War, which lasted from 1838 to 1842. While Persia was diplomatically backed by Russia, Dost Muhammad, the ruler of Kabul inflicted a defeat upon the Persians with the aid of British army from India. The second bid to recover Afghanistan also met the same fate as that of the first.

Muhammad Shah died in 1848 and he was succeeded by Nasir-ud-din Shah (1846-1896) on the Persian throne. In the early 1850s, Russia made an overture to the Shah for his support in the event of a Russian invasion of eastern Turkey. Persian sentiment was at that time against Turkey due to their recent rivalry over the common frontier. Russian encroachments in the Balkan regions at the same time caused great annoyance to Britain, France and Turkey. But the Shah maintained his passivity on that issue. But the Herat question was again revived by the Sadr-i-Azam.

Although the Shah undertook in 1853 to the Government of India not to interfere in the affairs of Herat, he found that many things could be accomplished under the cover of an expedition to it. It could be used as a political gambit to divert the attention of the people from other problems and to restore confidence to the Shah which was very lacking. Since the British were engaged in the Crimean War, they would be unable to intervene in time to prevent the Persian arms from achieving some success. The arrangements for an expedition to Herat was probably also encouraged by the Russian envoy to Tehran, Prince Dolgorourki in his secret meeting with the Shah in the autumn of 1853.

Persian expedition to Herat was sent in 1856 and a Persian army succeeded in capturing the coveted fort. But the Government of India did not choose to ignore the breach of the undertaking of 1853. General Outram was sent from Bombay with a British Indian force to invade southern Iran. The island of Kharg was captured by them and the British post of Bushire was strengthened. It was a classic operation of General Outram, because he captured also Muhammarah and Ahvaz and forced the Persians to sue for peace. The Persians were obliged to accept the dictated terms of the Treaty of Paris in March, 1857.

The Treaty of Paris was formally ratified at Baghdad in May, 1857. A perpetual peace was established between Her Majesty the Queen of England and His Majesty the Shah of Persia. The Shah agreed to withdraw his troops from Herat. Under Articles 6 and 7, Persia bound herself not to invade any part of Afghanistan or Herat again except under threat of aggression, and not to annex any part of the region under any circumstances. By Article 9, the contracting parties agreed to establish consuls in each other's dominions. By Article 13, the Anglo-Persian agreement of 1831 for the suppression of slave-running in the Persian Gulf was renewed. Other Articles of the treaty provided for the investigation and payment of claims against the Persian government. In signing this treaty, Britain refrained from asking for territory, concessions or indemnities.

The expedition to Herat was the last foreign campaign carried out by Persia. It was a futile attempt and the ready acceptance of the terms of the Treaty of Paris compelled the Shah to rely on support of foreign powers. Persia was moved partly by Russian instigation and partly by internal troubles. But in no time, she was backed by a Russian army. Moreover, she was afraid of a chronic Russian danger, and therefore, she readily composed her differences with Britain and paved the way for securing money in times of need. Russia's reaction against this British supremacy in the Shah's

court was obvious. She had already acquired the naval base of Ashurada on the southern coast of the Caspian in 1840. Henceforth she devoted her energies to the conquest of Central Asia and created a common boundary with Persia subjugating the Turkoman tribes. Britain was worried at this Russian advance and caused a serious international crisis which brought in 1885 the two protagonists close to war. But open rupture was, however, avoided by Britain's energetic stand and Russia's decision not to cross into Afghanistan.

4. Discuss the importance of the various concessions given by Shah Nasir-ud-din to the foreigners on Persia's international relations.

During the long reign of Nasir-ud-din Shah there was a growing impact of the West on his country. With the growth of small industries there was a growing need for foreign money. Money was wanted to reorganise the army and to finance new types of civil institution. The government was badly in need of money and the foreign concessionaires were ready to pay down substantial sums in cash. Shah Nasir-ud-din and his ministers thought that the technological advancement of the West was due to their possession of money. So he readily gave various concessions to the Western Powers to fulfil the Government's need for money and to catch up with the technological advancement of the latter. Major concessions were given to the British, and it was resented by the Russians. People of Iran also were hostile to these concessions. The concessions led the country's economy towards a trend of foreign control.

Foreign penetration in the Persian economy began when Shah Nasir-ud-din signed a convention with Great Britain in 1862, by which he allowed the latter to construct trunk telegraph lines. In 1864 the Shah agreed to the construction by British officers of a telegraph line running from the Persian frontier near Bagdad to Kirmanchai, Hamadan and Tehran and from the capital to Bushire. Colonel Stewart and Captain Champion, the two British officers succeeded in obtaining the Shah's permission to construct telegraphic link between

London and India through Persia. The concession was further increased as a result of the agreement of 1872 whereby the Indo-European telegraphic line was to pass along the shores of the Black Sea and through Russian territory directly to Tehran. These telegraphic concessions were no doubt beneficial for the Shah financially and in respect of communication. But it evoked the Russian wrath and played a dangerous role in the country's history in the long run.

Since the Treaty of Turkomanchai, Persia was in financial obligations to Russia. The Shah and his Sipah Salar thought to offset it by payments made by a British concessionaire. He was Julius de Reuter a naturalised Englishman, and the Reuter Concession was the first major concession granted by the Persian government in 1872. It was the largest in scope ever to be conceived. Among other things it included the right to work in the mines, to found a national bank and to construct railways throughout the empire for a period of seventy years. But this concession was not to materialise because of Russian pressure. During his tour to Petrograd, Russians expressed their displeasure and in London the Shah found no enthusiasm. The Iranians were hostile to the Reuter Concession; and, therefore, he cancelled it on his return to the capital. In 1889, Reuter realised his caution money and salvaged from the wreck of the original scheme of the Bank concession. The British concessionaire established the Imperial Bank of Persia in 1889.

There was a crowding of concession hunters into Tehran from the opening of the first Indo-European telegraph and the Russians did not lag behind. They secured the right to train the Cossack Brigade and to officer it. In fact the organising equipping and training of the Persian army was made possible by Russian aid. Russia utilised her long influence in Persia against the Reuter banking concession and secured the right to open the Discount Bank in 1891. This bank did not operate on commercial principles and therefore enabled Russia to get hold on the Persian finance. A Russian

subject also secured a vital concession of fishing rights in the Caspian.

On the other hand, Britain obtained another concession when the Lynch bothers were allowed to control commercial navigation on the waters of the lower reaches of the river Karun. It opened a trade route over the Zagros mountains to Ispahan and paved the way for important developments in Khuzistan. But in the Lynch concession the Iranian Government did not allow the company to build permanent establishment, as it had been the case with the Russians in the Treaty of Turkomanchai.

But these concessions did not enable the Shah to meet his growing expenses. So he gave perhaps the most formidable concession in 1890 to an English Company. He granted the monopoly of the curing and sale of Iran's entire tobacco crop to the Talbot Company. The concession was for fifty years, and the Shah's Government was to receive a rent of £ 15,000 a year and a quarter of the annual profits after the payment of expenses and a five per cent dividend on the capital. It included provision for the erection of warehouses all over the country.

The Tobacco Concession, however, touched everybody—the growers, the sellers and the smokers of tobacco. Therefore, it excited a unified action against this concession. In 1891 the leading mujtahid, Hajji Mirza Hasan Sirazi issued a 'fatwa' forbidding the use of tobacco, and it was responded by the people. Sporadic and uncoordinated riots broke out and they were hardened into a single and unbreachable front by the Hajji's serious decree. The nation reacted with astonishing unity in the face of which the Shah and his ministers were obliged to cancel the concession in January, 1792. The British were defied by the Persians in the cancellation of the Tobacco concession.

Thus concession hunting in Iran became a chronic feature since the granting of the first concession in 1864. Lord Curzon has left an account of this competitions among the

different European nations. Shah Nasir-ud-din's reign was marked by an Anglo-Russian rivalry over Persia, rivalling on the control of the economic and strategic fields. The process was facilitated by the stringent need for money, and, in fact lack of money became the bugbear in Iran's relations with other countries henceforward. But the Iranians were not ready to merge their country to the foreign concessionaires, and, therefore, they united into a purpose and defied the Shah as well as the foreign nation concerned.

5. Give an account of the conflict for strategic and economic control over Persia during the period from Malcolm's mission till the Adalat Khana Decree.

Big power rivalry on the control of Persia, nay of the Middle East, began at a time when the Kajars emerged as the rulers of Persia. The principal actors in this historical drama were the Russians and the British, the former, since the days of Peter the Great, had wanted to expand towards the south, and the latter had consistently opposed it in view of the threat which it caused to their position in India. Anglo-Russian claims over Persia thus became a permanent feature of the nineteenth century diplomacy. Their balance was occasionally disrupted by the emergence of a third power. During the early decade of the nineteenth century such a situation appeared in Persia, when Napoleonic France secured a permanent influence in it. But at that time Britain acted as a virtual guarantor of Persian independence. She was also willing for the time being at least, to compromise with the chronic Russian danger which would mean obvious concessions to her at the expense of Persia. But the rulers of Persia failed to derive any benefit from the third power intervention.

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, British authorities in India began by inciting Fath Ali Shah to invade Afghanistan as a means of diverting that country from attacking India. They secured a diplomatic success by concluding the Malcolm Treaty of Alliance with Persia, which contained a French exclusion clause. Two years later Napoleon offered the

first diplomatic overtures to Persia from Egypt to lead a joint expedition to British India. The Shah welcomed French support in view of his contemplated attack on Georgia, which Russia had wrested from her in 1801. The Franco-Persian Treaty of Firkenstein was signed in May 1807 and General Gardanne of the French military mission was received in Persia. But in the following year the French mission was replaced by a British one in return for a British subsidy to Persia. The Shah was frustrated of Napoleon's betrayal at Tilsit.

But at this time, Napoleon invaded Russia ; and Britain, vitally interested in checkmating France, attempted a reconciliation with Russia. Persia was left to her own fate and Russia taking advantage of the softend British attitude, tore away the Georgian and Caucasian provinces from the former in the Treaty of Gulistan (October, 1813). The Anglo-Persian alliance was suspended for the time being. Soon it was revived and the "definitive" Treaty of Tehran was signed in 1814. The treaty left Persia entirely dependent on Britain in its foreign policy. It was directed against Russia which had already had the opening wedge of steadily rising influence. Under Russian pressure the Russo-Persian Treaty of Turkomanchai was signed in 1828. The treaty put Persia at the mercy of Russia and imposed capitulations in the model enforced in Turkey. The strategic provinces of Erivan and Nakhichivan on the Aras were ceded to Russia and Persia's foreign trade was put in the hands of the latter. In fact Persia was turned into a 'veiled protectorate' of Russia.

Six years later an Anglo-Russian agreement was signed guaranteeing the independence of Persia and revealing the distrust of the two contracting parties. But Persia sought to compensate her territorial losses in the Caucasian region at the expense of Afghanistan. In fact, both Russia and the Shah desired to shift the people's attention elsewhere. The attempts of 1833 and 1837-1842 met with failure. Persian army succeeded in capturing Herat in 1856. But Britain immediately declared

war and landed troops at the Persian Gulf port. Shah Nasir-ud-din was forced to withdraw his troops from Afgan territory. In the Anglo-Persian Treaty of Paris (1857), the cardinal point was to keep Persia weak. On the south-east bay of the Caspian at Astrabad, Russia established a military base. The venue of Anglo-Russian rivalry was temporarily shifted to Central Asia.

During the reign of Nasir-ud-din Shah, the impact of the West grew steadily on his country. He himself had three visits (1873, 1887 and 1889) to Europe, which left a strain on the country's finances. In view of modernisation and lack of finance, concessions, mainly of British interests, ensued one after the other. The one for telegraph lines was given to Baron Julius de Reuter in 1864 first from Bushir to Baghdad and later to connect London with ramifications reaching the main cities in the provinces. In 1889 a concession for founding the Imperial Bank of Persia was given to British interests. The Karun river was opened to British navigation. Earlier a British subject had been given a gigantic package of monopolies in return for a commitment to found a national bank, construct railways etc. In view of the passive opposition from Russia the grant was withdrawn. Russian interests were allowed to establish the Discount Bank of Persia. A Russian subject was granted fishing rights in the Caspian.

The condition of the finances of the state was so deplorable that a state monopoly of the tobacco industry was instituted. The monopoly with the right of cultivation and trade was transferred to a European group of capitalists in 1891. It aroused a storm of national indignation, for tobacco was one of the widespread pleasures in which the Iranians were indulged. Theologians instigated them for abstention from smoking and civil disturbances broke out. All these necessitated the buying back of the concession ; and for this the half million-pound-sterling had to be borrowed. The foundation was thus laid for a long-standing state debt.

Nasir-ud-din Shah was assassinated in 1896 and an uncertain future loomed upon Persia. The treasury was already empty and the luxurious journey to Europe of his successor, Muzaffar-ud-din, did not ease the situation. As a result, the country was sinking deeper and deeper into debt. Persia secured a British loan in 1892, and it was followed by one from Russia in 1900. The Russian debt was guaranteed by customs receipts except from the Persian Gulf ports. The Russians further stipulated a financial monopoly of the country by liquidating the British loan and by not allowing borrowing from any other foreign power for the next ten years. A Russian bank was established in Tehran and another Russian loan was offered in 1902 in return for a concession to construct a railway from Julfa to Tabriz and Tehran.

During this period of Russian ascendancy the first oil concession was, however, given to an Australian financier, William Knox D'Arcy in 1901. It covered all the provinces of Persia, except the northern five adjacent to Russia. Russian ascendancy on Persian affairs began to reduce as a result of her defeat at the hands of Japan in 1904 to 1905 war. During this time there was a terrible outburst of political agitation in Persia and Russia supported the reactionary rulers in Tehran. Britain sided with the democrats who struggled for a semblance of political liberalism. The pro-Russian Prime Minister, Ain-ud-daulah, sought to shelve the issue by granting an Adalatkhana or parliament. All these happened in 1905, but in the following year the democrats forced the Shah to grant a constitution, which provided for a westernised parliamentary form of government under a limited royal authority. Russia resented against this.

Anglo-Russian rivalry thus became a chronic feature in the history of Persia during the nineteenth century. Their rivalry veered round the occupation of the strategic places during the first four decades of the nineteenth century. But then imperialism took a new turn. Both Britain and Russia engaged themselves thereafter in controlling the trade and economy of

Iran. The British interests received concessions in the different aspects of the state's economy, while in the later years, Russia secured a virtual monopoly over the its finances. During the early years of the nineteenth century, the furore of Napoleonic imperialism brought the two contesting parties together, and Russia was benefited by the consequent pressure she could impose upon Persia at that opportunity. The Adalat Khana Decree epitomised the victory of Russian diplomacy, which Russia could not retain at the wake of the constitutional revolution.

CHAPTER XI

THE PERSIAN AWAKENING.

1. Give an account of the Babist movement in Persia.

The official religion of Persia was Shi'ism. But the solidarity of this Shiah structure began to show cracks in its walls during the early years of the reign of Nasir-ud-din Shah (1848-1896). The first to effect a schism in the Shi'ism were the Babis, a messianic group who followed the teachings of Sayyid Ali Mahammad Khan. The latter declared himself the 'bab' or the gate to the Shiah's hidden 'imam' in 1844. The new cult had its roots deep in the whole complex of Iranian spirituality. In 1848, Babism announced its secession from Islam. Soon it turned into a widespread movement and attracted the middle and educated classes, merchants and intellectuals. Babi revolts broke out in Shiraz, Yazd, Kirman and elsewhere and they were ruthlessly suppressed by the government. In 1863, the Babis split into two branches. Those who continued to follow the Bab's successor, the Sobhe Azal, became known as 'Azalis'. The 'Bahais' followed a new religion and modified doctrines known as Baha'ism. Babism also was denied a place in the land of its origin, but had its followers in Europe and America.

The roots of Babism may be found implicit in the dualist religious and originally entirely Iranian resolution of the problem of evil. To get rid of the evil, the Zoroastrian belief in a saviour or a Messiah, was added to Islamic theory by the Iranians. It happened in the eighth century, when one al-Mukhtar promulgated the doctrine of the 'concealment' of the Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiya, one of Ali's sons, and of his not

having died, only disappeared someday to return. It was officially recognised in Iran ; but in the reign of Fath Ali Shah, Shaikh Ahmad Aghsai carried the theory of the mahdi and of the imamate or of the system of divinely inspired leadership by imams descended from Ali, a stage further. He taught that while the twelve imam's had no power in themselves, collectively they were the sole surrogate upon earth for God. As such they were the intermediary through which God could be known. In his craving for the appearance of the hidden imam, he brought about a serious revival of this aspect of Shi'ite Islam. The successor of this doctrine, Babism, stepped outside Shi'ism and with its offshoot Bahaism was considered heretical.

On the occasion of the thousandth anniversary of the disappearance of the twelfth imam, Ali Muhammad, the son of a grocer of Shiraz, proclaimed himself the expected mahdi and assumed the title Bab, or the gate on May 23, 1844. He declared himself the gateway to the esoteric knowledge of the divine truth and began to consider himself the "mirror" through which believers could behold God himself. He assumed his position as the incarnation of the supreme being. In his allegorical interpretations of the Koranic passages, the Bab taught the equality of sexes and encouragement of education regardless of class. He denied the obligation of veiling and even of circumcision and ritual ablution. He added a hidden significance to the number nineteen and attempted a synthesis of the best elements in other great religions. He announced the separation of Babism from Islam at the convention of Behdastit in 1848.

Babism started as a mystical spiritualised movement. But soon it became a rallying point for political, economic and social malcontents. Its followers increased by leaps and bounds, and even such a gifted lady like Qurat-al-Ayn of Kazvin joined in this movement. Babi disturbances broke out in Shiraz, Yazd and Kirman and soon it spread into Meshed, Zanjan, Tabriz and other areas. It was during the

insurrection, that the Bab was shot on orders from the government at Tabriz. Miracles happened after the firing squad's first volley, when he was found vanished. The fact was that the bullets had severed the cords by which he was suspended from a wall and under the cover of the smoke from the volley he ran away to the guard room. He was immediately recaptured and dispatched.

At the death of their leader, the Babis lost heart and surrendered. Persecutive measures followed. Qurrat-al-Ayn was executed and in the capital "seven martyrs fell". European accounts have left a horrible account of this persecution movement. In the subsequent years, on the event of an attempt on the Shah's life, many of the leaders fled to Baghdad. From there they were transferred further inland to Adrianopie by the Turkish government at the request of the Shah. After the death of Ali Muhammad, Sobh-e Azal was recognised as his successor to the Bab. But in 1863 one of the exiled leaders, Baha-Allah, claimed that he was the next manifestation of the twelfth imam foretold by the Bab. He engaged himself in revising his precursor's system; but he actually innovated a new one. Thus Babism was split into two branches: the Azalis and the Baha'is.

The Baha's place of exile was changed to Acre in 1864. He preached a doctrine which combined such Christian elements as love and brotherhood with the mystical Shi'ite heritage of Islam. War was condemned and a universal language was advocated in his teachings. After his death, the leadership was assumed by his eldest son Abbas Effendi Abd-al-Baha in 1892. He aspired to make Baha'ism a universal religion. But Baha'ism, like its predecessor, Babism could not obtain a place in Iran, although both of them had a role to play in the constitutional revolution.

Baha'ism became attractive to certain elements in Europe and America. It was introduced in the United States in the 1890's and it won converts at the Chicago fair of 1893. Baha'ism found response especially among the Negroes and

the present centres of Bahai activity were Wilmette III, and New York. Bahai communities also arose in Europe, particularly in Germany.

2. Discuss the character and historical significance of the Babist movement in the mid-nineteenth century Persia.

Babism was at once a religious and a political movement and herein lay an explanation for its character and historical significance. The Babi movement was inaugurated by the religious classes and subsequently associated with the merchants for taking the matter of reform and modernisation into their own hands. It was due to the fact that after the deaths of Nadir Shah and Karim Khan the Zand, the country had gone into extremely critical situation, and in many parts, people were subjected to terrible hardship and privation. It has become evident from the chronicles of William Francklin and George Foster that the Iranians turned to religion in those troubled times. During the second quarter of the nineteenth century introduction of secularism by Mirza Taqi Khan reduced the scope of religious classes' influence but left them in search of a diversion. Babism was only such a diversion from Shi'ite Islam around which people rallied to seek solace of their troubles.

Babism first started at Fars, the southern province with its capital at Shiraz in 1844. Its founder was Sayyid Ali Muhammad, who was born in a merchant family of Shiraz in 1819. He declared himself the Bab or the gateway to the knowledge of divine truth and proclaimed himself the mahdi. Shah Nasir-ud-din was not slow to suppress this type of quasi-esoteric movements. But Babism flourished under persecution and ultimately became a vendetta against the Shah. The reasons lay in its aims to effect the moral and spiritual regeneration of the people and to achieve the halting of world conflicts. The aims had a considerable appeal to the people and attracted the middle and the educated classes, merchants and the younger generation. Intellectuals not above the traditional concern for the state of the soul also became its

adherents. In course of its programme of equality of sexes, world political and legal organisation, universal education it became a world faith. It adopted a stand against the exclusiveness and negative pride of Muslim clericalism.

Yet Babism was a Messianic cult, which was implicit in al-Mukhtar's promulgation of the 'Concealment' of the twelfth imam, one of Ali's sons and of his not having died, only disappeared someday to return. This Zoroastrian influence was injected in Iran in the eighth century and subsequently developed into Shaikhism of Shaikh Ahsai's teachings. Through this the idea of imam and mahdi was percolated into Babism. Babism became a separate religion, being different from Shi'ism and it was complete with a prophecy and a prophet. The restless and disaffected subjects of the Shah had already been evinced to an increasing degree by public and private prayers for the hidden imam's return. The Babi doctrine became very attractive to them, and the political, social and economic malcontents readily veered round this doctrine.

The Babi movement had certain specific characteristics. First, the movement originated in the south and it was a part of the protest of the south against the north, which was articulated by the prospering merchants. Secondly, the Babi movement was a protest of an awakened intelligentsia against an apparently inert, excessively conservative orthodox religious class which accepted subordination to the dictates of the central government. Finally it was a response to the advancing and menacing outside world and Iran sought to combat the material progress of the latter with a spiritual regeneration. Here Babism played an important role to quell the nation from defeatism and despair. It contained the seeds of anti-Shah and anti-foreign agitations of the future.

The enlightened and pacific aspects of Babism made it internationally attractive. Although it was suppressed with its offshoot, Baha'ism, in Iran, it was welcomed by the Negroes of America. Bahai communities also developed in Europe. Historically, it set an example by attempting synthesis of the

best elements in the world's great religions and challenging the traditional orthodoxy of Muslim clericalism. It was suppressed in Iran, because it was not coincided with any drastic social upheavals.

Q. 3. Examine the Pan-Islamic contents in the ideas of Jamal-ud-din al-Afghani with particular reference to their impact on Persia as well as the Ottoman Empire.

Sayyid Jamal-ud-din al-Afghani (1838-1897) has been regarded as the most influential of the nineteenth century Persian and modern teachers—and it is true. He propounded the antiquated doctrine of Pan-Islamism and combined it with liberal modernism for the purpose of saving the Islamic world from the interference and exploitation of the Christian Powers. He secured a broad platform by his travels through Afghanistan, India, Egypt, Turkey, Russia, Paris, London, and according to one reliable source, the United States. By means of his eloquent tongue and facile pen, he took every advantage to make his ideas proliferate. He was able to arouse the Egyptians in the revolt of Arabi Pasha. More successfully did he excite the Persians against the Shah and his administration, and his Pan-Islamic ideas were set into action by Sultan Abdul Hamid II in the Ottoman Empire.

Jamal was born in 1839 at Asadabad near Hamadan in Iran, and this view is now generally held. But he began his career in Afghanistan, where he spent some two years of his early life and was given the epithet 'Afghani'. At Afghanistan he held an important office under the Governor of Kabul and from there he became acquainted with the British power and methods in India. After the death of his patron, Jamal began his career of wandering from one Sunnite country to another in 1869. He went first to India and from there to Cairo, where his ideas contributed to the outbreak of a revolution.

The British authorities in Egypt expelled him and kept him under surveillance at Hyderabad in India. After the suppression of the Arabi revolt, he was released and went off to Paris, where he started a short-lived Arabic newspaper.

In course of his travels, twice he went to London and it is said that he also visited America. At St. Petersburg, he induced the Tsar to allow his Muslim subjects to print the Koran and other religious books. Nasir-ud-din Shah brought him to Iran through telegraphic invitation and offered him a high political office. But due to the differences with the Shah, he went again to Europe only to return soon. This time he fanned an agitation against the Shah's regime on the issue of tobacco concession. He fled to London and from there he was invited by the Turkish Government. At Constantinople the Ottoman sultan was amenable to him, and he spent the last five years of his life there and died in 1897.

Sayyid Jamal-ud-din al-Afghani was a political philosopher and a theological reformer. He set forth the doctrine of Pan-Islamism whose contents were both political and religious. The kernel of his thesis was that Islam was a viable way of life for modern times. The adoption of western science and technology was not impossible in Islam. He propagated the union of all the Muslims of West Asia under one Caliphate, and religious discord between the Shi'ites and the Sunnites were to be suspended in view of modernisation. He developed Pan-Islamism as a nucleus of Islamic resurgence against expanding Christendom. His obvious purpose was to arouse the Islamic people to stem the tide of Western domination.

Europeans generally understood the connotation of Pan-Islamism as a certain quality of 'fanaticism' like that of Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism etc. But Pan-Islamism was not a racial movement, and its bounds were limited by religious tenets. It was a movement within Islamic theocracy to inject a sense of religious brotherhood and a community of interest among the Muslim nations. The idea was to awaken them and make them prepared against the common enemy, namely, European penetration. Moreover, it was also opposed to despotic rule in the Muslim countries. It was, therefore, a kind of Muslim nationalism and Mr. E. G. Browne has definitely

belittled its importance by comparing it with the growth of 'Masters' Unions'.

Jamal-ud-din was invited by Nasir-ud-din Shah Kajar to Tehran by a telegraphic communication. He was offered a high office in the Shah's administration. Persia was then suffering from various political and economic strains and Jamal-ud-din found the sort of scope he was seeking. He began by making outspoken criticism of everything he saw at the court of Iran and in the administration exasperating and intolerable. He departed ; but the Shah persuaded him to return during their meetings in Germany and Russia in 1889. It was probably because the Shah found the Sayyid useful as an intermediary between Iran and Russia. The latter also returned to Tehran being tempted by the hopes of high office.

During this time the condition of Persia under the Amin-us-Sultan was extremely critical. The financial situation worsened and the currency devalued. The Amin-us-Sultan brought the Sayyid to adorn the court and to counter-balance the clerical opposition to him. This was a position detested by progressive Jamal and he began to make pungent criticism on the general state of affairs. He left the capital and took sanctuary in the shrine at Shah Abdul Azim. He shortly left Iran.

The Tobacco Concession of 1890 to a British Company brought Jamal-ud-din again to the theatre of Iranian politics. He arrived at Tehran and secured clerical sympathy hitherto denied to him due to his differences with the Ulama of Tehran on philosophical matters. He organised the un-coordinated and sporadic riots on the issue of tobacco monopoly and wrote a letter to a mujtahid expressing his hatred and contempt for the Shah of Persia. He persuaded Hajji Mirza Muhammad Hasan of Shiraz to issue a 'fetwa' forbidding the use of tobacco in Persia until the concession should be cancelled. It was honoured ; and in this way Jamal coalesced the protest of the people of Iran and hardened it into a single and unbreakable front. The Shah was obliged to abandon the Concession. Jamal

inaugurated modern struggles in Iran. He was a relentless critic of the Shah's government and had him killed by one of his followers.

The Sayyid also spent periods in Istambul and particularly during the last five years of his life he stayed and died in the Ottoman Empire. There the clergies suspected him, but during this time Sultan Abdul Hamid II was in search of a man like him, to strengthen his absolutism. Hence the latter was amenable to Pan-Islam ; and Jamal also had a hope on him as the holder of the Caliphate. There was already a movement going on in Turkey in the 1870's for Muslim union to resist the advance of Russia and Britain. It culminated in the Turkish Constitution of 1876, which Sultan Abdul Hamid II had suppressed.

It was upon this Sultan Jamal-ud-din placed his reliance and ultimately was frustrated. It was because, Sultan Abdul Hamid was least anxious to know the details of Pan-Islamism as propounded by Jamal-ud-din. He, however, welcomed the Sayyid and posed himself as a champion leader of the Muslims everywhere. His objective was to achieve practical political objectives and he used the doctrine as a club over the heads of the imperialist powers. Differences between the sultan and Jamal became eminent and the latter left Constantinople for the time being. Although Jamal spent the last years of his life there, his death from cancer was suspected by his disciples as a murder by the use of poison.

Q. 4. Account for the intellectual awakening of Persia in the nineteenth century.

The Kajar regime was remarkable in the annals of Persia not only for various movements in Islam but for the intellectual awakening of Persia as well. A start was made in the introduction of Western education. Although there was no literary revival in Iran at this time, literature began to change in contents, which reflected a new spark of life. Translations from foreign classics continued in a limited scale. The printing press was introduced ; but there was no speedy development of

Iranian journalism. It developed outside Persia, but the circulation of these sporadic magazines was prohibited in Persia. These developments in various fields made the people aware of the irresponsible administration and exploitation by foreign powers of their country, and led them to seek a constitution and a parliament.

European education had been introduced in Persia by the Protestant missionaries. The Church Missionary Society established schools at Kirman, Yazd, Shiraz and Isphahan. The American Missionaries built their schools in the north. The Kajar government also started to sponsor student education in Europe early in the nineteenth century. Students went to France and England to learn professional studies. The first batch was sent to England in 1810 to study medicine. While student migration continued to increase, the first school for higher education in Persia was started in 1851. Mirza Taqi Khan established the Dar-ul-Fanun or the polytechnic school which was a combination of state college and military academy. It was established on the Russian model and the students of aristocratic families were instructed there by Austrian professors.

In the field of literature, the first half of the nineteenth century was barren, although Fath Ali Shah invited literary and learned men in his court. The form and contents of literature began to change during the second half of the nineteenth century. The linguistic barrier was broken, and political provincialism and scientific stagnation wiped out. Fresh currents of thought brought about a cross-fertilisation to the effect of bringing literature nearer to perfection. Some hundred and sixty books were printed on the various disciplines like mathematics, medicine and physical sciences, philosophy, literature, history and other humanities. A ministry of science was introduced in 1858 by Nasir-ud-din Shah. From there Reza Kuli Khan published various works on history and geography. Translation from other languages remained in a limited state.

Only three of Moliere's works were translated into Persian and Malcolm Khan wrote a few plays in the Turkish style.

Some progressive statesmen of Persia took part in the literary awakening. Abbas Mirza, the Governor of Tabriz and the eldest and favourite son of Fath Ali Shah, set up printing press in 1816. There had been an ineffectual one established by the Carmelities. Printing press was late in entering Persia and from 1851 onwards Nasir-ud-din printed his decrees. It was a journal published irregularly containing reports about princes and rulers. There was no news or observation of public interests. Development of journalism in Persia was very slow and no newspapers in the real sense were published until the first decade of the twentieth century.

But Persian journalism developed a higher standard outside the country—in Constantinople, Cairo, Calcutta and London. A weekly journal named 'Akhtar' was issued from Constantinople but it was suppressed in 1896 by Sultan Abdul Hamid. From London was published the 'Qanun' from 1890 under the supervision of Malcolm Khan and al-Afghani. Its issues contained the people's grievances and reflected their demands for a parliament. Another journal the 'Habl-ul-Matin' was published from Calcutta and another from Cairo containing various grievances. Free circulation of these magazines was prohibited by the Government, but they were widely smuggled into Persia through the foreign legations.

For the intellectual awakening of Persia, Malcolm Khan's contributions were invaluable. He was born of Armenian parents in Julfa and had his education in Paris. He introduced freemasonry into Iran and its membership was recruited largely from alumni of Dar-ul-Funun and European universities. When it was stopped, he began preaching among the masses. He was dramatist, and he actively took part in the development of Persian journalism in London.

The intellectual awakening of Persia brought about a cross fertilisation of Persian traditions with European thought on the one hand, and on the other, to a large extent broke

its isolation from the masses. People became aware of the corruption and abuses of the administration of the Shah as well as of the exploitation by the foreign powers and concessionaries. They wanted to save their country from these, and they found their solution in a constitutional monarchy. In pressing their demands they brought about the Constitutional Revolution.

CHAPTER XII

THE PERSIAN REVOLUTION

Q 1. Analyse the various influences within Persia and outside it which led to the Persian Revolution of 1905—07.

Or, What was the background of the Persian Revolution of 1905—07 ? What part was played by the religious leaders ?

The Kajar rule began with the pattern of absolute monarchy of the autocratic dictatorial type ; but it was transformed into limited constitutional monarchy at the beginning of the present century. This was the Persian Revolution and it was not a voluntary gift of the Kajars. On the contrary, their abuses and their irresponsible, corrupt administration precipitated the revolution. Their extravagance and exploitation by foreign powers, resulting bankruptcy, heavily told upon the country's economy. People became aware of these evils, and they owed this to their familiarity with the West, and with politicians, journalists, and sporadic and ephemeral magazines published abroad. Revolutionary movements were precipitated by the two Russian loans. The religious leaders, who were more enlightened among the masses of Iranians, took up the issue. They had been already fomenting disturbances against the despotic rule and bankruptcy and had organised themselves into secret societies with others. From these secret societies they prescribed the alternative system. British encouragement was there behind them ; and the revolutionaries were influenced by Russia's defeat and the abortive Russian Revolution of 1905. The revolution was a result of the country's 'continuing crisis.'

In Persia the Shah considered himself the chosen of God and the people accepted this position. As a vicegerent of God he and his orders were inviolable. Although his propriety was doubted in the late nineteenth century, the assassination of the Shah developed as the only weapon to attain political power. Nasir-ud-din Shah was assassinated in 1896 and succeeded by his ailing and weak son Muzaffar-ud-din. (1896—1907).

Corruption had already been there because it was bound to develop in a top-heavy administration under ailing monarchy. It was redoubled in the reign of Muzaffar-ud-din and touched even the daily meals of the people. The group of greedy courtiers and provincial governors were not contented with the exactions of the people; they turned into hoarders and profiteers. People remonstrated against the rule; and the Shah had no money to suppress them by force. The army was in arrears, and whatever was paid was usurped by the high officials. Again, the sources of income were reduced, while the expenses continued increasing. In pursuit of modernisation, Nasir-ud-din Shah had already mortgaged the country to British capitalists, through different concessions. Extravagance of the two Shahs in spending money in foreign trips drained away the exchequer. They sold or gave away the state lands and paid hereditary pensions. The coinage was devalued and the rulers were seen hankering after foreign loans. There was no productive expenditure. All these made the people aggressive against the Shah's rule.

First organised and successful opposition against the Shah was occasioned in the 1890's on the Tobacco Concession. Sayyid Jamal-ud-din al-Afghani took the initiative to defy the Shah's authority. He became the nucleus of a daily increasing group of malcontents. He encouraged the ulama of Shiraz to issue a 'fetwa' forbidding the use of tobacco. The ban was passionately observed by the people and Nasir-ud-din was obliged to abandon the tobacco deal. Equally influential was Mirza Malcolm Khan, who as minister

of Nasir-ud-din, advocated reform, but who was subsequently dismissed from the royal service over the affair of the Lottery Concession. He advocated modernisation and revitalised the first 'faramushkhaneh' of the type of European freemasonries. No less influential in fomenting agitation against the Shah were the Persian merchant communities abroad, who transmitted Persia informations about foreign countries.

Among the makers of the revolution were the young intellectuals who had come into contact with liberal thought of the West. They had gone abroad in pursuit of higher studies ; but subsequently they formed a sort of Persian diaspora in Calcutta, Istambul, Cairo, London and Paris. Their articles containing discussion on the prevailing conditions in the country through the newspapers published abroad were widely read in Persia despite Shah Nasir-ud-din's strict orders forbidding their circulation. One such newspaper was the 'Qanun' published from London under the patronage of Jamal-ud-din al-Afghani and Mirza Malcolm Khan. The 'Habl-ul-Matin' began its life in Calcutta in 1893, the 'Akhtar' in Istambul, and the 'Sorraiya' and the 'Parvarish' were printed from Cairo. Through them, the Iranian intellectuals suggested ways and means for a revulsion from the corruption of Iranian society, the wickedness of the foreign spectators and the despotism. They were widely read in Persia by the religious leaders.

Religious leaders were the vanguards of any movement in Persia right from the Babi movement. They took up the tobacco issue and one of them assassinated Nasir-ud-din. In fact, they were the most influential and enlightened class of people in Persia. They wanted a modern system of law and government while preserving religion. Against the Shah's divine theory, the ulama organised 'anjumans' or secret societies with messianic ideals. The earliest one was supposed to be the 'Anjuman-i-milli', but the most influential secret society was established in February 1905, called the 'Aujuman-i-Makhfi'. It was from this 'anjuman' that the ulama, in

association with others elaborated the programme for the Constitutional Revolution and suggested the way for the adoption of a western system of government.

Clerical opposition to the reign of Muzaffar-ud-din Shah began right from the negotiation of the first Russian loan. It was directed against the prospective Russian domination of Persia and against the premier Amin-us-Sultan, who, they thought, did the Russians running about for it. The first Russian loan was negotiated when the Shah was in need of money to finance his trip abroad that was recommended by his doctors. It was concluded in January 1900, and not to be refunded before ten years. Among other things the contract included the guarantee of all customs receipts excepting those of Fars and the Persian Gulf ports and a pledge from the Shah for not to reduce the existing tariffs without Russian consent during the period of loan. The collection of customs receipts had already been farmed out to a Belgian, named M. Naus. The ulama began agitation in the southern provinces against both the contracts; but their silence was purchased by the government at a high price.

Russian influence continued increasing over Persia. The Russian chief of the Shah's Cossack Brigades, Kosogovski, was promoted to the rank of general. Various Russian ships were seen harbouring in the Persian coasts of the Caspian. At Russia's instigation the customs was made uniform *ad valorem* for imports and exports. The worst came when another Russian loan was negotiated to meet the extravagant expenses of the Shah's second trip to Europe. Amin-us-Sultan who had been given the title 'Atabeg' was held responsible for the success of the Russian deals. The religious leaders became restive. They concentrated their efforts on publicising the bad effects of the Russian loan, and communicated them to the people as well to the Shah through 'Shabnameh' or night letters. The secret organisation also became active. But the movement was crushed by timely arrests.

Britain had hitherto been motivated by commercial consi-

derations and remained an idle observer. Her image to Persian eyes was lowered down by her defeat in the Boer War. Now she saw that the term of the second loan reduced Persia to a Russian protectorate. The British ambassador in Tehran, Sir Arthur Hardinge, began communication with the religious leaders, who had already started agitations immediately after the conclusion of the second Russian loan. Groaning under foreign domination, the capital and the provinces were made a powder magazine by the propagation of the ulama. But nothing occurred before the Shah's return. The ulama and the mercantile community prepared the programme of action, and immediately after the Shah's return in 1903 they demanded the dismissal of the Atabeg. Shortly they demanded a limited constitutional monarchy before which the Shah was obliged to yield.

Circumstances leading to the outbreak of the Persian Revolution of 1905-07 were analogous to the situation of Poland on the eve of the second partition in 1791. National and democratic forces were aligned to get rid of foreign control and despotic rule. In Persia the ulama, appeared as the most uncompromising Jacobins of the constitutional revolution. They whipped up the people, who sought their advice in times of distress. The crises of the country reached its climax on the second Russian loan. The religious leaders took up the issue and brought about the revolution. They were influenced by Japan's victory over Russia in 1905. It was an example of Oriental victory over the myth of Russian power. They drew the immediate encouragement for a movement against despotism from the abortive Russian Revolution of 1905.

Q. 2. Give an account of the Persian Revolution of 1905-07.

The Persian Revolution or more explicitly the Constitutional Revolution in Persia had two distinct phases : the granting of the Constitution and its defence and final break down. The period from 1905-07 roughly corresponded with the first phase of the Persian Revolution. The movement sprang from the Iranians' awareness of the evils prevailing in the country

and of the different systems of government existing in the Western countries. It was piloted by the religious leaders, and in its face Muzaffar-ud-din Shah was obliged to grant the Constitution.

The event which caused the explosion was the flogging of a few Tehran merchants by orders of the government for profiteering in sugar. It was not an unusual event ; but its reception by the people was uncommon. Some two thousand mullas and merchants, headed by two prominent religious leaders of Tehran, Sayyid Muhammad Tabatabai and Sayyid Abdullah Behbehani took 'bast' or sanctuary in Shah Abdul Azim in December 1905. In this they were encouraged by disgruntled high officials, British agents and reportedly by the crown prince himself. The target was the removal of the repressive prime minister, Amin-us-Sultan. The agitators also demanded an 'Adalat Khanah' or House of Justice, which stemmed directly from Mirza Malcolm Khan's the 'Qanun'.

The demands, taken up together, were limited to a moderate step towards a rule of law and towards recognition of people's responsible share in the government, which was implied in the demand for the removal of the premier. The movement was a democratic one, and it was a nationalist as well, for it was also against foreign interference. The fugitives, who were silent and passive agitators, received an autograph decree from the Shah promising to grant their demands. They returned to Tehran in January, 1906. They did not, however, demand any constitution this time.

The promise of Muzaffar-ud-din Shah was only a pretext to break up the 'bast' and he was ready to go to any length to do this. He had a clear intention of not keeping his words. So instead of dismissing the obnoxious Grand Vezir, he simply issued a proclamation granting the rest of the demands. The Grand Vezir ordered the arrest of a leading 'mujtahid' and soldiers fired shots on angry crowd. In consequence, the compromise between the ruler and the agitators did not last long. In July 1906, the latter staged a second rejection of royal

government. This time their number increased and they were more organised. But the second 'bast' was divided into two groups. The religious leaders took sanctuary in the Masjid-i-Jami and later they retired to the popularly acclaimed city of Qum. The merchants and lay intellectuals representing the democratic bourgeois trend took their 'bast' in the grounds of the British Legation in Tehran. The secular group numbered between twelve and fourteen thousand.

The situation in the country became tense and its economic and public activities came to a standstill. To ward off this situation, the Shah was obliged to yield. On his birthday on August 5, 1906, Muzaffar-ud-din Shah reluctantly granted a kind of Constitution. It permitted representative assembly. The Shah opened the 'majlish-i-milli' on August 19. This was a victory for the democrats, and the nationalists, and they won it without any bloodshed. This movement was backed by the British and it was evident from the events of the second 'bast'.

However, the first electoral law was very hastily drafted and it was ready by September 9, 1906. The members of the National Consultative Assembly were to be elected by voters of Iranian nationality of not below twenty years old. The voters should be well known in their districts and must possess property of not less than £50. They must pay taxes of at least £2 a year or received at least £10 in income. Women, aliens, minors, apostates etc. were denied of votes. Elections were to be made in two degrees. The electoral divisions were first to send forward a certain number of candidates; and they were to meet and elect representatives from among themselves. The system of election was made liable to influence in the first degree.

The first majlish was convened on October 7, 1906, and there were representatives from the royalty, aristocracy, ulama, businessmen and landlords. It felt that the assets of the country were disposed to the foreigners by the Shah; and it rejected a proposed joint Anglo-Russian loan of £400,000. It

also drew up a constitution of a liberal type. Shortly after signing it, Muzaffar-ud-din Shah died. He was succeeded by his son, Muhammad Ali, who was forced to dismiss M. Naus, the Belgian Director General of Customs.

The Persian Constitution was the second in Asia, being next to that of Japan. It was drafted on the Belgium model and consisted of two sets of law. They were the Fundamental Laws of December 30, 1906 and the Supplementary Fundamental Laws of October 7, 1907. Muhammad Ali Shah swore not to dissolve the assembly in the first set of laws and in the second he renewed his promises. These laws contained that Persia should have a bicameral legislature, the 'majlish' consisting of 136 members and the Senate, whose number of members was limited to 60, half of them being nominated by the Shah. Some of Shah's autocratic powers were clipped : but he was placed in the Constitution at the centre of all powers in the state. He was the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and he could appoint and dismiss ministers. He could introduce bills and dissolve Parliament. He was in an advantageous position to overthrow the Constitution.

Under Article 20 of the Supplementary Fundamental Laws all publications except heretical books are made free and exempt from censorship. After this, publication of newspapers and satirical journals multiplied for many times. The 'mujtahids' were given special privileges to compose a permanent committee to consider all matters proposed in the assembly, and they could reject or repudiate them wholly or in part. This indulgence to the religious class resulted in a rapid development of 'anjumans' or secret societies. These 'anjumans' were of two types ; "official" and "popular". The official anjumans were elected bodies and the latter political clubs or associations. The political clubs or secret societies had played a very important role in the outbreak of the revolution. Now their numbers increased greatly, and they played an equally important role in retaining the Constitution.

Q. 3. Narrate the circumstances which led to the failure of the Constitutional movement in Persia. Evaluate in this context the significance of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, and the Shuster episode.

Or, Give an account for the Constitutional movement in Persia from 1907-11.

The Constitution for which the Persians agitated with hopes and aspirations was granted, but the new Shah, Muhammad Ali was not willing to live with it. He had the blessings of Russia, and he organised a new brigade of Cossacks to get rid of it. He made more than one attempt to destroy the Assembly while the nationalists were determined to maintain it at any cost. Press and public opinion were in support of the latter. Reformists had their discussions in the national library, and secret nationalist societies at times with anarchistic ideas, were organised. Amin-us-Sultan was assassinated and a bomb was thrown to the Shah's automobile. By orders of the Shah the Parliament building was bombed by his brigade, and martial law introduced in the capital. But this time the Turks, Armenian Caucasians and Bakhtiari brigades by their three-day street fight made the Shah's position untenable. He fled to Odessa, leaving his minor son, Sultan Ahmed, as his successor. Two years later, he staged an abortive coup. But in 1911, the majlis was dismissed and the Parliament house locked. This was the end of the constitutional movement in Persia virtually.

The granting of the Constitution and the recognition of the people's right to participate in the government affairs evoked uncommon enthusiasm among the masses of Iranians. But the new Shah Muhammad Ali was an 'Oriental despot of the worst type'. So although he swore fidelity, to the Constitution repeatedly he made every attempt to get rid of it. His attitude was influenced by Russian advisers and more particularly by a Russian Jew named Shapshal. He made an attempt to oversee the election of his nominees to Parliament taking advantage of the system of election in

two stages. The Shah had a marked antipathy to that section of the religious classes, which propagated the Constitution. He entertained ideas of a reactionary government ; but his hopes were frustrated by the Cabinet of Nasir-ul-mulk.

In the meantime, the Shah was strengthened by the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907. Russia and England had hitherto acted as rivals to each other ; the former as an open associate of the reactionary elements in Persia and the latter of the democrats. The success of the democrats tasted bitter to the Russians, who apprehended a British ascendancy over Iran. In the agreement of 1907, these two European powers arrived at a rapprochement over Iran. Russia fully utilised the agreement and encouraged Muhammad Ali Shah to repudiate the Constitution. Russians had already trained and officered the Cossack Brigade of the Shah's army, since the days of Nasir-ud-din Shah. Now its numbers increased, and Muhammad Ali, depending much upon this, staged a *coup d'etat* in December, 1907. The move was frustrated by the determined opposition of the whole country.

The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 had a deeper effect on the constitutional movement. Not only the Shah received a fresh encouragement from Russia, but the nationalists also were frustrated with British attitude. They saw with awful eyes that Britain also joined with Russia to parcel out Persia among themselves. It caused understandable anger among the Persians, and the nationalists became anti-British. Traditional Persian technique to counterbalance Russia and Great Britain would be impossible. The nationalists turned towards Germany to safeguard the Constitution from Russian aggression. The policy achieved some successes ; but in the Potsdam Agreement of November, 1910, Russia was able to neutralise the Kaiser's moves as the champion of Islam. Russian sphere of influence was defined in the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907, in the Potsdam Agreement it was recognised by Germany. The nationalists were left isolated to defend the Constitution. Their cause was weakened as

Russia emerged as an open sympathiser of Muhammad Ali Shah.

Having failed in his first attempt, the Shah staged a second coup on June 23, 1908. Before that, the Amin-us Sultan was murdered by a secret-society member. An attempt was also made on the Shah's life by throwing a bomb in his motor car. In 1908, he ordered Colonel Liakov, the commander of the Cossack Brigade, to shell the 'majlis'. It was followed by the imprisonment, murder and torture of a number of liberals in the king's camp. The first assembly was in this way, forced to scurry out of existence.

But the Shah failed to extinguish the constitutional movement. The democrats were united afresh, and they kept a shrewd eye on the manoeuvres of the aristocracy to win control. Resistance movements broke out in Tabriz, Resht, Gilan and in the Zagros regions. The 'anjumans' succeeded in creating a public opinion in favour of defending the National Assembly. Miss. Ann K. S. Lamton has rightly summarised that they "created a sense of community of interest and this gave the people in widely separated districts courage to act ;.....they rallied their forces and were largely instrumental in bringing about a restoration of the constitution". This time, their movement was geared in defence of Persia against a Russian intervention. It was supported by a wider section of the population.

The bombardment of the National Assembly in 1908 had caused the Bakhtiaris to reconsider their decision to march against the government. The Bakhtiari tribe, under their leaders, Samsam-us-Saltaneh and Zargham-us-Saltaneh had been thinking of assuming a powerful role in the government. Taking advantage of the Constitution movement, they gained control of Isfahan on January 5, 1909. Civil war broke out between the Shah and the reactionaries on the one hand and nationalists on the other. By July 15, the royalist resistance was practically at an end and Colonel Liakov began his talks with the nationalists for the surrender of the Cossacks. The

Shah took refuge in the Russian Legation on July 16, and thereafter all fighting ceased. An extraordinary Grand Council was convoked. It deposed Muhammad Ali and appointed his son, Ahmad Mirza, in his stead. A temporary regency was given to Ahmad-ul-Mulk, the head Kajar tribe. Thus the nationalists succeeded in obtaining the restoration of the Constitution, largely as a result of the efforts of the 'anjumans'.

But "the nationalist victory failed to resolve the tensions in the Persian society." The popular 'anjumans' declined almost immediately after the restoration of the Constitution. The intellectuals joined into parties either the Itidaliyyun or the Democrat party. Like the quasi-messianic movements, the 'anjumans' dispersed as a transitory phenomenon. After 1909, intrigue counterintrigue, and foreign intervention were accentuated. The tsar more openly directed his efforts against the constitutional movement and the independence of the country. The issue before the constitutionalists were obscure ; and some of the Iranians, representing the feudal grandes were spreading disorder in the country. Russia was encouraged by the acute financial difficulties, frequent internal disorders and the intrigues of elements hostile to the Constitution. The position of the nationalists was weakened by Russian intervention in north Persia and the presence of a considerable number of Russian troops in the country. Moreover the patriotic fervour of the will to resist was now lacking.

Russia backed Muhammad Ali to stage a come back in July, 1911. It caused a deep dismay and consternation among the people. A civil war ensued. The nationalists made their last successful effort to resist the Shah and the reactionaries. The ex-Shah was defeated on June, 1912 he was obliged again to leave the country. He had been enjoying a pension since the time of his exile. It was granted under pressure from Britain and Russia. He was, however, allowed to enjoy the pension at their requests.

By far the biggest attack was made on the Constitution on

the Shuster episode. After the restoration of the Constitution, attempts were made by the nationalists to improve the decrepit state of Iranian finance. Mr. Morgan Shuster an American was appointed treasurer-general to do this. Eight departments were established and an investigation was attempted in the tax-regime. Some grants and pensions of the preceding government were reduced ; and the system of extra-expense levies was abolished. The out-dated conversion rates were abolished and a new rate was worked out. Shuster created a treasury *gendermerie* and succeeded considerably in re-organising the finances of Iran.

The economic deal of Morgan Shuster touched the privileges hitherto enjoyed by a class of Iranians. They aroused strong apposition against these measures. Russia who had been entertaining hopes to reduce Persia into a Russian colony, also reached severely. In November, 1911 she sent ultimatum to the National Assembly demanding the dismissal of Mr. Shuster. It was refused whereupon the Russian army intervened. This time the union between the infiltration of the hostile elements into the nationalist movement and the Russian pressure discouraged the emergence of a popular and united movement of protest. Many liberals were slaughtered at Tabriz and the holy shrine of Imam Reza of Meshed was bombarded. Shuster was sent home and the Constitution was again suspended. The majlis was convoked again in 1914, only to accept the king's speech on his receiving the crown.

The constitutional movement thus came to an end in November 1911. Hostility of Russia, having encouraged by the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907 and the Potsdam Agreement of 1910, played the most important part. It attained climax on the Shuster episode, which culminated in the suspension of the Constitution. Apart from this, the dis-organisation of the 'anjumans' and the hostility of the privileged class of people made national resistance almost impossible, specially during the last a few years. Moreover, the movement did not develop into purely a national struggle

as it was united with a movement of the religious leaders. In fact the ulama, merchants and craftsmen retired as soon as their immediate political aims were achieved.

Q. 4. Give an account of the attempt to establish Parliamentary Government in Persia in the first decade of the twentieth century and analyse the difficulties that stood in its way.

Parliamentary government was introduced in Persia by the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-11; but this had no political legacy like the contemporary Young Turk movement in the Ottoman Empire. The movement for a Constitution in Persia resulted from what Prof T. C. Young has remarked as a state of 'continuing crisis'. In fact crises were there emanating from the corrupt despotism having roots deeper in all parts of the country. There was a continued deficit in the finance resulting from the extravagance of the successive Shahs and yielding to foreign domination. Exploitation, extravagant expenses and devaluation of the 'toman' made people's life full of distress and agony. It was due to this state of things that inviolability of the Shah was broken and a democratic Constitution of the Western pattern was set into action.

First organised movement against despotic rule and exploitation by the foreigners was occasioned in the 1890's. It was the religious leaders who took the lead in all these movements. The intellectuals, studying abroad and the Iranian merchants trading outside Iran poured in the 'secret' of the West. Through various sporadic ephemeral journals published from London, Calcutta, Cairo and Istanbul this knowledge of the West was transmitted to the people. Men like Jamal-ud-din al-Afghani and Mirza Malcolm Khan aroused the people's awareness. Qasi-messianic secret societies or 'anjumans' were organised, whose origins lay in the complex of Iranian spirituality.

The two Russian loans of 1900 and 1902 precipitated the demand for the removal of the prime minister, Amin-us-

Sultan, "whose eye was evidently blind to the condition of the people and whose ear was deaf to their entreaties." Matters came to a head when the Government ordered the flogging of seven or eight sugar merchants of Tehran for profiteering. Religious leaders of Tehran, Sayyid Muhammad Tabatabai and Sayyid Abdullh a Behbehani, led some two thousand mullas and merchants to Shah Abdul Azim to take 'bast' or sanctuary in December 1905. Taking bast exemplified the preference of the people of Iran for a silent and passive protest.

The agitators demanded two things : dismissal of the prime minister, Atabeg Ain-ud-daulah and the granting of an 'Adalat khanah' or House of Justice. It was a moderate step towards the recognition of the people's participation in the selection of ministers. Muzaffar-ud-din Shah was obliged to yield, He promised to fulfil the demands ; but he and his courtiers were ready to go to any length to break up the 'bast'. But he had no sincere desire to fulfil his pledges. People saw with utter frustration that instead of removing the premier, the Shah had acquiesced only some of their minor demands.

The attitude of the Shah evoked the agitators for a second rejection of the royal government. Merchants and lay intellectuals took 'bast' in the grounds of the British Legation in Tehran, and the clerical reformers in the Masjid-i-Jami, in July, 1906. Muzaffar-ud-din Shah was forced to grant a kind of Constitution. The 'majlis-i-milli' was convened and laws were prepared for the election of members of the National Assembly. The majlis was convened on October 7, 1906. Throughout the movement, Britain backed the democrats and the liberals, while Russia aligned herself to the reactionary cause of the Shah.

The Persian Constitution was a combination of two sets of laws : the Fundamental Laws of December 3rd, 1906 and Supplementary Fundamental Laws of October 7, 1907. It was a Constitution very hastily drawn. It had flaws in the electoral system. . Although some of the dictatorial powers of the

Shah were reduced, he was still recognised as the centre of administration. Although Mujaffar-ud-din Shah made repeated promises for not to dissolve the Constitution, his son, Muhammad Ali, who succeeded him in 1907, decided to put an end to the new instrument of democracy.

Nevertheless, the Constitution was welcomed by the Iranians with an outburst of enthusiasm. But Muhammad Ali Shah began by opening his hostility with the constitutionalists. He was backed by Russia, and Russia was encouraged to suppress the Constitution after the signing of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. Nationalists, who had had Great Britain as a supporter to their cause, were now disillusioned. They were cut away from any external assistance, moral or active, since Russia also neutralised Germany. Thus encouraged Muhammad Ali Shah made more than one attempt to suppress the Constitution with the assistance of the Cossack Brigade, trained and officered by the Russians.

But the Shah's moves were frustrated by the nationalists who were united afresh in their cause to defend the Constitution. The 'anjumans' had played a very important role to give the anti-Shah anti-foreign movement a political colour. They created a sense of community of interest among the people and thereby helped the constitutional movement to go deeper into the remote districts. They organised the resistance in collaboration with other groups of people. The Shah's second attempt to suppress the Constitution in 1908 resulted in a civil war in which, the Shah and his reactionary associates including their defender, the Cossack Brigade, were defeated. The Constitution was restored. The Shah was deposed and left the country.

Crisis renewed over the Constitution in 1911, when an American, Mr. W. Morgan Shuster took some measures as the treasurer-general for balancing the country's finances. His efforts touched the privileges hitherto enjoyed by a class of people. Russia also apprehended loss of her economic interests. She sent an ultimatum demanding the dismissal of

Mr. Shuster, which the National Assembly refused to comply with. Russian troops were landed, which caused terror among the people. Amidst large scale blood-shed and bombardment the Constitution was suspended-

The constitutional revolution was the first nation-wide political movement in Persia. But it experienced many difficulties in its way, which ultimately cut short its days of existence. First, the movement was confined in the urban areas, and the people in general rose against the Shah, knowing nothing of the total programme of the liberal nationalists. Secondly, although in the earlier years, Britain backed the movement, after the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, the nationalists were left alone to fight the internal reactionaries and the Russian infiltration. Thirdly, in course of the constitutional movement, particularly after the economic reorganisation under Mr. Morgan Shuster, a considerable group of Iranians opposed the movement. Fourthly, the alliance of religious and political elements among the democrats made the programme obscure and difficult to achieve. Finally the 'anjumans' who had played the most important part in the bringing of the Constitution, were disorganised. In absence of the anjumans, a theory of political conduct within the framework of the Constitution was lacking and so organised movement was not possible to meet the Russian danger.

CHAPTER XIII

PERSIA IN THE WORLD WAR I

Q. 1. Give an account of the Persian administration before the First World War.

Persian administration before the outbreak of the First World War was in a state of insecurity. It was solely due to the existence of two governments : one led by the regency and the other by the Bakhtiari. The regency was given to Nasir-ul-Mulk, when in 1909, Muhammad Ali Shah was deposed and his minor son Ahmad Shah was elevated to the throne by the resolutions of the majlis. During the restoration of the Constitution in 1908, the Bakhtiari chiefs played the most important part, and as its recognition one of their leaders, Samsam-us-Sultaneh was elected prime minister by the majlis. The Constitution was again suppressed in 1911, but the Cabinet of Samsam-us-Sultaneh continued functioning in absence of the majlis. After the events of 1911, Nasir-ul-Mulk was not supplanted by the Bakhtiari from his regency ; but he left Iran for the shores of the Lake Geneva. In presence of two governments, no decision could be taken in Tehran without any reference to the regent. Under such circumstances, the Persian administration was bound to be sloth and indecisive, and the life and property of the people insecure.

With the suppression of the Constitution, the democrats and intellectuals either fled from the country or went underground. By 1912, a new element of the Bakhtiari Khans, having their power in their tribal background, began to con-

solidate their position in Iran by defeating the bureaucratic group of provincial notables. Taking advantage of the weak regency of Nasir-ul-Mulk, Bakhtiari Sardar Asad entertained hopes of making a bid to place his family at the helm of affairs in Iran. His relative, Samsam-us-Sultaneh continued to function as the premier. With the dismissal of Shuster, Russia was satisfied; and the British relations with the Bakhtiaris were of a special order in view of the latter's hold on the Southern oil producing area and the Tigris Euphrates navigation. Lucrative provincial governorships were given to the Bakhtiaris, who kept his own retinue of seventy up to two or three hundred 'sawars' or mounted men. By their depredations in the south and east of Persia they made their family name execrated.

The treasury was released from the grip of Shuster, but the Bakhtiaris began by preying upon it to pay their henchmen. The new treasurer-general, Mr. Mornard, was a *persona grata* to the Russians, and other great powers inhibited Iranians from risking any charge. Mornard continued to enjoy the extraordinary powers, the majlis had granted to Shuster, but he was less anxious to disturb the most powerful men. He followed the practice of the Belgian financier Mr. Naus. He was to pay not only the official gendarmerie but the private 'armies' of the Bakhtiari governors. As a result the treasury was depleted and bread situation in the capital worsened. Through Mornard, Russia left no stone unturned to ensure Iran's fiscal thralldom. The increasing depravity of the country and an innate tendency to despondency resulting from the apparent hopelessness of Iran's situation were conducive to a decline in public morality.

Persia had no standing army; and the Cossack Brigade was in effect a Russian force. The creation of a separate gendarmerie began only in 1911. In these circumstances the Bakhtiari rulers were to rely on their tribesmen and irregular fighters. The first victim of Bakhtiari supremacy was law and order; and specially in the south and west of Persia

security ceased to exist. British trade with India was seriously hindered ; and Britain and Russia forced the Bakhtiari government to entrust the security of the metropolitan route from Qum to Isfahan to a brigand and his men. Under foreign pressure, the Bakhtiari government was to strengthen the militia to restore order on its behalf. But it was to avoid the risk of strengthening the gendarmerie to the effect of creating a national force. Nor the foreigners desired it. By the Anglo-Russian note of 1912, the Bakhtiaris were compelled to disband the irregulars. A Swedish officer, Col. Hjalmarson was placed in charge of the gendarmerie. A limited force was thus built up, and it was regarded as an ally of the British. In consonance with the note, Russia abandoned the cause of the ex-Shah, Muhammad Ali. But, the ex-Shah's brother, Salar-ud Daulah, was active among the Ruos and Salhur Kurds. Their rebellion became the chief anxiety of Britain. It was, however, suppressed by the Armenian Ephraim Khan, an ex-democrat.

Britain and Russia were also seen stipulating various concessions in Persia. In January 1912, Russia proposed a railway concession linking the Russian railway system with that of India across Iran. It was to be financed by British, French and Russian banks. An organisation named *Societe d'Etudes* was formed to plan this railway linkage. At the same time, Britain put forward another railway scheme from the Khuzistan coast to Khurramabad. It was substantially backed by British interests in Persia. But none of the deliberations became fruitful due to Nasir-ul-Mulk's absence in Iran. He refused to return to Iran and thereby put a sort of passive resistance to foreign pressure. He prevented certain members of the government, who were anxious for their personal profits, from joining the railway discussions in Paris. But Russian pressure increased considerably. A loan advance of £ 200,000 was made in the summer of 1912, and arrangements were made for an increase in the Cossack Brigade. When the Balkan situations assumed serious proportions, Russia and

England in a joint communique expressed their desire not to partition Persia, but to help it to re-establish order and secure the safety of trade routes.

Under the Bakhtiari government education continued to be a feature in the lives of a large number of more intelligent and better-off urban people. Some 180 schools, mostly under European and American supervision, were opened by 1912. Students went abroad of which Yahya Daulatabadi has furnished an interesting account. Most of these students were pleasure seekers and imported to Iran pessimism and immorality. They were solely bent on making money to procure the kind of luxury which they had seen enjoyed by the Europeans. The Bakhtiaris also to some extent overhanded the administration. New ministries like those of public works, education and justice and posts and telegraphs etc. were established. These ministries were vaguely responsible to the majlis ; and they were elements of bureaucracy possessing none of the qualities of Cabinet government. Coexisting with foreign pressure and impoverishments, these administrative reforms remained largely on paper. It was a continuation of the despotic practice, as Peter Avery has estimated, "whereby Government departments were created for officials rather than officials trained to serve Government departments."

Q. 2. Account for Persia's experience in the First World War.

On the outbreak of hostilities in Europe in the summer of 1914, involving Britain and Russia against Germany and Austria, Persia proclaimed a state of neutrality. But the prospects of neutrality were not promising, because the country had neither an army of its own nor a resolute government to implement it. The belligerents had hardly the desire to respect it. The Cossack Brigade was virtually a Russian force and the gendarmerie under Swedish command tended to sympathise with the Germans. In consequence, Persian territory was freely violated by the great powers of both sides in the First World War. International intrigues were intensified in Tehran, and Russians, Germans and British

were the leading participants. The Allies, particularly Russia and Britain, tightened their hold on their respective spheres of influence, while the latter was given a free hand in the neutral zone. Turkey was used by the Central Powers as a spearhead against Persia and a German agent, Wassmus, stirred up the tribes in the neighbourhood of Shiraz.

Immediately before the outbreak of the First World War, the parliamentary life of Persia was resumed on the occasion of Ahmad Shah, on December 7, 1914. The event marked the end of regency and Mustaufi-ul-Mamalik was appointed prime minister. There was an outburst of optimism among the Iranians. But chief among Persia's liberal intellectuals were residing in Berlin; and their absence in the years between 1914 and 1918 gave the opportunists a wider scope for action. In fact, place seekers and factions loosened the traditional balance of society so much so that it eluded the grasp of all. Although there were a few honest nationalists among the democrats, Iran's internal situation became too weak to assure the continuity of any Cabinet.

The First World War broke out when Persia was in such a weakened state of affairs. Turkey opened a front against Russia with Kurdish support through the north western Persia in January, 1915. Russia consolidated her position in Persia and Russian troops began to advance and retreat. In the event of Russian operation, Tabriz changed hands more than once. German operations started in the south and along the gulf coasts. Persians had no grievance or grudge against Germany, and its initial success in the European battle field had so impressed them, that most of them believed in its final victory. The events aroused hopes among the Persians to get rid of Russian and British dominance.

Germany took full advantage of the soft sentiment of the Persians towards it. Its agents, Seiler, Zugmeyer and Wassmus, succeeded in liquidating centres of British influence in south Persia. Particularly Wassmus was popular among the tribesmen and conversant in their language. He was a former

German consul at Bushir, and arrived at Shiraz to stir up the tribesmen there against Britain and Russia. Germany's purpose was primarily to use Iran as an approach to promote agitation of the Muslims of Afghanistan and India against the infidels. So German agents like Oskar Von Niedermeyer were sent to Kabul. These German moves met with less success. The German agents generated ill feeling among the people against the traditional oppressors, promised full and complete independence and pledged cash payments. Britain reacted by sending Major Percy Sykes of India to Bandar Abbas. The Major organised the south Persian Rifles and order was reestablished.

In 1916, the Anglo Indian expeditionary force met with a smashing defeat at Kut al-Amarah in Iraq. The incident encouraged Turkey to release more troops for Persian front. The Turkish troops crossed the frontier and threatened Tehran. But they were halted by the Russians. The tide of the war turned against Turkey in 1917 and she lost Baghdad and lower Mesopotamia. The Turkish troops were eventually withdrawn from Persia. The Persian democrats now lost all hopes of German help through Turkey. In November, 1917, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia caused the overthrow of the tsar. The collapse of the tsarist regime freed the entire region from the east coast of the Black sea to the remotest region of Transcaspia.

The British troops continued their presence in Iran and the British government was rid of the tsarist rivalry there. In the meantime in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the Bolsheviks renounced all the tsarist concession and privileges. The mission of Bravin of the Bolshevik government was received in Persia with inner cynicism, but it was taken ostentatiously as a stick with which to flay the British. Lord Curzon swiftly drew up a plan to prevent Iran from becoming a corridor of Soviet propaganda. In absence of Russia and with the defeat of Germany, Great Britain emerged as the paramount power in Persia. The First World War heavily told up Iran. It was

left in a state of famine, with her finances shattered. The morale of the people touched its lowest depth.

In the Peace Conference of Paris in 1919, Persia sent a delegation to present her grievances and demands. The Persians demanded the restoration of Caucasian and Caspian territories annexed over the years by Russia. They desired the abrogation of the humiliating Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907. Cancellation of extra territorial rights and reparation of damages done by the war were, among other things, their important demands. But Britain did not like to see the Persian delegation in the Peace Conference ; and so at her instigation it was not officially received. Instead, she herself proposed a bilateral treaty with terms which would have reduced the country to a British protectorate.

The treaty was proposed by Sir Percy Cox, the British minister at Tehran. It was prefaced with the usual formula for respecting independence and integrity of Persia. In the treaty, Britain continued the offer of civil and military advisers at Persia's expense. She proposed a revision of the customs tariff and offered a loan of £ 200,000, guaranteed by revenue and customs. The British also assured the construction of roads and railroads. The irresponsible Shah and his corrupt cabinet signed the agreement. But public opinion was against this treaty and the national assembly refused to convene its session for ratification. The nationalists this time were encouraged by an American diplomatic protest. In the words of Hitti, "the British had failed to sense the strength of the nationalist spirit which for years had been string and was on the point of explosion."

In the changed circumstances, Bolshevik government in Russia also reversed the traditional tsarist policy. It offered a treaty of amity renouncing all earlier treaties, concessions and interests inherited from the defunct regime. All outstanding debts and extra-territorial rights were proposed cancelled. Accordingly, the Bolsheviks handed over the Persian government the Julfa-Tabriz railroad and many docks and harbours,

excepting the Caspian fisheries, where navigation was opened to Persian shipping. The Treaty of Russo-Persian Friendship was finally concluded on February 26, 1921. Meanwhile, Persia was accepted as a fully independent member of the League of Nations in 1920; in January 1921, British troops began to withdraw from the southern part of the country.

The First World War was bitter and a protracted war, but its end brought a favourable international situation for Persia. In another way, it may be said to have sealed the fate of the Kajar rulers. The nationalists were boosted up by the achievements of the war. They had been neglected by Ahmed Shah Kajar; after the war, they themselves turned down the Shah. In fact Shah Sultan Ahmad was the last Kajar ruler, who composed the epitaph of the dynasty. The war created situations in Persia for the emergence of a new hero, Reza Shah, commander of the Cossack Brigade.

3. Show how Persia was affected by the Anglo-Russian rivalry during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

The Anglo-Russian relations over Persia during the first two decades of the twentieth century had periods of hostility linked up by a phase of mutual collaboration. Earlier these two European powers had established their hold in the north and south of Persia respectively and secured such concessions that told upon the country's economy and politics. In the beginning of the century the country rose in a political ferment against increasing Russian domination, and the agitators received moral backing from Great Britain. The despotic Shah was obliged to yield to the demands of the liberal democrats. Meanwhile, German influence extended into the country and it was construed as inimical by both British and Russian interests. Britain and Russia compromised their differences and signed an entente in 1907 to the utter hopelessness of the Persian democrats. The democrats turned anti-British, and twice they resisted the Shah's attempt to suspend the majlis—a scheme backed and sponsored by Russia.

But the Constitution was finally suppressed in 1911 and the democrats either left Persia or went underground. Under the double government of the regency and the Bakhtiaris, both Russian and British influence increased in Persia, and the country was driven to further despondency. Emboldened with fresh gains, the two powers did not respect the declared neutrality of Persia during the World War 1. But the period of Anglo-Russian collaboration came to an end with the establishment of the Bolshevik government in Russia. In the post war years, Britain sought to make it a British protectroate while Russia emerged as its saviour,

Domination of Persia by British and Russian interests had begun in the reign of Nasir-ud-din Shah, when the former secured a series of concessions and the latter established its hegemony in the northern provinces. The extravagance and lack of money of his successor, Mnzaffar-ud-din Shah, sunk the country deeper into foreign debts. A loan from Russia in 1900 was followed by another in 1902. These loans were guaranteed by customs except from Persian Gulf ports and particularly the second one was obtained in return for making the country into a Russian protectorate. Britain's position was relatively weak and her image was lowered in Persian eyes due to her defeat in the Boer Wars. This state of things was vehemently opposed by the liberal and democratic elements of the Persian society. They rose against Russia's domination of Persian affairs, which by 1905 received a set back as a result of her surprising defeat at the hands of Japan and the abortive Russian revolution.

Political ferment against corrupt despotism and Russian domination was melted into the Persian constitutional revolution in 1905. The liberals and the democrats led by religious leaders began their struggle for some semblance of political liberalism. In this struggle, reactionary rulers of Russia extended their support to their brethren in Tehran and Britain identified herself with the democrats. The first 'bast' or sanctuary was taken as a kind of passive protest in 1905,

but nothing substantial was achieved until 1906. The democrats and liberal intellectuals encamped themselves in the compound of the British legation in Tehran, until the Shah granted a constitution of the type of westernised parliamentary form of government under a limited royal authority. The movement was largely engineered by the British and the Russians resented against the success of the democrats. Russia scented danger to her own ascendancy in Persia.

This balance of Anglo-Russian rivalry over Persia was shattered by Germany's entry in West Asia as a competitor for empire building. The new imperialist 'followed a carefully calculated scheme of using a Teutonic or Nordic wedge through Central Europe' and the Baghdad railway wedge through Western Asia'. The extension of German influence caused consternation among both British and Russian interests. Under a third power pressure, Britain and Russia composed their differences over Persia in an entente. The Anglo-Russian Convention was signed in August 1907 dividing Persia into three zones. The five provinces of the north were recognised as a Russian sphere of influence, and the south-eastern area as a British sphere. In between the two the area was to constitute the neutral zone. The 'independence and integrity' of Persia was, however, reaffirmed in the agreement.

The publication of the agreement caused widespread anger among the Persians. The Persia was then ruled by weak and ineffective Muzaffar-ud-din Shah (1907—1909). Russia having emboldened by the Anglo-Russian Convention, encouraged the Shah to repudiate the constitution. Meanwhile, the democrats turned anti-British, because they saw Britain as a willing partisan of their enemy, Russia. Muhammad Ali attempted two coups to suppress the democrats and achieved success in 1908. But this success was short-lived and he was compelled to restore the constitution in 1909 at the face of opposition from the southern Bakhtiari tribes. Muhammad Ali was deposed and left the country leaving his minor son, Ahmad Shah, at the helm of affairs.

Russia did not however, abandon the idea of suppressing the democrats. Her efforts increased when Germany succeeded in penetrating in the Persian commerce as well as in securing a kind of political friendship with the Persian liberals. In the Potsdam Agreement of November 1910, and in the Treaty of St. Petersburg of August 1911, Russia arrived at an understanding with the Kaiser, who recognised Russia's sphere of influence in Persia. Russia was thus free to exploit this arrangement to the utmost and demanded the dismissal of W. Morgan Shuster who was appointed to tone up the Persian finances. She compelled Shuster to leave Persia, and on this pretext she had the constitution suppressed and the parliament destroyed. All these happened in 1911.

The Shuster episode was followed by the dual government of the regency of Nasir-ul-Mulk, residing abroad since 1912 and the cabinet of the Bakhtiaris. The difference with Britain and Russia was compromised by the Bakhtiaris. Negative influence of these two European powers increased in Persia. In the meantime, the chasm between Germany and the Entente Powers increased and upon this the World War I broke out in 1914. In the war, then Persian government declared a state of neutrality which it had neither the strength to implement nor any of the belligerents had the desire to respect. In the event of Russo-British co-operation, Persian's independence was severely affected. Russia stationed troops in the northern frontier and the German agents became active among the tribesmen to undo British influence. Britain and Russia lavishly used the gendarmerie under Swedish officers and the Cossack brigade. The Persians hoped a German success; and so the democrats and the opportunists rallied round the German cause, the opportunists left it when their hopes was not fulfilled. In the event of the Allied successes in the war, the nationalist dream ended in a fiasco.

The phase of Anglo-Russian co-operation in Iran, ceased to exist with the establishment of revolutionary government in Russia. The Bolshhevik government relaxed the pressure upon

Persia, for it had to fight for its life against foreign intervention. Britain stepped into the erstwhile Russian territories in Iran and decided to use them as a base for counterrevolutionary moves in Russia. At one time there was a rumour in British circles to include Persia in the Pax-Britannica. It was abandoned; and instead the Persian delegation was not permitted to take part in the Paris Peace Conference at the machinations of Great Britain. In fact, fresh hostility between Russia and Britain began in 1918.

After the great war, Britain concluded a bilateral treaty with Persia on August 9, 1919, in London. It was prefaced with the usual pledge for respecting independence and integrity of Persia and its provisions included among other things British assistance to Iran through military and fiscal missions. These British missions would have extensive powers in the reorganisation of the Persian army. Britain also offered a loan of £ 200,000, guaranteed by revenue and customs and used for the constructions of roads and railroads. The treaty reduced Iran virtually into a British protectorate against which democrats and nationalists in Persia resented. Britain greatly underestimated the force of Iranian nationalism of the post-war period and the majlis refused to ratify the treaty. Britain had the only alternative to implement the treaty; i. e., the use of force, to which she was not ready to commit at that time.

On the other hand, Persian relations with Russia augured well with the establishment of revolutionary government in the latter country. In fact, the Bolshevik government reversed the tsarist policy by offering a treaty of amity renouncing all earlier treaties, concessions and interests inherited from the defunct regime. The Russian envoy, Bravin was received by the Iranian nationalists 'as a stick with which to flay the British'. But the proposed alliance was halted for the time being by the emergence of Soviet fleets and troops on Persian soil in their pursuing the remnants of White Russian forces. Kuchik Khan, the rebel of the Elburz mountains

joined the Russians against which Persia protested. Despite this strange situation, the Treaty of Friendship between Persia and Russia was concluded on February 26, 1921. By this treaty all outstanding debts of Persia were cancelled and extraterritorial privileges abandoned. The Persian government secured control over the Julfa-Tabriz railway and many docks and harbours; and the Caspian fisheries were made an object of common exploitation. By Article 6, Soviet Russia reserved the right to send troops to Persia should the latter become a base for anti-Soviet aggression. The treaty marked the end of post-war settlement with Iran, the British treaty having been officially rejected. Anglo-Russian rivalry in the post-war years helped Iran, in getting her independence restored.

-----CHAPTER XIV-----

REZA SHAH PAHLAVI

Q. I. Trace the rise of Reza Shah to power. How did he consolidate his authority ?

Rise to power : It had been advertised by the British Information Services in the Second World War that it was the British who had made possible the rise of Reza Shah. It was merely a diplomatic propaganda and Reza Shah's rise to power might be estimated quite independent of British assistance. Forces facilitating that seizure of power lay deeper in a marked tendency of disunity in Iranian politics. Regional leaders having established themselves locally tended to move towards complete sovereignty by defeating others—and it had been a recurrent phenomenon in Persian history. Reza Khan was one such regional leader, who succeeded by defeating his rivals. His rise to power was however facilitated by the existence of a favourable international situation and the growth of national consciousness among the people of Iran.

During the First World War the Iranian Empire was led to fragmentation. The weak successors of the despotic Kajar rulers failed to maintain the tempo of the degree of national unity, the dynasty had achieved. The regional forces became active and ambitious people began to harbour hopes of becoming the potential unifiers of Iran. There were three such unifiers in Iran in 1921 : Kuchik Khan in Gilan, Colonel Muhammad Taqi Khan, the patriotic gendarmerie officer, and a Cossack officer named Reza Khan. Kuchik Khan was

the leader of the revolutionary Jangalis of Gilan and subsequently turned to the Russian revolutionaries for assistance. But his Russian alliance did not last long ; and it proved fatal to his success. His Bolshevik consortium made him an enemy to the loyal Iranians. Colonel Muhammad Taqi Khan was a man of known patriotism ; but he was a sagacious politician and not a heroic military leader. Situations in Iran in the post-war year required a hero around which the national democratic forces could gather.

Choice of the Iranians thus fell upon Reza Khan. Born in March 1878, he had a military career in the Cossack Brigade of the Persian army for more than twenty years as an ordinary soldier. In the eyes of the Western critics and aristocratic minority in Iran he was a man of obscure origins. He was physically large and strong and had the tact and shrewdness of a military genius. He was promoted to the rank of an officer under Staroselsky's command. He exploited the temporary weakness of Russia after the revolution and packed the Russian officers in the Cossack division out of Persia. His moves coincided with those of the British and the British officers replaced the Russians in the Persian army. The state of things remained in the plane until 1921 when Reza himself assumed command of the division. However, he continued to receive British technical assistance. That was the reason why he has been regarded a British creation. But he was essentially a nationalist, opposed to any foreign interference in the affairs of Iran, and that he took British assistance to achieve the success.

In fact it was the awakening of Iranian nationalism which made the rise of Reza Khan rapid. After the First World War, Persia was deeply imbued with a sense of national democracy as opposed to foreign dominance. The new forces were organised by a renowned political leader Sayyid Zia-uddin Tabatabai. He drew both Muhammad Taqi Khan of the gendarmerie and Reza Khan of the Cossack division to his cause. The state of things in Iran worsened due to

frequent changes in the grand vezirate and lack of organised administration. Iran was relieved of her international pressure and friendly relations were established or negotiated with Britain and Russia. The stage was thus set for a change in the Government. Reza Khan led a *coup d'etat* in February 1921, and in doing so he was assisted by his compatriots. As a result of the coup, Zia ud-din Tabatabai assumed the premiership, and the pilot of the coup, Reza Khan became the minister of war and Commander in Chief. Although Muhammad Taqi Khan showed his loyalty to the Sayyid's cause the gendarmerie was disbanded. Reza Khan emerged as a national hero.

Consolidation of power : Having thus rose to power Reza Khan was made the Sardar Sipah. The new prime minister, Sayyid Zia-ud-din Tabatabai had a zeal for radical reforms, but his ideas did not prove balanced for continued success. His harsh measures massed the wealthy conservatives against him. By a series of enactments, he disgusted the people and they became frustrated of his attempts to apply religion in everyday affairs. His objective was noble, for he was desperately seeking to avoid more foreign loans. His measures against the nobility and the court also excited the antagonism of the Shah. Reza Khan was ambitious and a realist; and he enjoyed the support of the populace. He forced Zia-ud-din to resign and flee from the country within three months. Thereafter he became the pivot of paramount power in the government of Persia.

But Reza Khan refrained from assuming the post of prime minister at once. Instead he plumped for Qavam-Us-Sultanah in the prime ministry. He, however, remained in the War ministry consolidating his authority there. But Qavam rapidly became unpopular due to his dallying with foreigners. On oil, the nationalists saw with morbid fear that the country was again driving towards foreign tutelage. Once again Reza used his nationalist sympathisers and the army. Qavam was forced to resign and Reza himself assumed the office of

prime minister in 1923. Almost immediately he forced Sultan Ahmad Shah for an "extended trip to Europe". In absence of the Shah he exercised supreme authority in the Persian empire.

In 1923 Reza Shah became the prime minister of Iran and in the same year Mustafa Kemal declared a republic in Turkey. The Sardar Sipah was an admirer of Mustafa Kemal and he toyed with the possibility of ending the Kajar rule by a similar expedient. He had already earned loyalty of the merchants during the prime ministry of Qavam-us-Sultaneh. But widespread clerical opposition to this scheme obliged him to abandon it and the prohibition of a republic was established by law. Thereafter, his supporters known as the reformists or the 'Tajaddudis' won a majority and the fifth majlis began its sessions in 1924. There were talks of ending Kajar rule and the majlis ordered the deposition of the absentee Shah on October 31, 1925. Although Pahlevis were not much popular in Iran, the majlis proclaimed Reza Khan as the Shah of Iran on December 13, 1925. Reza Shah, thus, became the *de jacto* and *de jure* sovereign of Persia by plackating the Kajars. .

The secrets of Reza's success both in rising to power and in consolidating it was the army. In fact he used the military as a base for power. Again the international situations were favourable as both Russia and Great Britain were busy with their own houses. Tensions between these two European nations, however, attained a new phase, whereby both Britain and Russia, were eager to enter into a treaty with Persia. In fact five days after the coup of 1921, a treaty was signed with Russia by which Persia not only realised the lost provinces but also got rid of British pressure. Moreover, Reza Shah was a very shrewd and calculated statesman and military leader, by dint of which he rose to the supreme position in Persia.

Q. 2. Give an account of the reforms of Reza Shah,

Reza Shah launched a vigorous programme of reforms

after completing his consolidation of power in 1925. In doing so he was inspired by his Turkish contemporary, Mustafa Kemal. His reforms were to a certain extent parallel to the latter's, but executed with more restraint and caution. The Shah's task was infinitely difficult due to the country's limited exposure to Europe, and the lack of officials with administrative abilities. The most formidable road block was the existence of a religious body executing spiritual power on a Shiite society. The Shah desired his country's complete emancipation from all foreign dominance and decreed all his measures in the *majlis*, which he reduced to a docile instrument.

The Shah was a military personel and from his own experience he knew "the value of a ready-to-fight armed forces, loyal to him and satisfied in its compensation". He raised their number to 40,000. With it, he suppressed the autonomy of the Provincial Governors and unified the country. For the unification of the country and its economic growth, good communication was a necessity. Old roads were improved and new ones constructed with the aid of American engineers. The Shah extended the telegraph lines and installed wireless stations and made them available to the public. His most important project was the Trans-Persian railway which was financed by sales tax on tea and sugar with no money borrowed.

Emptiness of the treasury was found the main cause of the Kajars' dependence on foreigners. Money also needed to meet the mounting expenses. The Shah expanded the state monopolies to cover most fields of business and production. He turned merchants and producers into government employees. As early as 1922 he requested the United States to recommend a financial mission. Dr. Arthur C. Millsbaugh was the head of the mission (1922-27), and he reorganised and systematised the finances of the country. He was not, however, allowed to tackle the military accounts. He replaced the 'toman' by the 'rial' in currency and deprived

the British owned Imperial Bank of Iran from the right of issuing currency notes. Agricultural schools and model farms were established for the development of agriculture while foreign technocrats were invited to advice for that of industries. His was a policy of nationalist protections, 'the ideal of effective national independence as against foreign powers, and effective national sovereignty at home'.

The Shah set out to remove the intellectual impediment of his country by introducing Western civilisation and techniques. Although he himself had no clear understanding of these, he was not deeply rooted in Persian culture. He curtailed the privileges of the religious classes and seized their extensive possessions. He suppressed the dervish orders and prohibited passion plays. Education was freed from the clerical hold and elementary and secondary education was introduced on modern lines. Students were sent abroad and educational institutions erected by foreigners nationalised. The University of Tehran was organised in 1935.

Like Mustafa Kemal, Reza Shah also realised that Western institutions could not work in compatible with oriental medieval economic and social structures. So neither the constitution was overthrown nor the majlis dissolved. The Shah reduced the majlis to a ratifying body. The early enthusiasm for parliamentary government had subsided. The government decreed in 1935 that the ancient name of the country, Iran, be substituted for Persia. The Shah's family name Pahlavi, was also derived from the old Persian "Parthian". Here he followed Mustafa Kemal very copiously.

Reza Shah introduced social change and like anywhere it involved an amount of immotion. So its reaction creates more tension than economic or administrative changes. The Shah abolished the titles of nobility and replaced the sons of the aristocratic families by more efficient officials. The measures invoked serious reactions. More serious were the problems arising out of legislation relating to the status of womanhood; because it also involved religion. The Shah

issued a series of laws discouraging polygamy and facilitating divorce by a wife. A girl's marriageable age was raised to fifteen and her outward symbol of isolation and subordination, the veil, removed. Although with certain reservations, women were given juridically equal rights with men. These measures also raised the status of womanhood and put an end of patriarchal family as well.

While Mustafa Kemal's reforms reared a permanent institutional structure, Reza Shah's were personal and collapsed after his retirement. It was largely to the fact that the latter did not possess any clear vision. He succeeded in turning his country from foreign dominance ; but he was less successful in his westernising attempts. He completed the destruction of the old order, but he could not fill up the vacuum so thorough as did his Turkish contemporary. His reforms were not rallied round a particular system and therefore they were rather inconsistent in certain respects.

Q 3. Discuss the role of Iran in international politics in the period intervening between the two World Wars.

Or, Discuss Iran's international relation under Reza Shah.

Iran had determined to keep herself out of the First World War, but the war had penetrated into the hills and dales of the country. At its end, she managed to retain her sovereignty by employing the gestures of goodwill of the Bolshevik Government of Russia against the British interests. In the meantime, Reza Shah Pahlavi came to power at the crest of a wave of national awareness. Henceforward, enlightened nationalism became the keynote of Iran's international relations. Reza Shah freed the Iranian foreign policy from lack of resolution and political realism. The country was piloted towards political and to some extent economic emancipation. In 1928, the capitulations were abolished for the sake of independence and self-respect. Good relations were established with Great Britain and correct relations with the U. S. S. R. Iran signed a non-aggression pact with the neighbouring states

guaranteeing each other's borders. But when Iran in pursuit of her pet "third power theory" began to cultivate good relations with Germany on the eve of the Second World War, her declared neutrality was threatened and her energetic leader, Reza Shah, was obliged to abdicate.

At the end of the first great war Iran sent her delegation to the Peace Conference at Paris in 1919 to place her demands. But at the machination of Great Britain it was not officially received. Instead, a bilateral agreement was signed between Britain and Persia with terms which would have reduced the country to a virtual British protectorate. Although the the young, irresponsible Shah and his weak, corrupt cabinet accepted it, the assembly refused to convene for ratification. Against this treaty, public opinion and nationalist spirit in Iran was on the point of explosion. On the other hand, the revolutionary government of the Bolsheviks in Russia reversed the traditional policy by offering a treaty of amity renouncing all earlier treaties, concessions etc., which it inherited from the tsarist regime. The treaty was signed in February, 1921; but before it Persia had been accepted as a fully independent member of the League of Nations. British troops had already begun to withdraw from southern Persia; by the Russo-Persian Treaty of 1921, Persia agreed to cancel her earlier treaty with Great Britain.

Iranian nationalists desired their country's emancipation from foreign domination; and a balance between Britain and Russia over Persia was established by the Russia-Persian Treaty of Friendship. These nationalists had an anti-Shah sentiment, and they extended their support to a Commander of the Cossack Brigade, Reza Khan. Reza Khan effected a *Coup d'etat* five days before the signing of the Russo-Persian Treaty on February 21, 1921, and by 1925, he became 'Shah-en-Shah' of Iran. He was an enlightened reformer, and his foreign policy was equally enlightened. His primary concern was to free the country from big power domination. Accordingly, he engineered Iran's relations with them. Due to the

geographical position, the country was caught between the British interest in India and the Persian Gulf and Russia ; but Reza Shah succeeded in playing off the one against the other.

"Iran's relations with Great Britain were not too friendly", but they were closer than with any other power. They varied 'from outward correctness to open quarreling' as a result of the operations of the Anglo-Iranian Oil company in the province of Khuzistan. The company had developed as an *imperium in imperi*. But quarrel at first broke out between the two countries in 1927 over the oil-rich Bahrain islands. Britain refused to recognise Iran's sovereignty over the islands. Thereafter, the hostilities between Iran and Great Britain intensified on several issues. In May, 1928, however, normalcy restored in their relations and Iran succeeded in emancipating herself from the century-old capitulations after a year's notice. A more serious crisis arose in their relations in 1932 over the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, founded in 1901. Reza Shah's unilateral cancellation of the company's concession on grounds of fraudulent accounting, was brought to the council of the League of Nations by Great Britain. It was also amicably settled in 1933, when the concession was extended for sixty years with its terms raised in favour of more royalty for Iran. Hereafter, relations between these countries were on the whole friendly ; but there were visible signs of Britain's waning influence.

After the treaty of 1921 Iran's relations with Soviet Russia became somewhat correct if not cordial. It was because the Bolsheviks encouraged the anti-government agitation in Gilan, and in the rebellions in Azerbaijan and Khorasan the Soviet Union was suspected of Connivance. Again Reza Shah's ruthless action against the spread of Communism in Iran frustrated the leader of Moscow, who classified Reza's regime as a positive step forward towards a classless society. Economic problems also considerably played upon the relations between the two neighbouring states. The areas of conflict

were the northern oil concessions, the Irano-Soviet trade and the Caspian fisheries. Legal or not Russia protested against Iran's giving away to British and American corporations those concessions which had been renounced by the U.S.S. R. More embarrassing for Iran was Russia's occasional stoppage of trade with northern Iran. It was a very effective weapon and Russia used it in 1923 on the dispute over the Caspian fisheries. It was lifted in the next when a new fishery agreement was signed. To counteract this soviet pressure, Reza Shah organised a foreign trade monopoly and reoriented Iranian trade towards Germany which had by then undergone a recovery. During the inter-war period Irano-Soviet relations never attained a hostile stage and Russia was not ready to undertake an invasion to compel Reza Shah to facilitate the spread of communism.

Iran under Reza Shah, however, developed friendly relations with her immediate neighbours. Under Soviet encouragement a treaty was signed on April 22, 1926 between Iran, Afghanistan and Turkey effecting conciliation between Tehran and Ankara, and Tehran and Kabul. Iran's frontier problem with Turkey was amicably settled in 1932 although the Kurdish uprising posed some obstacles. Friendly relations with the Middle Eastern states developed in course of official visits of the state heads into different capitals. Its climax was the Saadabad pact or more popularly the Middle Eastern pact of 1937 signed between Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Afghanistan. It provided for non-aggression, consultation and mutual co-operation but it was considered, as Lenczowski has stated, another type of *cordon sanitaire* against the spread of communism.

In course of Iran's freeing herself from the domination of Britain and Russia she developed friendly relations with Germany. Germany also after her recovery extended technical and trade services to Iran. This trend of Irano-German trade co-operation took such an upward trend after Hitler's rise that in 1939 Germany accounted for 41 percent of the foreign of

Iran. Reza Shah also praised the German authorities as the best safeguard against communism. But this pro-Axis course of Iranian foreign policy yielded bad harvests on the outbreak of the Second World War. Despite her declared neutrality, the marching of German troops into the Ukraine was considered by Britain and Russia as a definite threat to their interests in Iran. British forces occupied the southern part of Iran while the Russian forces the northern in 1941. Meanwhile, Reza Shah and his Axis-ward friends had already leaned towards Germany. Now to save the throne, the Shah abdicated in favour of his son and left the country. He had all through given a realistic leadership, but he became a victim of his own "third power theory."

Q. 4. Trace the career of Reza Shah and give an estimate of his achievements.

Or, Discuss Reza Shah's contribution to modern Iran.

The reign of Reza Shah in Iran for the two decades beginning from 1921 to 1941 composed a new era in Iran's history. In the history of Persia there was a marked tendency towards fragmentation, when there had been weakness at the top. Similar situations arose immediately after the first World War. But in any period of her disunity, Iran never lacked a potential unifier. This time Reza Khan brought all the fragments into unison and showed his remarkable enlightenment by making Iran look like a modern sovereign state.

Reza Khan was a man of obscure origin and from the pale of society he elevated himself to the pivot of power. Born in 1878, he joined as an ordinary soldier to the Cossack Brigade, then trained and officered by Russia. Shrewd and sagacious, Reza was a man of tact and merit. At the end of the first great war, when the Iranians resented against their country's indignation, Reza was seen consolidating his authority in his division. He became a commander and after the dismissal of the Russian officer virtually the only

commander of the Cossack division. Making it as his base, he defeated the Gilani agitator Kuchik Khan. To step down Russian influence, at times he took interest ; but they were opportune moves, and he was never guided by British directions.

In post-war Iran, the national democratic forces desired a change. The weak and irresponsible Shah and his corrupt cabinet only made the country more dependent on the foreigners. People with national consciousness rallied round Zia-ud-din Tabatabai. But no change was possible without military assistance. Therefore Reza Shah's services were required and he effected the desired *coup d' etat* in February 1921. International situations were favourable and after the coup Zia became prime minister and Reza minister of war. But this state of things did not last longer. Zia was a political theorist and in reality, he offended, by his radical measures, the wealthy conservatives and a section of the lay people. Reza forced Tabatabai to resign and thereby wielded paramount influence in Iran. But not until 1923, he himself assumed premiership. As prime minister he packed the last Kajar Shah to an "extended trip to Europe" and toyed with ideas of a republic. In the face of widespread opposition he abandoned the idea. He convened the majlis which deposed the absentee Shah and proclaimed him the 'Shah-in-Shah' of Iran at the close of 1921. He introduced the Pahlavi dynasty and himself ruled till 1941 when he abdicated in favour of his son.

During his rule, he launched a massive programme of reforms ; and in doing so he was inspired by his Turkish contemporary Mustafa Kemal. Clerical supremacy, lack of experienced officials and limited exposure to Europe made his task more infinitely difficult. Reza began by equipping and strengthening his army. He also knew the value of good communications. So he improved the old roads and laid out new ones. 'Telegraph lines were extended and wireless stations installed. He completed the trans-Caspian railway

from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian sea in twelve years. All these projects needed money, and he financed them from within with no money borrowed. State monopolies were extended and employed the American mission of Dr. Arthur C. Millspaugh (1922-1927) to reorganise and sytematize the finances except of the military.

Himself hardly cultured, Reza had no clear understanding of western civilisation. Yet he set out to build the modern culture of his country by introducing western techniques. He freed education from the clergy and made it modern in elementary and secondary levels. Performance of religious pageants and passion plays was also prohibited. Students were sent to Europe and America, and the University of Tehraa was established in 1935 with various departments. To convert Iran into a fully modernised state he also introduced social reforms. Titles of nobility were abolished and offices opened to talents. Reza emancipated women from religious bondages, made womanhood more dignified and modern. In his pursuit of nationalisation he replaced Persia for Iran as the country's name. He, did not, however, overthrow the constitution nor dissovle the majlis ; he only reduced them to a ralifying body.

In his foreign relations also he was inspired by a sense of nationalism. He abolished the capitulary privileges of the British in 1928 only after one year's notice. Five years later the concession given to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Comany was extended in time and its terms revised in favour of more royalty for government and gradual Iranisation of the officials. His relations with Great Britain, was friendly, and with Russia correct if not cordial. Cordiality took over in Russo-Iranian relations for Reza Shah damned the spread of communism in his country and for Rus-ia fomented rebellions in parts of Iran. Tensions arose in the Irano-Russian relations but never did they assume serious proportions. Reza Shah established cordial relations with his Oriental neighbours and their epoch was the Middle East Pact of 1927. To get rid of

occasional economic embargo, sponsored by Russia, Reza Shah leaned towards Germany. He and his pro-Axis allies became more hopeful when the German troops entered Paris in 1940. Iran's pro-German course during the second Great War was a serious threat to British and Russian interests. To save the throne for his son from the joint Anglo-Russian pressure, Reza abdicated from the throne in 1941. Three years later, in 1944, Reza Shah died at Johannesburg in North America.

Reza Shah was the man of destiny for Iran for twenty years, during which period he jockeyed the country towards the path of modernisation. A nationalist, he had his source of strength in army. From an ordinary soldier, he rose to power and it was with the help of the army he suppressed any opposition against his moves. He offered the country a splendid regeneration and his model was another twentieth century Oriental despot, Mustafa Kemal. However, he executed his reform with more restraint and caution. He freed Iran from the fetters of medievalism and eucharism. But as his conception of western civilisation and culture was not very clear, his reforms often boded ill. Again his enlightenment was not shared by his subjects and yielded in inherent contradictions. Moreover, in pursuit of nationalisation of the finance, he established the house of Pahlavi on inflation.

CHAPTER XV

IRAN AFTER REZA SHAH

Q. 1 How did the Second World War affect conditions in Iran ?

The government and people of Iran, remembering the memory of the preceding war, were determined to keep their country out of the Second World War. But the advance of German troops into the Ukraine threatened British and Russian interest in Iran. Reza Shah and his associates observed the initial success of Germany and Italy and therefore leaned Axis-Ward. Russia and Britain reacted seriously ; their troops occupied northern and southern Iran respectively. Their pressure upon Reza Shah fell heavily and he judiciously abdicated the throne in favour of his son in 1941. Twenty-two-year-old Muhammad Reza resumed constitutional rule and signed a treaty of alliance with the occupants—Britain and Russia. By this treaty Britain and Russia undertook to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Iran, and Iran to declare war on Germany, which she soon did. This leaning towards the Allies was dramatised in the Tehran Conference of 1943, and Iran was promised substantial material aid during and after the war.

During this time Iran badly needed external help. The traffic between the occupied zones in the north and south was closed. The transport facilities were utilised only for military purposes. Import of certain essential commodities was stopped. As a result there was a drastic shortage in the supply of consumers goods and prices rose ten-times their

pre-war index. The income of the people also increased substantially. The working class had improved opportunities due to the war and they earned higher wages. The middle class earned more by profiteering etc. But this improved earning index were less than counterbanced the dearer living index caused by inflation.

There were discontent and wide-spread disturbances as a result of the demoralising effect of foreign occupation. The free press and ephemeral journals propagated agitation to the detriment of internal stability. Leftists, backed by Soviet Russia fomented agitation in Azerbaijan and elsewhere. The religious leaders found it the opportune moment to dam the spread of Western ideas and institutions and to regain their former status. The Shah had neither strength nor money to suppress these centrifugal tendencies. He was to depend on American aid which was slow to come and inadequate in quantity.

Financial and military reforms started once again to rejuvenate the country. Dr. Arthur C. Millspaugh was once again invited to reorganise the finances. He was given broad powers and he worked for two years from 1943-45. Among his contributions, the most tangible was a graduated income tax system. To reorganise and direct the gendarmerie, another American expert, Colonel Norman Schwartzkopf was invited. In 1943 an army aid mission started its functions. American influence gradually increased in the Iranian finance and army : and Iran was largely benefited of the American aid missions.

Termination of hostilities followed by the easing of tension in Iran. A bipartite treaty was signed between Iran and Great Britain, and in compliance with it, British forces of occupation withdrew in March 1946. Russia at first dwindled with hesitation and pressed for some concessions. Russian troops also withdrew following the British example. American non-combatant forces also left Iran on completion of their work in 1945. Upon the withdrawal of Allied troops, Iran

secured possession of valuable electric and other installation, and an improved and enlarged system of communication.

The Soviet Union had encouraged a leftist movement which ultimately led to the formation of the vigorous 'Tudeh' (masses) party. After the war Russia abandoned her support. But the heir of the Tudeh party launched a separatist movement in the Turkish-speaking Azarbaijan lying on the Soviet borders. Iran brought this matter to the Security Council of the newly formed United Nations in 1946. She objected against continued presence of Soviet forces violating treaty provisions. Three years later there was an attempt on the Shah's life. Following the incident the party was proscribed and its leaders either fled or jailed. In compliance to a bilateral agreement, Soviet troops withdrew from Iran in return for the Iranian government's consent on the proposal for the formation of a joint Irano-Soviet Oil Company. But the majlis refused to ratify the treaty and a new phase of Irano-Soviet tension ensued.

In pursuit of economic recovery, Iran leaned towards the United States in the post-war years. The Shah went to the U. S. on a state visit in the autumn of 1949 in search of aid. He was warmly received but his mission was not fulfilled. There were proposals for loans from the Export-Import Bank for the purchase of supplies and equipment in the United States. Point Four and the Mutual Defence Assistance programmes gave technical and military assistance respectively. Iran secured technical aid from the United Nations. But these were un-coordinated projects and did not restore self-sufficiency in Iran. Economic conditions continued worsening so much so that the majlis passed a bill nationalising the oil industry in April, 1951.

2. Q. Examine the question of nationalisation of Oil in Iran.

Nationalisation of oil in Iran was a desperate bid to recover the country from the post-war economic crisis and from foreign domination. Its signs had been seen, when the majlis had refused to ratify the treaty concerning the formation

of a joint Irano-Soviet Oil Company. Iran turned towards the United States for the desired economic recovery. When the Shah's attempt to restore any semblance of self-sufficiency ended in illusion the majlis passed a bill in April 1851 nationalising the oil industry. The majlis looked towards the oil, as it was the main source of national revenue. But it was completed in defence of the British Government and Company.

The nationalisation bill was inaugurated in the majlis by Dr. Muhammad Mosaddiq. He had served as a deputy, a government official and as a cabinet member, and 'had persistently preached the anti-foreign pro-nationalist gospel.' The rabid nationalists, leftists and other malcontents rallied round him, and his government unilaterally abrogated the agreement signed between Reza Shah and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1933. Britain was the largest shareholder in the Company and she brought the case before the International Court of Justice. Mosaddiq's government contested its jurisdiction, upon which it was brought to the United Nations. The prime minister visited the United States to get the latter's support to the Iranian cause. Attempts for compromise or a settlement through arbitration failed.

In the meantime, Mosaddiq succeeded in clearing of the Abadan refinery from the British. British diplomats and businessmen were stepped out of Iran. Other oil companies were benefited by the situation, but nationalisation of oil industry they never welcomed. The issue on nationalisation received universal acclaim and for this the British were not less responsible. Britain was moved by a conservative policy and obsessed the issue with legal complications. Iranians took this attitude of Great Britain as some sort of old-time imperialism writ large upon industry and business. In fact the company had too many British officers and the natives were denied of high technical and executive posts. The behaviour of the British towards the native employees was bad and the royalty given to the country inadequate. Existence

of these long standing grievances made Mosaddiq's attempt easier.

The problem assumed international significance; internally it led to serious economic situation in Iran. Some five million wage earners suddenly lost their employment due to the forced closure of oil operations. The Government's attempt to reactivate the Abadan refinery and to put its products in the world market met with little success. President Eisenhower of the United States refused to extend further aid or to purchase the oil products. The stoppage of oil revenue threatened the country's financial position. The economic crisis led to discontent and unrest. Dr. Mosaddiq proclaimed martial law. He attempted to appropriate all authoritan power by disposing the Shah and parliament. He mixed the national cause with a personal one. The Shah and the queen left the country in 1953 for their safty. General Fazollah Zahedi led a royalist revolutionary coup against Mosaddiq and his associates. Upon its success the Shah returned to his country.

Thereupon Zahedi became prime minister and under his regime the oil problem reached a solution. An international oil consortium of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, five American companies and two others were formed in 1954; and it assumed the new name of British Petroleum Company Ltd. Iran's economic stabinty was restored by an emergency grant of forty-five million dollars from the United States and the latter promised the continuation of military and technical assistance. All these were to enable Iran to carry pending the receipt of oil revenues.

Q. 3. Analyse the post-war trends in Iran's international relations.

Iran's international relation in the post-war period may be studied in the light of global rivalry between the two power blocs—the capitalist bloc represented by America and the communist bloc headed by the U. S. S. R. There had been a marked anti-communist tendency of the ruling clique in Iran since the days of Reza Shah. Iran's burning financial

crisis led the country gradually towards America for aid and assistance. Under Dr. Mosaddiq Iran's foreign policy was labelled as negative nationalism, but it was converted to a policy of positive nationalism by Muhammad Reza Shah.

At the end of the Second World War Britain withdrew her forces from Iran following the terms of the bipartite treaty. But the Soviet Union hesitated. She withdrew her troops reluctantly and some of them were left on the Irano-Soviet borders. During the war years, Soviet Russia encouraged a leftist movement in Iran which ultimately crystallised in the Tudeh (masses) party. The members of the party sponsored a separatist movement in the province of Azerbaijan, which was contiguous to Russia. Iran protested against the continued existence of Russian troops in her soil in the Security Council of the United Nations. The Tudeh party was proscribed and went underground when an attempt was made upon the Shah's life. Irano-Soviet relations became bitter, and when the Shah agreed on the formation of an Irano-Soviet Oil Company, the majlis reacted by refusing to ratify it.

The war told heavily upon Iran's economy. She turned towards the United States for aid and assistance. The Shah visited the States in 1949 for aid and investment of private capital in Iran. America had already withdrawn the non-combatant forces in 1945. In pursuit of the Truman Doctrine of March 12, 1947, proclaiming the containment of communism led to the Irano-American agreement of October 1947. On the Shah's visit the Export-Import Bank offered loans for the purchase of supplies and equipment in the United States. Through Point Four, the Mutual Defence Assistance Programme and various other associations America extended economic and technical aid to Iran.

But these U. S. economic and technical aids to Iran did not enable her to obtain any semblance of sufficiency. The country was then headed by a nationalist majlis headed by Dr. Muhammad Mosaddiq. In pursuit of nationalisation, a bill was passed in April 1951 confiscating the concessions to

the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Britain reacted by placing it before the International Court of Justice. It was dragged to the Security Council of the U. N. But the Nationalisation of oil led to serious economic crisis causing a oil revolution. A royalist revolution supported by General Zahedi saved the country. The British Petroleum Company Ltd. was formed within which there were five American Oil Companies.

Thereafter Iran had a pro-western course in the international relations. A few months after the formation of an international oil consortium the United States offered an emergency grant to enable Iran to carry on pending the receipts of revenue. Iran accepted the Eisenhower doctrine early in 1957. America made new commitments of financial and technical aid to Iran in this doctrine. Iran also received a loan of seventy-five million dollars from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Iran and the U.S. signed a defence agreement at Ankara in March 1959. By this agreement the U.S. undertook to take such appropriate steps in case of aggression as might be mutually agreed upon.

The Soviet Union did not take this pro-American leanings of Iran cordially. On more than one occasion, she put pressure to enforce the validity of the treaty of 1921. She hurled upon the Iranians a barrage of propaganda from Iran and Afghanistan against American aid and assistance. In fact, the U.S.-Soviet cold war in the Middle East had a deeper effect on Iran's foreign policy. The Soviet Union succeeded in neutralising the Middle Eastern states like Afghanistan, the U.A.R. and other Arab states by means of economic and military aid. America on the other hand found allies in Iran and Palestine. As a result the inter-relation between the Middle Eastern states came to be guided by the cold war of the two big power blocs.

But Iran was not deprived of her right to negotiate with other powers. She leaned towards the Soviet bloc when her

national interests were exposed to danger. She did it during the Suez Canal crisis of 1956. But her policy was basically pro-western and a such breach with the United States were accidental. She extended recognition to Israel, and her present economic and military problems are continuing to be solved with American aid. This pro-western course had been dramatised by Muhammad Reza Shah as a policy derived from positive nationalism.

PART THREE

THE ARAB STATES

CHAPTER XVI

EGYPT

Q. 1. Give an account of the Ottoman rule in Egypt till the adventures of Napoleon.

Egypt was brought under the banner of the Ottoman Empire by Sultan Salim the Grim in 1517. He destroyed the Mamluk sultans and inherited their empire. It was from the Mamluks that he took over the Caliphate. Selim left an army of occupation consisting of some five thousand Janissaries in Egypt. Before his departure, he put the country under a viceroy entitled pasha. But he did not disturb the administration of the twelve districts and it was left under Mamluk governors as usual. Selim did not however, introduce any radical changes in the administration. The existence of the pasha, loyal to the Ottoman ruler and the Mamluk governors boded ill for the country.

It was due to the fact that the Mamluk governors were hostile to Ottoman occupation of their country. Each of them had his troops and slaves and paid his nominal allegiance to the Turkish suzerain only by payment of annual tribute. There was an extra-legal, political lacuna in the relations between Constantinople and these provincial governors or the 'beys'. More powerful beys made puppets of the Ottoman viceroys and at times failed to remit in Constantinople what was due. They traded in slaves and by this they replenished their treasury. The pashas were appointed temporarily and they had no knowledge of the language and customs of the

people governed. Having placed far away from their base the pasha's chief concern was often to exploit the people to improve his future. Less than hundred such pashas ruled Egypt two hundred and eighty years before the Napoleonic invasion.

Hence during the period before the adventures of Napoleon there was a sort of dual control over Egypt. This dual control resulted in double oppression. In consequence the country and its people sank deeper and deeper into poverty and misery. Famine and pestilence broke out very frequently due to poor sanitary conditions and low human vitality. Egyptians were beaten and oppressed by overlords, and they were deprived of their daily sustenance. Economic and social background of the villages were destroyed and the villagers deserted their farms. Many of them turned to brigandage and lands became pasture grounds. And, in the words of P.B. Shelley,

.....Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare
The lone and level sands stretch far away.

The Mamluk beys had a boundless increase of their authority when central government was represented by a weak Ottoman pasha. One such occasion arose in 1769, when Ali Bey went so far as to expel the pasha. He set up an independent kingdom and struck coins in his own name. He launched a double attack on Arabia and Syria. His general captured Mecca and laid invasions against several cities in Syria. The general who was his son-in-law, soon betrayed his cause and began secret negotiations with the Sublime Porte. Ali Bey's adventures demonstrated the vulnerability of the Ottoman Empire at its Arab-half. Ali was murdered in 1803, but his example was followed by other rapacious Mamluks who seized power in various parts of Egypt during the later half of the eighteenth century. Such was the state of things in Egypt when Napoleon invaded it.

Q. 2. Discuss the impact of Napoleon towards the awakening of modern Egypt.

Napoleon landed his troops in Egypt in 1798 and it was the first armed inroad in Arab territory since the Crusades. The Napoleonic troops stayed there till 1801, when they were overwhelmed or evaluated. The episode influenced Egypt on both the political and intellectual levels. In fact Napoleonic invasion of Egypt exposed the Arab East to the Western powers through which Western arts and sciences entered into the area culminating in its awakening. Modernisation of Egypt in the succeeding years was largely a product of its getting acquainted with the West. The Western powers, on the other hand, had a new area leading to their rivalry for domination or spheres of influence.

Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798 ostensibly to restore the authority of the Sublime Porte by punishing the Mamluks, but really to satiate his thirst for world domination through the Middle East. Whether he was prompted by his idea of striking the British Empire by cutting off communication with the Orient or to fight his way through Western Asia into Constantinople and the Balkans is still a doubtful question. But he entered into Alexandria by defeating the Mamluks in the battle of the Pyramids. His men then advanced through Gaza and Zaffa to Acre, where they were defeated at the hands of the local Governor of al-Jazzar, Muhammad Ali, who was assisted by the British squadron. Meanwhile, Admiral Nelson had destroyed Napoleon's fleet at Abukir Bay and cut off the line of supply. Napoleon rushed back to France in 1801 never to come back again.

The French General began by showing his pro-Muslim attitude. He promoted the Ulema and Doctors of Law to responsible positions. The latter in their turn asked for his submission to Islam. Napoleon refused it due to his lack of circumcision and addiction to wine. The religious class in Egypt considered him an infidel ; but this infidel introduced something, which was novel and unknown to those teachers.

Entering Cairo, Napoleon proclaimed equality of all Egyptians before the law and their eligibility to all posts by virtue of their talents. In the power vacuum created by the defeat of the Mamluks and departure of the Turkish Pasha, he set up a council of nine members chosen from the Sheikhs of al-Azhar University. Similar councils were set up in the provinces under the French military governors. These councillors were to swear fidelity to the French republic, and through their collaboration Napoleon tried to introduce French rule in Egypt. On the other hand, the Sheikhs, who were the only enlightened class of people, became acquainted with the art of government of the West. Napoleon's plan did not succeed ; but the Egyptians fully utilised their new experience.

Napoleon started the Egyptian Institute and brought with him engineers, architects, mathematicians, chemists, historians, archeologists etc. These men, by their systematic excavation, discovered the buried world of Egyptian antiquity and developed it in to the science of Egyptology. The engineers, by orders from Napoleon, made a survey to find out the ways and means of digging the Suez Canal. These manifestation of intellectual phenomena awoke the Egyptians of their glorious past. Their belief in the superiority of Islamic culture was shattered by their contact with French scholars and soldiers. Napoleon also introduced printing press with Arabic type brought from Rome. These events not only played a prominent role in the national awakening in the nineteenth century, but also had a great impact on the modernisation of Egypt.

Napoleon also introduced a Western system of taxation. He was hard pressed for money and to collect more he employed Poussielgne and Estere. The two French officers thoroughly reorganised the tax structure and created a new relation between the administration and tax payers. The new system had a lasting effect as they brought in stability and efficiency. In search of money, he also undertook a reform in the land revenue ; but his move was frustrated by the uprising in Cairo. Again, introduction of

modern industries in Egypt also owed its origin in Napoleonic invasions. Among his soldiers, who were dismembered from the main troops by Nelson, developed such industries like hydraulic machines, steel, arms etc. for their sustenance. These men of the French army helped Muhammad Ali in his scheme of industrialisation and modernising the Egyptian army.

French invasion of Egypt under Napoleon did not yield any immediate results and Turkish returned to the country. But Napoleon awakened the Egyptians from the deep slumber of centuries and introduced them with Western way of life and administration. He unbalanced the hold of Islamic culture and injected among the people a sense of political and material consciousness. He also aroused the consciousness of all imperialist powers, particularly of Great Britain, regarding the key position, the country held strategically. Again he exposed the Arab east to the Western imperialists and thereby paved an area of international tussles and conflicts. However, Napoleon destroyed the power of the Mamluks, and thereby facilitated the emergence of Muhammad Ali in Egypt-

Q. 3. Why Muhammad Ali has been regarded as the founder of Modern Egypt ?

Moslem contemporaries of Muhammad Ali (1805-1848) called him the father of modern Egypt and he deserves the honour. Indeed, it was he who emancipated the country from the maladministration of the corrupt Turkish Governors and the Mamluks. He appointed Egyptians in the executive posts and built up a national army. He extended the frontiers of Egypt and introduced reforms and innovations in course of his rule for about half a century. Egyptian nationalists rallied round him and he inaugurated an era of nationalisation in agriculture and industries in the Arab world. During his dictatorial regime he introduced all aspects of westernisation and modernisation.

Muhammad Ali was born in 1769 in Macedonia and came to Egypt as the head of a Turkish contingent. He rose to a

prominent place when he helped frustrate Napoleon's designs. Expulsion of Napoleon's forces followed by a period of anarchy. For four years there was a struggle for supremacy over Egypt between the Mamluks and the Turks, during which period Muhammad Ali gained popularity by his acts of heroism. As a recognition of his services, the Sublime Porte appointed this officer as Pasha of Egypt in 1805. But the task before the new Pasha was not easy, for the Mamluks were preparing for a revolt under Elfi Bey and the British landing troops. But Muhammad Ali was a champion of the nationalist aspirations of the people and with their help he succeeded in overcoming the danger.

Muhammad Ali knew the importance of money, and so he undertook a vigorous programme of agrarian reforms. Egypt had no industries and the Nile Valley was a very fertile land. The Viceroy dismissed the Multazins or tax farmers and confiscated lands with irregular titles. He cancelled land grants which fell in arrears to pay state dues, and expropriated fiefs thereby making himself practically the sole proprietor of all the cultivable lands in the country. He then re-distributed them to the fellaheen or peasants and supplied them all amenities of agriculture. Muhammad Ali also established a monopoly over the trade of agricultural products becoming almost the sole producer and contractor. He introduced nationalisation and made special effort to improve agriculture and industries by introducing up-to-date methods, opening canals and bringing in new crops. Cultivation of cotton revolutionised the country's economy. Moreover, he imported textile plants and sugar refineries as well as rebuilt barrage north of Cairo. The fellaheen and the people in general were benefited by these measures.

Himself an illiterate man, Muhammad Ali started a ministry of education. For the first time in the Arab world he founded a school of engineering, a school of medicine and the earliest Arabic press. He also appointed engineers to make a survey to see the possibilities of digging a Suez Canal. French

works were translated and printed in the Bulaq press. He invited European teachers to Egypt and sent promising Egyptians to European countries to pursue higher studies. His reforms in educations shattered the Arab belief in the superiority of Islamic culture and thereby paved the way for the growth of secularism and nationalism.

His nationalisation of agriculture and industries caused a surplus in the state revenue. Like all autocrats, he invested the money in the army. He also badly needed a well organised standing army. He appointed a French man, Colonel Seves, and opened a staff training college. First he made an experiment with the Nubians and Sudanese ; but seeing them misfits, he conscripted the fellahen into the military service. Muhammad Ali made a well trained army from the peasants and equipped them with all modern weapons. He founded an arsenal at Bulaq and developed home and heavy industries to rear and protect the army and the navy.

In 1811 Muhammad Ali's army made its first venture, in response to an appeal from Constantinople, into Arabia against the Wahabi power. He occupied North Arabia till 1840, during which period he solved the six-hundred-year-old Mamluk problem by slaughtering the leaders on an occasion of victory celebration. His army made a second venture in the Sudan, when the Ottoman Sultan did not fulfil his promises. He occupied eastern Sudan—an area strategically very important for Egypt. Sultan Mahmud II once again appealed to his powerful vassal during the Greek war of liberation. But this time the combined Turko-Egyptian army was defeated by European powers.

Muhammad Ali was an imperialist, and, as a price for his assistance to the Sultan, he expected the annexation of the Pashalik of Syria. But it was denied in 1831, when he sent his son Ibrahim against it. Ibrahim captured Acre and Damascus and by 1833 his army pushed to within 150 miles of Constantinople. France encouraged the Egyptians and the panic-stricken Sultan appealed to Britain and Russia for

help. Britain considered it a counter move against his spheres of influence, and Russian intrusion impelled France to side with Britain. As a result of European Intervention, Muhammad Ali was deprived of the fruits of victory. His troops evacuated Anatolia and by 1840 Syria as well. He was, however, confirmed in the viceroyalty of Egypt and the Sudan with hereditary right. But his dream of an Arab empire was shattered.

Muhammad Ali, thus, initiated an autonomous dynastic rule in Egypt and it continued until 1952 when the line terminated with King Farouk. It was after that year that the Egyptian historians have been trying to 'debunk' the works of Muhammad Ali. But they were not pretensions or good gestures only. In fact, it was during his semi-independent autocratic rule that the Western methods and techniques were introduced. Muhammad Ali set up a separate administration independent of Constantinople, with which the only link was the usual payment of tribute. His nationalisation of agriculture and industries of the country and creation of a modern army restored confidence among the Egyptians. His encouragement to foreign trade also helped in boosting up Egypt's economic background. The introduction of Western education and sending of students abroad emancipated education from the clergy and injected a sense of secularism. Muhammad Ali succeeded in creating a substructure upon which Egyptian nationalism and economy flourished in later years. He set a unique example in the Arab world, and for these he has been rightly regarded by his contemporary Muslims as the father of modern Egypt.

Q. 4. Account for the reigns of Abbas and Said.

Abbas I (1849-1854) succeeded his grandfather, Muhammad Ali, on the throne of Egypt. His uncle Ibrahim died one year before his accession. He was a reactionary ruler, hostile to Western culture in general and to the French in particular. As such, he could not fill the vacuum created by the disappearance of his father and grandfather. He reverted the tide of

progress and plugged the inflow of new ideas. He put an end to the trade monopolies and factories. During his short rule, Western-style schools were closed and the army halved. He destroyed the Egyptian character of the army and dismissed all European advisers and technicians which led to chaotic conditions in the country in general and in the factories in particular.

Abbas' measures were seconded by theologians, reactionaries and conservatives. Turkish landlords received their privileges and peasants were made liable to oppression and torture. He injured the family interest, by subordinating it to the Turkish Sultan. He granted a concession for constructing a railway to some British friends of the Sultan in 1851. The Alexandria-Cairo railway was completed in 1856 by an English Company. Due to his anti-French bias, he did not grant even an audience to a French Company, seeking permission for digging a Suez Canal.

Abbas I was too harsh in his measures to destroy his grandfather's reforms. People had some negative advantages from them. Fellaheen were relieved of conscription and 'corvee' or forced labour. Curtailment of expenditure in the army and public works led to the reduction of the people's burden. Whatever Europeans might say, the reign of Abbas was not wholly unsatisfactory to the Egyptians. He was mysteriously murdered in July 1854.

Abbas was succeeded by his uncle Said (1854-1863). Said had European education and in many ways he tried to swing back the pendulum towards progress. He permitted his subjects to own private landed property and to dispose it freely. The measure inspired the peasants and injected impetus to the development of agriculture. Landlords wielded their lot and the surplus turned from industries to agriculture. Cotton cultivation improved due to its shortage in the United States caused by the Civil War. Introduction of cash payments of land revenue subjected the peasants to Green Corndalers and money lenders.

Like Abbas, he was also against the state monopolies. He decreed them out and his measure was welcomed by Western capitalists. External trade increased and the infant Egyptian Industries were destroyed by a flood of foreign goods. Abolition of monopolies led to capitulatory privileges and tariffs and other concessions to the foreigners. Said made the military service popular by reducing its tenure to one year only. He had also an eye to the development of military and engineering schools.

Being an enlightened ruler Said combated trade in Negro slaves, and gave concession for a telegraph line. Most important was his granting a concession to build the Suez Canal. It was given to one of his early friends, Ferdinand de Lesseps, a French diplomat and engineer, for a period of ninety-nine years from the date of opening. Preference shares, yielding fifteen per cent of the net profit of the Company was given to Said. He was to provide four-fifths of the required labour, which was first supplied by conscription from peasants. Britain objected to this forced labour but not to the project as they considered it physically impossible. Digging of the Canal started in April, 1859.

Said thus encouraged the investment of foreign capital in Egypt. He also incurred foreign loans. He travelled in Europe and undertook projects of public work. He also extended military help to the Sultan in the Crimean War. Moreover, he led a luxurious life and bestowed bounties on favourites and grandees. To finance all these, he had to borrow the sum of £3,000,000 from a London bank. This was the first Egyptian debt and the first disastrous step which led the country to a state of bankruptcy. Said's predecessors, Muhammad Ali and Abbas I incurred no debt.

Q. 5. Give an account of Ismail Pasha's career as Khedive of Egypt. Why was he eventually dismissed?

Ismail Pasha revived the forces of modernisation, that had been initiated by his grandfather, Muhammad Ali. He was the son of enlightened Ibrahim, and had been educated in

France. He had served in the diplomatic missions to the Vatican and the Court of Napoleon III. He considered Egypt a part and parcel of Europe. Ismail succeeded on the throne in 1863 and generously increased the annual tribute of the Turkish Sultan from £ 376,000 to 720,000. The Sultan rewarded him with the title of Khedive and the right of primogeniture in his own line in 1866. His magnificence and modernisation ran the country deeper into foreign debts leading European domination. He ruled till 1879 when he was deposed.

With his acquisition of the Khedivate. Ismail secured almost full sovereignty over Egypt. Pursuing modernisation, he abolished consular jurisprudence and introduced mixed tribunals. Capitulations progressed and Egyptians were treated equal in the eyes of law. The Pasha started a post office and introduced gas and water into the capital. In fact, he benefited Cairo with buildings, streets, foot paths, parks etc. on the model of Paris and London. He renamed Alexandria with Port Said and founded a new port and harbour there. He extended railway and telegraph lines and built many thousand miles roads. Canals were dug and bridges and lighthouses constructed. Ismail increased the number of public schools from 185 to 4817.

In his work of reorganisation, Ismail was ably assisted by his minister Nubir Pasha. It was this minister who pronounced, "Give Egypt water and justice and the country will be happy and prosperous." In fact, the introduction of mixed courts established uniformity of jurisdiction. They became the model for the native courts. Reorganisation of courts ultimately led to the law reforms. In 1866, the Civil Code was translated and printed in Arabic with adaptations mainly from French Code. Jurisdiction of the religious courts was drastically reduced and customary and arbitrary jurisdiction of the local agents' curtailed. The measures did not impair the jurisdiction of the religious courts of Copts, Jews and other minorities.

During the regime of Khedive Ismail the work of the Suez Canal proceeded more effectively. He discontinued forced labour and paid indemnity to the Company. The Canal was open for navigation in 1869. The canal and other projects, undertaken by Ismail incurred expenses which was beyond the capacity of the state. The income fell due to the exploitation of Alid Princes, Pashas and officials largely non-Egyptians, who had taken the place of the Mamluks. Only the opening ceremony of the Suez Canal, which was attended by European rulers and followed by enjoyment in opera houses, incurred a cost of £100,000. This and other millions recklessly spent on state and personal affairs, raised the total foreign debt to nearly a hundred millions.

Foreign debts paved the way for foreign domination over Egypt. On behalf of foreign-loanholders, Britain and France established a dual control over the Egyptian finances. Under joint pressure, the Khedive was obliged to appoint an English Controller General of the revenue and a French Controller General of expenditure. Ismail had another deal with the British with regard to the Suez Canal. In order to stave off complete bankruptcy, he sold his shares in the Suez Canal Company to the British Government for £4,000,000. This made the British Government the largest shareholder in the Company, and by virtue of this, it gained control over the Canal.

Foreign pressure compelled Ismail to turn to the Egyptians to seek refuge. But, he did it too late to receive anything from them. Egyptians considered his imprudence and extravagance as the only cause behind the disgraceful foreign domination over the economic affairs of the country. His extortion of money from the fellaheen and arbitrary promotion of Turkish officers in the army made him extremely unpopular. His call for a volunteer army of 150,000 went unheeded when external intervention had attained a new crisis. Bismarck's intervention in Balkan affairs created a furore among the British and French interest in Egypt. They

apprehended that Ismail might swing to a pro-German course to get rid of their pressure. So, they demanded his abdication which Ismail refused. Thereupon, Britain and France put pressure upon Constantinople and upon the half-hearted consent of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, Ismail was deposed and replaced by his son Tewfiq (1879-1892).

Ismail made himself a victim of his own shortcomings. It is true that his costly projects benefitted the country by making it the main stream of world trade and international affairs. But immediately there was no considerable return for the viceroy from the millions of money he invested upon these projects. As a result the country sank deeper and deeper into foreign debts yielding foreign pressure upon the country. To get rid of this pressure, Ismail turned to the people of the country at a time when the people were fed up with his administration. Under such circumstances he could not long forestall his abdication. But before that he was forcibly deposed by the English and French interests at the consent of the Sultan. He could satisfy neither the people nor the foreigners, and at this hour of crisis he went out unlamented.

Q. 6. Give an account of the impact of the ideas of Jamal-ud-din al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh on Egyptian nationalism. Discuss the nationalist uprising under Arabi Pasha.

One of the negative aspects of Ismaili modernisation was the emergence of Egyptian nationalism. Popular resentment and animosity against European penetration in Egypt sparked into a national uprising headed by Arabi Pasha. Egyptian nationalism had its grass-root origins ; but the ideology of resistance to European domination and the adoption of its methods was clearly inspired by Jamal-ud-din al-Afghani and his disciple Muhammad Abduh. Abduh was more moderate than his preceptor and opened a new way to the solution of the problem of Islam by trying to remodel the spiritual fathers rather than abandoning them.

Jamal-ud-din al-Afghani propounded the antiquated doctrine of Pan-Islamism. It was embeded in his belief that Islam was based on a solid foundation and that all progress could be reconciled and revealed within its periphery. This Islamic scholar travelled extensively in the Islamic World—Afghanistan, India, Persia, Turkey, the Sudan and Egypt. His ideas made a deep impression among the people of the region where he travelled. Jamal first visited Egypt in 1869 and after his banishment from Constantinople in 1771, he took refuge in Egypt as a teacher of al-Azhar University. Noted for his ideas his main objective was “to arouse any one Muslim country to strength and leadership so that the Islamic community might catch up with the civilised nations of the world, unite the East, and liberate its mind from the shackles of supersition”.

Egypt was his choice for materialising his ideas. There he taught the young intelligentsia that foreign domination and despotism were contrary to Islam, and that popular government was the basis of the Muslim rule. His teachings stirred the youths and he incited them to fight out despotic authority. In the ensning upsurge of nationalism, he preferred to stay in the background. He only sowed the seeds, and for this he was considered dangerous by the European powers. They compelled Tewfiq to banish him from Egypt in 1879. From his banishment he continued his encouragements to the Egyptian youths. In collaboration with his disciple, Muhammad Abduh, he published a periodical and smuggled it into Egypt. He was definitely instrumental in the nationalist uprising of 1881-2.

As has been already noted, Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) was the most important disciple of Jamal-ud-din al-Afghani. Born in a peasant family of lower Egypt, Abduh came into contact with al-Afghani, when he was attending lectures at al-Azhar. They became close associates and the disciple espoused the nationalist cause moderately. Abduh opposed excessive Europeanisation and took part in the

Arabi revolt. Subsequently he was landed in exile in Lebanon and Syria. Later he went to Paris and collaborated with al-Afghani in editing the Arabic newspaper, *al-Urwah al-Wuthqa*. There he was influenced with European ideas and returning from Paris he worked as teacher and writer. In 1900, he became the rector of al-Azhar and 'Muft' of Egypt.

Abduh started from the basic premises of al-Afghani and ibn-Abdul Wahhab that the condition of contemporary Islam was unhealthy and that there was need for its reformation. But the Egyptian theologian arrived at a different conclusion. He opposed to vices and distortions of Islam such as animism, magic etc. and placed his reliance on reason. He deprecated the use of hostility and stressed the intellectual and spiritual rejuvenation of Islam. He extended imitation to the products of Western scientific research and separated religious and political issues. He expounded the religious laws and promoted them for the service of public weal. Free from Kenophobia, Muhammad Abduh made a flexible interpretation of the Koranic passages which seemed to be at variance with modern thought. He sought to remodel the Ulama by making them adjustable to modernisation. The revivalist party, al-Salafiya adopted his basic teachings.

Teachings of al-Afghani and Abduh did not make any immediate intellectual or spiritual impression among the Egyptians. But gradually they were disseminated leading to the replacement of religious authority by nationalism. In fact, al-Afghani and Abduh brought about the Islamic reformation in Egypt; but never did it assume the proportions of Lutheranism. They emphasised on the need for the transformation of the Islamic society. Particularly, Abduh combined spiritual freedom with political action which made possible the awakening of lower middle-class people. He paved the way for the emergence of Egyptian nationalism culminating in the formation of the Wafd. Al-Afghani was the forerunner of the movement of Arabi Pasha while Abduh

that of Zaghul Pasha. Both al-Afghani and Abduh gave an intellectual cohesion to the people of Egypt.

Ismail's deposition, however, gave a temporary relief to the foreign investors and creditors. But their very presence aroused ill-feeling among the Egyptians. Although Sherif Pasha, at the head of the constitutional National Party, framed a constitution, it was never put into effect. People saw that real control over their country was wielded by France and Britain. But perhaps the army was the explosive reservoir of discontent, which sparked. Largely officered by Turkish Circassians, it was humiliated in Abisinia and put into half-pay. Peasants joined with the army, because they were subjected to burdensome taxation and 'corvee' or forced labour. The army and the peasants and other malcontents rallied round Arabi Pasha and revolted against foreign domination in 1881.

Arabi Pasha was the son of a poor cultivator and a former student of theology at al-Azhar where he had listened to the lectures of Jamal-ud-din-al Afghani. He served the Egyptian army and was raised to the rank of a General. He championed the cause of the fellah and headed the resistance movement of young intellectuals, theologians and civil servants. He rose to such a height of popularity that he was affectionately called 'al-Wahid' or the only one. In the face of popular discontent, Khedive Tewfiq was forced to accept Ahmad Arabi in the ministry of war. Flushed with success Arabi and the Constitutionalists led a movement against Christian foreigners and Turkish rulers and officers. It was vaguely aimed at a Constitutional monarchy and an assembly.

Arabi Pasha won the first round ; but then the Gambetta Note of January 1882 strengthened the hands of the Khedive. In the Chamber of the Notables Arabi's group faced a serious opposition from the moderate nationalists led by Sherif. Meanwhile riots broke out in Alexandria. Britain and France interfered on pretence of safeguarding the life and honour of

Europeans residing in Egypt. Britain landed troops and shelled Alexandria in July 1882. They also landed in Port Said and seized the Suez Canal. Britain did not enjoy any support from Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey, which they sought. The French also dissociated themselves from British action. The British troops routed Arabi and his troops at a village north of Cairo and exiled the leader to Ceylon.

Arabi's was not a fanatical movement as it had been advertised in the European press by European diplomats. It was a protest against feudalism and foreign domination and exploitation. Although it was mainly a work of the army, the peasants, intellectuals, servicemen and all rallied round Arabi Pasha. Lord Cromer testified its broader canvas and Garibaldi desired to assist the revolutionaries. It had a definite ideology propounded by Jamal-ud-din al-Afghani. The movement of Arabi Pasha as Prof. Hitti has rightly summarised, "was the first definite expression of nationalist feeling in modern Egypt with grass-root origins".

But it was a premature movement and its leaders had no political character or background. The agitators had no definite aim. Once they desired 'a republic like Switzerland'; they turned towards constitutional monarchy at the next moment. Their vague ideas alienated the Ulama, wealthier people and the moderate nationalists, who rallied round the Khedive. Disunited as it was, the Arabi uprising fell in the face of British forces. Britain landed its troops because the movement was a challenge to the British Empire. Lord Cromer has correctly estimated the strength of the movement. He said; "Had Arabi been left alone, there was no doubt that he would have been successful. But with the British intervention he had absolutely no chance of success".

Q. 7. Critically evaluate the works of Lord Cromer in Egypt and account for the genesis of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium over the Sudan.

England, by virtue of her defeating the Arabi revolt in 1882, secured sole control of Egypt. She declared to with-

draw the army of occupation "as soon as the state of the country and the organisation of proper means for the maintenance of the Khedivat authority will admit of it." Immediately with the support of these troops, the British Resident and Consul General, Lord Cromer (1883-1901) emerged as the virtual ruler of the country. Egypt being a Turkish province, a dual control was established upon it. But the suzerainty of the Sultan-Caliph was reduced to a diplomatic quibble as the annual tribute was applied to the Ottoman debt of Egypt.

An efficient and hard working administrator as he was, Lord Cromer reorganised the details of Egyptian administration. 'Advice', or 'recommendation' of the British resident was made a condition for the tenure of service of the ministers and provincial governors. A legislative assembly of thirty members was introduced. Of its members 14 were to be nominated by the Khedive and 16 elected. It was nothing more than a deliberative body; and beyond it no effective machinery was set up for promoting self-government in the country. Egyptians, however, retained their hold on local justice and police, national court and provincial administration.

Lord Cromer wiped out corruption and economised the system of administration in order to make the country solvent. He reduced the number of staff in the departments and abolished the ministry of education altogether. He centralised and simplified the financial system. Salary of high officials was reduced and the civil list of the ruling family cut down. Within a few years, he balanced the finances and brought the national debt to a manageable size. More important were his abolition of the 'corvee' and revision of taxation in favour of the peasants. The use of 'Courbash' or whip made of Hippopotamous hide, was brought to an end. Cromer constructed the Delta Barrage in 1890 and two years later the swan dam. It increased the production of cotton crop by threefold and that of sugarcane twofold. Under

Lord Cromer, the Egypt's external trade trebled and the standard of living with improved sanitation was appreciably raised,

Lord Cromer's works in Egypt were well justified on economic grounds. But his reforms were one-sided for he stressed on agricultural improvements and neglected industrialisation. It was a deliberate attempt to reduce Egypt to a cotton growing colony for the Manchester textile industry. Even the cotton boom was not really for the benefit of Egyptians because after 1900 ninety-two per-cent capital of the joint stock companies were controlled by foreigners. Again, education became a victim of his economisation, and widespread illiteracy developed as a result. Whatever education was imparted, was not so much for its liberal values as for preparing candidates for civil service. Moreover, Lord Cromer did not pay any attention to the political aspirations of the Egyptian nationalists, and in the face of their redoubled strength, Cromer's reforms collapsed. Therefore, it would not be incorrect to say that his work was a magnificent failure.

One of the most important aspects of Lord Cromer's administration was the establishment of Anglo-Egyptian Condominium over the Sudan, in 1899. Egyptian rule had extended in the Sudan when in 1821-22, Muhammad Ali conquered the country. But the rulers brought in their train a corrupt administration, which was subsequently slackened by the unruly or disloyal governors. Dissatisfied with Egyptian administration, the Sudanese were organised under an ascetic religious leader, who proclaimed himself the expected Mahdi. The Mahdi at the head of a band of dervishes made himself independent of Egyptian rule. Between 1881 and 1885 he destroyed the Egyptian garrison ; killed the British General Charles George Gordon and occupied Khartoum.

Egypt under the weak Khedives, was unable to do anything for the recovery of the Sudan. So a joint Anglo-Egyptian

expedition was sent in 1896 under Lord Kitchener. By 1898, Kitchener succeeded in recovering the Sudan. Due to International complications, a hybrid arrangement was drafted by Cromer himself to consider the future of the Sudan. It was signed on January 19, 1899, and known as the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. It was laid down that sovereign rights over the Sudan were to be exercised jointly by the British Crown and the Khedive of Egypt. There was to be a Governor-General with supreme military and civil command and appointed by the Khedive at the recommendation of the British Government. The border between the Sudan and Egypt was defined at twenty second parallel and Egyptian laws and courts were not applicable to the Sudanese. No foreigner could enter or reside in the Sudan without prior consent of the British Government.

These terms clearly indicate that Great Britain established her government behind the facade of joint administration to prolong her occupation. Although Egypt was under the suzerainty of the Sultan-Caliph, Turkey could not claim the same over the Sudan. The French protested against this increase of British influence in the Nile Valley ; but Britain and France resolved their differences in the *entente cordiale* of 1904. Egyptian Nationalists were the most dissatisfied over the arrangement. as in all practical purposes the Sudan became a British protectorate. The status of the country became more anomalous, when Egypt was declared independent of Turkey in 1922. There was a working settlement of the issue in the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance of 1936. After the Second World War, Egypt raised the Sudan questions in the Security Council in 1947 and four year later Farouk was proclaimed as King of Egypt and the Sudan. But from 1924 its administration was Sudanised step by step. On January 1, 1956, Sudan was declared independent in presence of representatives of Egypt and Great Britain.

Q. 8. Give an account of Egyptian Nationalism until Britain's unilateral declaration of 1922.

With the advent of the twentieth century Egyptian nationalism once again began to assert itself. The new leaders were educated in western style and were encouraged by the French until the *entente cordiale* of 1904. The Nationalist movement was split into two schools: one attracted by Hamsidian Pan-Islamism, and the other, led by French educated Mustafa Kamil, concentrated on national independence and constitutional Government. The members of the second school were inspired by the spectacular success of the Young Turks in 1908. In Egypt, however, Khedive Abbas II Hilmi, although fascinated Pan-Islamic ideals, was consistently resolute against Lord Cromer's tutelage.

Nationalist agitation received a new impetus in 1908, when the leadership of the constitutional nationalists was taken by Saad Zaghlul after Mustafa Kamil's death. The Azhar educated lawyer had a good political and administrative background. In the face of a vigorous movement the British resident Lord Kitchener yielded. He at least tried to appease nationalist demands by inaugurating an elected assembly in 1913. The new assembly was to be composed of 83 members, and of them 65 were to be elected by indirect suffrage and 17 nominated by the government. But the outbreak of the First World War not only made the measure absolutely meaningless, but also reduced Egypt to British protectorate yielding hardships on peasants and working class.

The end of the war aroused nationalist hopes more than ever. Due to Turkey's abortive attempts at the Suez Canal and others the Pan-Islamist weakened. On the other hand, the Allied victory and the Anglo-French declaration strengthened the constitutionalists. The doctrine of self-determination enunciated by Woodrow Wilson aroused enthusiastic hopes among Saad Zaghlul and his associates. They formed the Wafd or delegation and Zaghlul sought permission to lead it to London to demand full independence of Egypt. It was

denied and Zaghlul and three others were deported to Malta in March 1919. It was repeated for two years when Lord Allenby sent Zaghlul to Aden. Against these repeated deportations, public reaction was so strong that the Wafd was equated with Nationalist Party.

The British in Egypt were constantly embarrassed by the Wafdists and the British Government sent a commission under Lord Milner to investigate and advise the best solution of the nationalist problem. Upon his advice, negotiation for a treaty of alliance between Egypt and Britain began and deadlocked in 1921. Thereupon, Britain on February 28, 1922, pronounced by a unilateral declaration the end of the protectorate. Egypt was declared a sovereign state of the monarchic type and Fuad (1922-1936) was appointed as the king. There were, however, four reservations relating to British communications, national defence, protection of foreign interests and native minorities, and the status of the Sudan. Britain returned the *status quo* and retained her unquestioned superiority relating to right and interests. It was what, historians described as 'interdependence' or a 'diplomatic fiction.' It was a limited victory of the colonialists whereupon their nationalist agitation quietened. The event opened a new phase in Egypt's modern career.

CHAPTER XVII

THE FERTILE CRESCENT, AND THE ARABIAN PENINSULA

Q. Give an account of Ottoman rule in Syria.

Syria was incorporated in the Ottoman Empire 1516 by Sultan Selim III, who on his back from Egypt consolidated his position there. He retained the Mamluk procedure of forming out tax collection (*talzim*) to the highest bidder, and introduced the Hanafite rite of jurisprudence. The Mamluk administrative divisions were largely maintained and the Syrian provinces of Damascus, Aleppo and Tripoli, now called 'Walayah' were placed under Pashas. A new province was created at Sidon in 1660 to check the growing autonomy of Lebanon. Damascus was put under its former Mamluk Governor, Jan-Birdi al-Ghazali, who subsequently became the virtual Viceroy of Syria by dint of his treachery. He declared his independence after Salim's death and assumed the title of al-Malik al-Ashraf. But the Janissaria of Sulayman lost no time and meted out drastic punishment to the insubordinate.

The 'Walayah' of Damascus was entrusted to Ismail Pasha al-Azam in 1724. He was the son of the soil, and founded a line of native governors. His son, Asad, followed him in the office and other members of his family were appointed over Tripoli and Sidon. Ismail amassed large fortune, and his palace in Hamah and Damascus are considered the most beautiful Arab monuments of the century. He and other members of his family remained loyal to the Ottoman Sultan, albeit, several of them were degraded and lost their property. Ismail himself

was served with jail delivery in his last days and his son was assassinated by orders from the Porte.

Lebanese amirs also expressed their loyalty to the Ottoman rule and thereafter they were dealt with directly or through the Syrian Wali by the Sultans. More adventurous was the career of a Bosnian Christian, named Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar. He executed the Egyptian Mamluk Ali Beg and had a distinguished career in the Sultan's army. He was appointed Governor of Sidon and extended his authority over Acre. Upon his successfully repulsing Napoleon the Sultan rewarded him with the additional governorship of Damascus. Until 1804, he ruled like independent viceroy, an unprincipled dictator of Syria. He epitomised that when the central authority decreased, that of the provincial governor increased.

But in Syria, the Ottoman 'Wali' was no improvement upon his predecessor, the Mamluk 'naib.' They were freer from the corrupt Porte, and often they bought their appointments never to return again to face execution and confiscation of property. They followed one after another in breathless sequence. Damascus had hundred and thirty-three governors in hundred and eighty years ; of them only the thirty-three held their office for two years each. *Salnameh* has recorded that from 1815 there were sixty-one 'Walis' in eighty years. Aleppo did not fare better. A Venetian Consul reported that she witnessed nine governors in three years. In consequence these governors had a sphere of control largely over the towns and their environs. The villages remained under local chiefs and the desert population under beduin shaikhs. Occasional visits of the Janissaries increased the misery of the people. In the words of Hitti, "While Europe was entering upon her age of enlightenment, Syria was groping in Ottoman darkness."

There had been talks of reforming the abuses of the Ottoman Empire since Mustafa Koprulu. Actually, reform regulations were promulgated by Mahmud II and Abdul Majid I. The Hatt-i Serif of Gulhane (1839) and the Hatt-i Humayun

(1856) were noble doctrines of freedom and equality. Opposed by powerful theologians, foreigners and even Jewish and Christian money-changers, the 'tanzimat' remained only ink on paper. Similar was the fate of the constitution of 1876. At the head of liberal movement, Midhat Pasha, from the Grand Vazirate drafted a constitution which was promulgated by Sultan Abdul Hamid II. But it did not take long time when the Sultan suppressed it. Syrian political and ethnic structure was not seriously affected by the Ottoman conquest or reforms. Only a few Turkish words relating to food, army and politics penetrated into Arabic language of the Syrians.

During the Ottoman rule, Syrian economic life underwent a steady decline. It was largely a result of the shifting of international trade routes to the Cape of Good Hope and elsewhere. The Mediterranean ceased to be the centre of world activity and civilisation and remained so till the opening of the Suez Canal. Syrian merchants were to depend only upon the overland trade with Baghdad and Basrah. Aleppo began to flourish and eclipsed Damascus. Again the traders were mostly Venetians, and they brought spices from India. The Venetians were replaced by the French, who by dint of their treaties with Suleyman I and Mahumed I had secured extra-territorial privileges. The English followed soon and the Levant Company was founded in 1551. These foreign merchants enjoyed benefits of capitulations and, therefore, no enduring benefits accrued to Syria.

European missionaries, teachers etc. came to Syria on the heels of merchants. They established seminaries and schools and they exposed Ottoman Syria to modern influences. The printing press with its Arabic characters was introduced, and the first one appeared in Aleppo in 1702. But, otherwise, the period was intellectually sterile. "Oppressive rule, high taxation, economic and social decline are not conducive to creative or original work in art, science or literature." (Hitti). But, with the coming of the Europeans and appearance of

the printing press, the embarking of a new cultural life was being forged.

Q. 2. Trace the history of Lebanon from the beginning of Ottoman rule down to the outbreak of the First World War.

Lebanon, by virtue of its separation by the two mountain ranges from the rest of the Arab World, traced an independent course of its own. It had a variety of small communities like the Maronites, Druzes and Shietes, made up of minority refugees from the neighbouring states. It is the only area in the Arab World which had a majority of Christian population and resisted Islamisation. Originally disciples of Saint Marun, the Maronites were Christians, who were forced to move up to north Lebanon by hostile neighbours. In course of time, they developed a qua-i-nation with the Syriac-speaking people and established friendly contacts with the Byzantine emperors. The Druzes were Muslims of Fatimid origin, who took refuge in southern Lebanon owing to the persecutive measures of the Sunnite majority. They developed a strong sense of solidarity and maintained their religious beliefs and practice very secretly.

Lebanon was made an Ottoman province by Su'tan Selim the Grim. During his conquest of Syria, the Lebanese chiefs maintained a policy of wait and see. But when he came out victorious, they presented a deputation before the Sultan to offer allegiance at Damascus. The delegation was headed by Fakhr-ud-din I al-Mani, the feudal lord of the Shuf district, and Selim confirmed him and his colleagues in their fiefs. The privileges given to them by the Mamluks were retained and a relatively light tribute was imposed. Fakhr-ud-din I was a member of the Man dynasty of an uncertain origin, but which had embraced Druzism. In course of time he got rid of his potential enemies, and established his position firmly as the lord of Lebanon. He and his successors who ruled for a hundred and eighty one years, levied taxes and duties at their pleasure, acted independently in all domestic affairs, exercised

arbitrary authority upon the subjects, practised hereditary succession, and had relations with the Porte, maintained directly or through its representatives. One of them went so far as to sign a treaty with the Medici's of Florence.

Fakh-ud-din II (1590-1635) was by far the most ambitious of the Mani lords of Lebanon. He desired to build up a greater Lebanon completely independent of Constantinople and to set it on the path of "modernism" and progress. Sultan Ahmed being engaged in his wars, he annexed Sidon, Beirut, al-Biqā, and thereby extended his dominion from the Dog River to Mount Carmel and inland to Tiberias. He promoted agriculture and commerce, developed trade with Europe, constructed bridges caravansarais and extended to Europeans capitulatory privileges. By 1613, at the instigation of the Wali of Damascus, when the Porte sent troops against him, he escaped to Europe. Dissatisfied with European princes he returned after two years and wrested Tripoli and parts of Syria, Palestine and Transjordan. The Turkish troops were defeated, and the helpless Porte designated him lord of Arabistan. He then engaged himself in his works of "modernism" and progress by inviting European engineers and Catholic missionaries. But things did not march well with him for a long time. Sultan Murad IV recovered his position and ordered the Walis of Damascus and Cairo against the rebel lord. Fakhr was defeated and led a captive to Constantinople.

The Shihabis of Quraysh origin succeeded the Manis in the amirate of Lebanon. Bashir I (1697-1707) nephew of the last Mani, was elected by a national assembly of elders and Shayks and the Wali of Sidon reported it to the Sultan with the assurance that the usual taxes would be paid. The Shihabis retained the capital at Dayr al-Qamar and maintained the principles of home rule and hereditary succession. They ruled by balancing the Druzes and Maronites and putting one local party against another. They were feudal lords and subsequently embraced Maronite Christianity. Their power rested on universal military conscription. They practised tolerance

towards Europeans, and the latter, particularly the French Catholics encouraged the development of education, in course of their promoting the Levant trade.

During the amirate of Bhashir II the Shihabi power attained its apogee. Shrewd and impressive but ferocious, Bashir followed in the footsteps of Fakhr-ud-din II. He schemed to make Lebanon autonomous, enlightened and modernised. He elevated Lebanon to such a height that Napoleon solicited his help against Acre and he contributed 15000 fighters to the Turkish forces to check Wahabi advance. Although he failed against Damascus, he made friendship with Muhammad Ali of Egypt and co-operated with Ibrahim in the conquest of Syria. When the combined forces of Britain, Austria and Turkey bombarded the headquarter of Egyptian operation at Beirut, Bashir was taken by the British to Malta. Bashir I was a Maronite by birth who married a Moslem lady and looked by his subjects as a Druze. He developed a sort of liberalism and widened the doors of Lebanon to European education and commercial contacts. He built magnificent palaces, improved sericulture, advanced the intellectual renaissance and thereby led the country to prosperity.

Bashir II having left the country, the Porte once again asserted its direct authority over Lebanon. The last Shihabi amir was replaced by one Umar Pasha of Hungarian origin in 1842. For the first time, the Porte sent a governor from Constantinople. But under him, the polarisation on religious aspects took a formidable shape. Western, notably Britain, France and Russia took it a chance to interfere on pretence of safeguarding the Druzes, Maronites and Greek Orthodox Christians respectively. In consequences civil war broke out in 1845 between the Christians and Druzes, and assumed serious proportion in 1860, when it spread into Damascus. But the country was pacified by European intervention and the landing of French troops.

The fate of Lebanon was decided in 1861, when it was made an autonomous district under a 'mustasarrif' or Governor

General nominated by the Porte and confirmed by European Powers. The country was stripped off its seaport and the Biqa plateau. It was provided that the Governor General was to be a catholic subject of the Porte for a renewable tenure of three to five years. There was to be an administrative council of twelve elected by the religious communities. Lebanon was to possess its own militia and not to contribute troops or tribute to the Porte. Local and religious courts were to administer justice.

The muftasarrifiyah of Mount Lebanon lasted for more than fifty years and had seven Governors of different origins. During this period, Lebanon enjoyed a measure of self rule, prosperity, security and stability. It was open to the interplay of western cultural forces. The young Turk leader, Jamal Pasha, abolished the privileged position of Lebanon in 1915, and put it under a Turkish, 'muta-sarrif'. This was the second year of the first world war and Jamal perpetuated a reign of terror on the assumption that the Christians were Pro-Western and Moslems Pro-Arab.

Q. 3. Account for the Ottoman career of Iraq with special reference to the reforms of Midhat Pasha.

Ottoman conquest of Iraq took place in 1638 and the country had periods of Persian and Turkish occupation until 1831, when firm hold of the Porte was established. It was important for the Ottoman Sultans as a buffer province on the frontier of the empire with Shiah Persia. Northern Iraq was inhabited by the Kurdish tribes, while in the south and east the influence of the Arab tribes was supreme. The existence of the tribal orders beset its administration and created special problems. Due to its distance from and communication difficulties with Constantinople, Turkish Governors considered Baghdad as a place of exile. These Governors were to defend the frontier and their tenure of office was so short that their influence hardly extended beyond the walls of the towns. As a

result, the tribal chiefs enjoyed an amount of autonomy in the early years of Ottoman rule.

Iraq suffered from two shocks during the eighteenth century. Nadir Shah seized Baghdad in 1733, and Mosul ten years later. The Wahabis of Nejd sacked Karsala in 1801 and Najab in 1802. It suffered terrible losses, which were partly compensated by the overland trade of the English East India Company. During the later part of the century, it was ruled by governors mostly drawn from Mamluks or Georgian freedmen. Under them, the relations between the Porte and Iraq became increasingly difficult, and the people suffered from all the evils of maladministration. Sulayman al-Kabir (1760-1802) was the most outstanding of the Mamluk Pashas. He united the Pashaliks of Baghdad, Basra and Mosul, curbed the power of the Kurdish chieftains and Arab Shaykhs. Sulayman maintained his relations with Constantinople only by sending frequent reports.

When in 1831, the Central Government embarked on military and administrative reforms, it felt strong enough to challenge the power of the Mamluks. Daud Pasha, the Mamluk Governor, was removed, and Baghdad occupied. The Porte assumed direct control of the Government of Baghdad and sent governors directly from Istambul. They secured the governorship in return for the payment of an agreed amount to the treasury as a substitute for the expected revenue. There were frequent changes in the office, and its recipient were prone to recover their outlay and to secure the maximum profit. The tax structure became more complex and the administration coercive. The tribal confederations resisted the extortions by the governors, and the direct Turkish control did not extend beyond the towns.

The balance of power in Iraq shifted in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Janissaries were disbanded and Mamluk supremacy destroyed. The largest roadblocks to military reform were removed. The Kurdish principalities of the north were destroyed and the semi-autonomous, hereditary

governors of Mosul deposed. A telegraph system was created and steamships on the Tigris and Euphrates introduced. The Suez Canal brought the Persian Gulf nearer the Mediterranean and there was a great increase in Iraq's trade with the outside world. Tribal seclusion lost its importance, and the Turkish government succeeded in creating dissension within the tribes themselves. But this did not break the tribal power.

Iraq had scarcely been touched by the reforms in the Ottoman Empire with the possible exception of the brief rule of Gezluki Pasha (1852-57). It was the appointment of Midhat Pasha in 1869 on the governorship, which made a break with the past. During his three years in Iraq, he tried to formulate and carry out a constructive programme which was to have profound effects on the history of the country. Invested with a two-fold power, civil and military, he introduced the new provincial system laid down in the Law of the Vilayets of 1864 and the system of conscription. While he himself had retained effective power, Midhat put down the rebellions and imposed the authority of the government with an iron hand. Moreover, Istanbul was convinced of the wisdom of his policy and he was authorised to proceed with it.

Apart from administrative measures he had other reforms too. He introduced a more equitable method of taxation and change in the conditions of tenancy. His land revenue measures were collectively known as the 'Jarib' system, which affected the tribal barriers most seriously. Midhat was particularly concerned with improvements in transport. He cleared the clogged-up canals and established the River Administrative Company. He opened roads, started a horse tramway line and contemplated the "Euphrates Railway". The Port of Basra was improved to facilitate its shipments. Less successful was his industrial programme. Among them, a modern water plant was installed for Baghdad and a refinery was planned for the oil of Khanaqin. He also bought machinery for textile and flour mills. More effective were his social and educational reforms. He opened

a hospital, several elementary, two secondary and two technical schools. What is more surprising was that he introduced a Savings Bank to improve the economy of Iraq.

Midhat Pasha left Iraq in 1872 and since then he had no connection with it. His tenure of office in Baghdad was nothing more than a brief interlude in Turkish rule there. After him the government policy returned to what it had been before him. Although many of his reforms quickly dissipated, without his driving force, the industrial projects and schemes for the improvement of agriculture did not come off. The sea-going and river services were discontinued. But two of his innovations, the new system of local administration and the introduction of the Ottoman Land Code, had lasting results. Since then, the government policy with regard to the local administration has remained substantially the same. His reform of the system of land-tenure on the basis of Ottoman Law Code effected drastic changes culminating in the end of tribal supremacy.

The subsequent history of Iraq untill the British take over revolved round the old system of its administration. There were frequent changes in the office of the governor and Sultan Abdul Hamid II took it as a very effective milch-cow. The Young Turks were so much engaged with other affairs that they found little time to look at the affairs of Iraq. At the end of the First World War, the Ottoman Empire lost its Arab provinces, and Iraq became a British mandate. But the British rulers did not introduce any basic change of the policy of government, introduced by Midhat Pasha.

Q. 4. Give an account of the Wahhabi movement in the Arabian Peninsula.

The Wahhabi upheaval started as a puritanical religious revival initiated by Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab of Nejd during the second half of the eighteenth century. Muhammad who studied at Mecca, Medina and Damascus and visited many other places, was distressed by the impression that Islam was infiltrated by innovations. To him, it had deviated

widely from orthodox theory and observance, prescribed by the Quoran and the Prophet. Therefore, it was to be placed on its earliest days of purity. Abdul Wahhab drew his inspiration from the conservative school of Muslim jurisprudence. He and his followers were the unitarians or Muwahhids ; but their opponents called them Wahhabis.

Abdul Wahhab was the new prophet, but he could do nothing with his religion in his own country. As he stood against time-honoured practices, people of his own town drove him out. Only a petty chieftain, Muhammad iban-Saud agreed not only to defend his cause but to propagate it as well. Thus, there was a union of sword and religion. To them, Muslims who practised the forbidden innovations were apostates, and they were to be converted or exterminated by force. There was mass conversion, and each convert became a soldier of iban-Saud. Riyadh was captured in 1773 ; and subsequently it became the capital of Wahhabism. The nucleus of an empire was thus founded.

During the early years of the nineteenth century, the Wahhabi movement acquired serious proportions. It burst upon the neighbouring states and overran their lands. The Wahhabis sacked Karbala and massacred its inhabitants. The cherished shrines of Sunnis and Shias alike in Mecca, Medina, Karbala and Najab were destroyed. Venerated tombs and relics of paganism were captured. Damascus was attacked ; and the Wahhabi empire was extended from Palmyra and Damascus to Oman and from al-Hasa to Hejaz. Although loose and ephemeral, the Wahhabis for the first time since the orthodox caliphate, brought such an area under one ruler.

At this height of power, the Government of Constantinople intervened. Sultan Mahmud II entrusted the Viceroy of Egypt, Muhammad Ali to crush the Wahhabis. In a series of wars, Muhammad Ali, succeeded in suppressing them. He razed the Wahhabi headquarters in 1818. The leader, Abdullah ibn-Saud, was taken to Constantinople and killed.

The half-bedouin force of the Wahhabis, thus, failed in their first attempt to set up an empire.

But Wahhabism was not utterly destroyed. It gathered momentum in 1836, when a Saudi ruler refused to pay tribute to the Sultan. A second Egyptian expedition was sent only to withdraw in the face of Egyptian campaigns in Syria. The Porte decided to rule directly and in 1845 sent a Wali with a garrison to be stationed at Medina. But due to its remoteness from Constantinople it was impossible to establish its authority over Hejaz by force. But the squabbles between the Saudi contestants ended in the success of ibn-Rashid. He was the head of the powerful Shammar tribe, who ousted the Saudi family from power. He enjoyed the Porte's support.

Wahhabism only underwent a metamorphosis. It revived again with a redoubled force under the leadership of Abdul Aziz ibn-Saud. It had a great impact upon the Islamic world and in its later days it embodied a kind of pan-tribal brotherhood in Hejaz.

Q. 5. Give a short history of the states in the Arabian Peninsula till the First World War.

The Arabian Peninsula occupies an important place in the hearts and minds of the Muslims everywhere, because it is the cradle of Islam, heartland Arabism and a pilgrimage for the Muslims. The area was never exposed to any strong political and cultural influences. The states of Yemen and Saudi Arabia are independent while others were dependent upon the British in varying degrees. The kingdoms of Hejaz and Nejd became important in course of the rise of Wahhabism, and ultimately the strong state of Saudi Arabia emerged out of their mutual conflicts.

The kingdom of Yemen was known as the Arab Felix to the classical writers. Its economic prosperity was rooted in its fertile soil and adequate rainfall. Its northern part was inherited by the Turks from the Mamluks early in the sixteenth century, but the country completely came under Turkish rule during the reign of Sulayman the Magnificent. The country

owed allegiance to the Government of Constantinople occasionally by sending tributes, but it was too remote to bring it under the latter's direct control. Like the neighbouring states, Yemen was divided and subdivided into innumerable units, and they were ruled by tribal chiefs and shaykhs. From the beginning of the present century, Yemen was geared by Imam Yahya to modernism. During the First World War Imam Yahya declared independence, and independent Yemen began its career from this time.

Hejaz was the birthplace of Muhammad, the Prophet, and enjoyed its heyday under the orthodox Caliphs. When the centre of gravity had transferred northward under the Umayyads, it lost its political importance. Only scholars and pilgrims were attracted to Mecca and Medina. This state of things continued under the Mamluks, from whom the Ottoman Sultans inherited it. The sharifs were left in command of the land, which had been ruled by the family since the eleventh century. Like Yemen, it was divided and subdivided into several units of which the shaikhdom of Nejd acquired special importance by championing Wahhabism. There the Saudi family raised a ceaseless battle for the Wahhabi cause which ultimately led to a conflict between King Hussain of Hejaz and Abdul Aziz ibn-Saud of Nejd during the closing years of the First World War. Out of the debris of that war the present state of Saudi Arabia had emerged.

The coastal territory of southern and eastern parts of the peninsula, except al-Hasa is dominated by the British. The security of India, control of the area's trade route, and to ward off all competitors led to Great Britain's special interest in the region. The Shaikhdom of Oman first fell into the British sphere of influence. Before that its capital Muscat, was held by the Portuguese from 1508 to 1688. Turkish attempts under Sulayman the Magnificent did not slacken the Portuguese control. In 1741, one Ahmad ibn-Said, a descendant of the Imams of Yemen established a ruling line, which

entered into treaty relations with the East India Company during the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt. During the first half of the nineteenth century Oman was an outstanding country in the peninsula under Sultan Saib ibn-Sultan. But during the second half, when the centre of international interest shifted to the region from Muscat to Aden, the importance of the area increased. Since Aden had the only good harbour, a British force from Bombay, sent by the East India Company, captured it from the Sultan of Lahaj and brought it under British occupation. Between 1882 and 1914, the Aden Protectorate, consisting of numerous Shaikhdoms and Sultanates, was brought into treaty relations with his Majesty's Government.

The regions of Eastern Arabia and the Trucial Coast or the Pirate Coast on the Persian Gulf were brought under British protection during the second half of the nineteenth century. Before the discovery of petroleum the area was economically unevenful. The main sources of income were pearl fishing, boat building and date growing. The population was mostly nomadic. The Shaikhdom of Kuwait, lying at the head of the Persian Gulf, has been in the hands of the Sabah family since 1756. It acknowledged Turkish sovereignty in 1871 and in 1899 it acknowledged British protection. Bahrain was the principal island in the archipelago which was the first to fall in European hands. The Portuguese held it from 1507 to 1621, then it went to the Safavid Persians and finally it was seized by the Khalifah family of an Arab tribe a century and a half later. Special treaty relations with Great Britain were established by Kuwait, Bahrain and the Trucial States. They were not British protectorates but the British assumed full responsibility of their protection and conduct of foreign affairs. Great Britain stationed military units in Kuwait during the First World War.

So the history of the Peninsular states had no uniform

development While Yemen and Saudi Arabia had an independent course, the coastal regions fell under British sphere of influence. During the period under, the area in general had been comparatively uneventful—the incident was the rise of Wahhabism and all that . With the discovery of oil in the region it assumed a very important place in international relations during the present century.

--- CHAPTER XVIII ---

ARAB NATIONALISM

Q. 1. Analyse the major factors which shaped the rise of nationalist movements in the Arab World in the nineteenth century.

Or, What signs of Arab awakening were evident in the nineteenth century ?

In 'A Report of the Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs', nationalism has been defined as "...consciousness of the distinctive character of different nations, including the one of which the individual is a member, and a desire to increase the strength, liberty, and prosperity of nations". In other words it was a secular concept, an ideology and a political force with predominantly economic ends. These connotations were hardly known to Arab nationalism before the present century. Arab nationhood was elaborated in this context only after the First World War.

Nationalism in the Asian countries had its first stirrings during the second half of the last century over specific political, economic and cultural issues. European nationalism, had its beginnings in the French Revolution in its fight against feudalism and absolutism and its ends in the growth of nation states. The political form of Asian nationalism assumed different shapes in its struggle for elimination of foreign political control. Arab nationalism stemmed essentially from the desire to emancipate the Arab people from Turkish political domination. It had its ephemeral and embryonic beginnings in the nineteenth century.

The development of Arab nationalism took a different course and it was based on an emotive feeling of common ethnic relationship. Its rise was facilitated by Ottoman oppression and by the sentiment to resist the assimilation by the Muslim Turks or by Turanians. In this sense, the Wahhabis, who desired to take Islam to its original purity, had very little to contribute to its developments. Due to the same reason, Arabs had hardly to take anything from Muhammad Ali of Egypt except the example of raising a revolt against the authority of the Porte. George Antonius has, however, attached special importance to Muhammad Ali's rule by associating it with the birth of nationalism. But the Pasha of Egypt only developed the spirit of resistance, but he valued ideology only as a tool of political power.

Arab awakening in its embryonic stage was purely a literary movement on the intellectual plane. Influenced by European and American missionaries and by the Christian general hostility to the empire, the Christian Arabs of Lebanon and Beirut rediscovered the might and dimensions of the medieval empire and wielded their facile pen to restore the past glory and to revive that culture. Butrus al-Bustani (1819—1883) designated Arabs as distinct from non-Arabs and rebuked them for their degeneration from the past glory of their ancestors. The poet Ibrahim al-Yazaji also started by exhorting the Arabs to awaken and arise. They also asked the Muslims to forget religious divisions and objure fanaticism and suggested more borrowing from European cultures. These men of the Arab renaissance made a good start for a theoretical Pan-Arab base. But Sylvia G. Haim, has rightly refused to consider the poem by Ibrahim al-Yazaji as a nationalist manifesto for it was inspired by religious divisions.

The foundation of a secret society in Beirut has been regarded by Antonius as the first manifestation of emergent Arab nationalism. He has substituted his conclusion mainly from the recollections of Dr. Faris Nimr Pasha, who had been a member of the society. From the same source, Z. N. Zeise

and S. G. Haim have arrived at a different conclusion. The fact was that, a group of young Christians including Faris Nimr, while pursuing their studies at the Syrian Protestant College (later American University of Beirut) came under the influence of a Maronite teacher of French, who advocated and advanced revolutionary views. He inculcated among his students a desire to eject Ottomans from Lebanon and to end Muslim supremacy over the Christians. But the anti-Ottoman placard movement, launched by the students, failed due to the lack of "agreement or understanding" between the Christians and the Muslims. In 1882-83, the society was dissolved.

In the recent researches it has been pointed out that Arab nationalism as a doctrine was the outcome of a severe intellectual crisis in Islam during the nineteenth century. The assault on Islam was two fold : European attack or subjugation of the Muslim states and criticism of Islam as a system of beliefs and a way of life. Various attempts were made to defend Islam, of which those of Jamal ud-Din al-Afghani were certainly the most significant. He was the author of the doctrine of Pan-Islamism. He called for Islamic solidarity or 'asabaya', which would, reinforce national solidarity or 'jinsiyya'. According to him 'national' solidarity based on common language was more powerful and durable than one based on religion. He was not a precursor of Arab nationalism, but he radically "transformed the significance which Islam ought to hold in the life of the Muslim" (Haim).

The emphasis on solidarity led to the thinking of the past. The disciples of al-Afgani in Egypt, Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida took the return to the ways of the ancestors or 'safaf' as their motto. They tried to inaugurate in Egypt a movement of Islamic reform known as the 'Salafiyya'. It was a glorification of Arab Islam which "produced a prophet, a religion, an empire and a civilization that dazzled the world with its unique suddenness and extent" (Banerjee). They also pointed out the depreciation of Ottoman Islam. They

showed marked partiality to the Arabs, and more particularly Rashid Rida added a particular significance to the world 'umma' which according to him denoted only the Arab Muslims. In 'salafiyya' movement a distinction was made between an Arab Muslim and a Muslim Arab.

The burgeoning of Pan-Arabism was first felt in the writings of Abdul Rahman al-Kawakibi (1849 & 1902), who for the first time made a clear distinction between the Arabs and the Turks. He was an unambiguous champion of the Arabs against the Turks and to him the former were a better people than the latter. Dr. Hassan Saab has candidly summarised that he "stood midway between the West and Islam and between Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism and was all along a pioneer of constitutionalism." It has been accepted on all hands that Arab nationalism stemmed out of a unique pan-Arab sentiment. It may be said, therefore, that al-Kawakibi was the real precursor of Arab nationalism.

It is presumably clear from the above analysis that Arab nationalism as an ideology and as a factor in Middle Eastern politics did not appear in the nineteenth century. It was developed from the pan-Arab sentiment, of which the base was created by Butrus al-Bustani and Ibrahim al-Yezaji. But these were primarily men of the intellectual renaissance and they failed to unite the Christians and Muslims of the Arab lands together. The pan-Arab movement was rooted in the intellectual crisis from which Islam suffered in the nineteenth century and al-Kawakibi was the first to give it a specific shape.

Q. 2. Describe the main contents of Arab national thought and action from Kawakibi till the 1916 Damascus massacre.

Arab Nationalism was at once a thought and a movement, and did not form a specific ideology before the end of the First World War. Abdul Rahman al-Kawakibi gave somewhat a secular view of politics and emphasised that the Arabs were a superior people than the Turks. Negib Azoury developed

the idea of Arab separatism to one step further and demanded the cessation of the Arab lands from the Ottoman Empire. Hitherto there was few national movements. But a deluge overclouded the Arabs when the Young Turk Revolutionaries overthrew Sultan Abdul Hamid II. A sort of constitutional 'honeymoon' commenced between the Arabs and the Turks only to frustrate the former. The Arabs found that their Young Turk masters were no less repressive than their predecessor. A revolutionary idea developed among the Arabs thereafter, and under the leadership of Sheriff Hussain of Mecca they rose in a revolt against the Turkish authority. The Damascus massacre lit fire to Arab discontent.

Abdul Rahman al-Kawakibi (1849-1902) has been considered as 'the first true precursor of modern secular pan-Arabism'. He wrote two books, *Tabi al-istibad* (*The Characteristics of Tyranny*) and *Ummu al-Kura* (*Mecca*), concerning the prevailing despotism and the causes of Islamic degeneration respectively. He defined despotism as "an attribute of the absolute government which rules over the people at will, fearing neither accountability nor punishment and affirmed that a despot could not be taken for a Muslim ruler. In his second book he explained the stagnation as the result of tyranny, decline of Islamic culture and a lack of racial and linguistic bonds among the Muslims. To him regeneration of Islam was possible only if the Arabs would supply a caliph, who would reside in Mecca and act as a spiritual and not as a political power. In other words, the caliph was to be "a kind of Islamic pope, an ultimate authority and a symbol of Islamic unity". Al-Kawakibi also furnished a list of twenty six different reasons to show the superiority of the Arabs.

Abdul Rahman al-Kawakibi, thus, definitely asserted himself as a champion of the Arabs against the Turks and categorically upheld the idea that the former were better people than the latter. He introduced the well-known European distinction between the spiritual and the temporal heads, and by revealing the idea of a spiritual caliph, he turned politics

as an autonomous activity divorced from divine prescription. The caliphate should be devolved upon the Arabs. It was a romantic idea, at time resented by the Arab Christians. It stood midway between Wahabi idea of a heretic Ottoman Sultan and Muhammad Ali's institutional agonies.

Arab national thought, during this time was limited to the "awakened" intellectuals in general, and there was the tendency towards the beginning of a movement. A secret society in Beirut (1880) began by distributing revolutionary placards containing a separatist course. The movement, however, had very little in common with the general development of the Arab nationalist thought. There were other sporadic manifestations containing proposals even to overthrow the Ottoman government. The period was remarkable in another way. Magazines published from some European capitals heralded the Arab claims. One such journalist was Negib Azoury who published a monthly periodical, *L'Indépendance Arab*, founded an association in Paris called *La Ligue de la Nation Arabe* (1904). He also wrote a book, *Le Reveil de la Nation Arabe*.

Negib Azoury (d. 1916), took up the idea of a spiritual Arab caliphate from al-Kawakibi and emphasised on the separation of civil and religious powers. He went one step further and desired to have an Arab empire set up. It would include the valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean—i. e., the 'natural' frontiers. On its throne, there would be prince of the Khedival family, who had expressed loyalty to the programme. As a Christian, he made a radical appeal, when the industrial prerequisites of a national integration was lacking.

The Young Turk *Coup d'état* of 1908 overthrew the despotic government of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. The leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress restored the Midhat Constitution, and they were "the successors of the Tanzimatists in spirit..." There was a mixed reaction to this in the Arab provinces. Arab military and civil officers of

Istambul were glad and expected that the C. U. P. Government would allow a greater measure of self-expression within the empire. The highly intellectual Arabs were sceptical about the new democratic experience. They considered the Young Turk Revolution only as 'a military one.' The traditionalists who had joined the pan-Islamic movement of Abdul Hamid II, saw in the new constitutional government a threat to their autonomy. Nevertheless, change became attractive to the Arabs, and it increased with the sudden restoration of parliamentary institutions.

This phase of constitutional 'honeymoon' did not last longer. More conscious among the Arabs gradually developed electoral, linguistic, administrative and other grievances against the new regime. They strongly disfavoured the concentration of power in Constantinople. The Turkish leaders of the C. U. P. swung towards militarism and Turkism. Their triumph stimulated the separatist tendencies in the non-Turkish provinces. The Arab national movement now, entered in its serious organisational stage with the proclamation of the Constitution.

An organisation, named *al-Ikha al-Aarbi al-Othmani*, (Ottoman Arab Brotherhood Society), was established immediately after the proclamation of the Constitution. It endeavoured... "better the conditions of the Arab nation—" and turned into an anti-government grouping. It was succeeded by *Al-Muntada al-Adabi* (The Literary Club, 1909). *Hizb al-Lamarkazia al Osmanli* (The Party of Ottoman Decentralisation) was formed by the Syrians and Lebanese living in Cairo and appeared with demands for autonomy of the Arab provinces in the empire. Aziz Ali al-Misri led a group of young officers of the army and group of students and founded the secret societies of *al-Kahatanya* and *al-Ahd* in Istambul. Another secret society, named *al-Fatat*, was also formed. These secret societies more or less favoured the reintegration of the Ottoman Empire through Turko-Arab federal conciliation, failing which they held extreme views. The Committee of

Reform and Defence of Syrian Rights was formed in Beirut with claims for Syrian autonomy.

During the pre-War period, Arab nationalist thought took two different lines, and there were conflicts of opposition in the Congress called together in Paris in 1913. The two conflicting opinions were represented by the Syrian Reform Committee and the Decentralisation Party. It was due to the fact that the former incorporated the Maronites, who were definitely anti-Ottomans and not Arab nationalists. Their demands were more or less similar, but they differed in ways and means and sincerity.

But the Arab nationalist movement had already assumed a definite shape, and the outbreak of the First World War precipitated the actions. Both the Decentralization Party and the Syrian Reform Committee went into the shade. Against Turkey's joining the Entente Powers, Britain was in search of allies in the Arab World. The Sherif of Mecca, Hussain was tempted to join the Allied Powers. He was a nominee of Young Turks but he entertained in his avid hearts, the desire of the caliphate and of a large empire. Having assured by Henry Mac Mahon, the British resident in Egypt, of British help, he sent out his sons to secure loyalty of the Arab rulers to his cause. When Jemal Pasha sentenced a group of Arab officers to death in 1916 at Damascus to nip the movement in the bud, Hussain and his associates rose in revolt. He appealed to traditionalist sentiments and did not justify the Arab revolt on grounds of Arab nationalism.

During the period under review, no attempts were made to define Arab nationalism. Nor was it always a consistent thought. The inherent undertone common among all the thinkers was the separation of the Arab provinces from despotic Ottoman rule. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Arab nationalist movement was insignificant. Following the success of the Committee of Union and Progress, the Arabs formed political associations. When their hopes were destroyed by the Young Turk manouevres, these

associations began agitation. Secret societies also formed and at the wake of the First World War, Arabs outburst in a rebellion under the leadership of Sheriff of Mecca, Hussein.

Q. 3. On what circumstances did the Arab revolt break out? What did the Sheriff Hussein expect from his correspondence with Henry Mac Mahon?

Events leading to the outbreak of the Arab revolts were a combination of forces resulting from the national milieu and the international milieu. Arab nationalism, although not yet an ideology, had developed a kind of anti-Ottoman attitude resulting in the demand for Arab autonomy. The outbreak of the Young Turk revolution aroused enthusiasm in the Arab national movements. But the C. U. P. rulers failed outright to meet their demands. Thereupon developed the secret societies more or less with extreme views. The Sheriff of Mecca, Hussein, who had been sent by the Constantinople Government, also harboured hopes of an independent Arab empire. The outbreak of the First World War caused Great Britain to seek allies against the Ottomans. Sheriff Hussein, who had already begun his conversations with the British was now ensured of their help by Sir Henry Mac Mahon. He also set communications with the secret societies and the Arab chiefs. Having the background thus prepared, he rose in revolt against the Turkish authority in June, 1916.

A period of lull overtook the Arab nationalist movement after the success of the Young Turk Revolution and the deposition of Sutan Abdul Hamid II. But the new rulers of Turkey took a leaf from the register of the deposed Sultan and let loose a policy of repression and centralisation. The Turko-Arab 'honeymoon' which was epitomised in the foundation of *al-Ikha al-Arabi al-Othmani* (Turk Arab Brotherhood Society) entered a new course to grapple with the anti-Arab C. U. P. policies other societies also formed in Constantinople and other cities of the empire with a zeal of Turko-Arab reconciliation.

Meanwhile, the more extremists among the Arabs organised secret societies with somewhat daring projects. Al-

Kahatanya was established towards the end of 1909 ; and its members decided to turn the Ottoman empire into a Turko-Arab monarchy on the model of Austro-Hungarian edifice. An "Egyptian Arab officer" of the Turkish army, Aziz Ali al-Misri was its co-founder, and its membership included several Arab officers of the Turkish army. Another secret society, al-Fatat was founded in Paris in 1911. The Muslim Arab, while pursuing their studies in Paris, organised it to work for the independence of the Arab countries and their liberation from Turkish or any alien domination. It was shifted to Beirut in 1913 and next year to Damascus. Its membership expanded, but included only a few Christians.

The Syrian Reform Committee was formed at Beirut towards the close of 1912 and drafted a scheme for the grant of Home Rule to the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. In pursuit of the same, in Cairo was founded the Party of Decentralisation. These two associations acted in close contact and demanded administrative decentralisation in the Arab provinces of the empire, the recognition of Arabic as an official language, an increase in official posts for the natives of the Arab areas, and in general better financial and judicial administration. Their members met at the Arab Congress of Paris which was organised by al-Fatat in June, 1913. But the agitation ended in a compromise with the C. U. P. Party Secretary. In an agreement, the Arabs secured some concessions ; but on the issue of Arab decentralisation it was "more apparent than real".

Another secret society was founded by Abdul Aziz al-Misri in 1912, known as al-Ahd. It was the civil counterpart of al-Kahatanya, with a programme of re-integration on the basis of Turko-Arab conciliation. These secret societies attempted a federal settlement of the problem of the empire in general and of the Turko-Arab problems in particular. But in course of time, they gave up their "loyalist federalism" to revolutionary separatism. During the First World War, they did it in order to survive and to achieve the

degree of nationhood and statehood which they failed to achieve within the empire.

Taking advantage of the outbreak of the First World War, the Arab Governors and semi-autonomous rulers tried to gain independence. Sherif of Mecca was one such Governor, who was sent by the Young Turk rulers. His second son, the Amir Abdullah was the foremost among the Arab deputies in the Ottoman Parliament. He began conversations with Lord Kitchener, the British Agent in Egypt, and Ronald Storrs, Oriental Secretary at the British Agency, and gave them an account of the strained relations between the Sherif and the Turkish authorities. Although, the British were thinking to prepare 'an Anglo-Arab dam to stem the Turco-German tide', they did not commit anything decidedly to the Amir Abdullah.

The outbreak of the War precipitated the events. Lord Kitchener, then Secretary of States for War, became anxious to know the sentiment of the Sherif. The Sherif on his turn, conferred with his two sons, Abdullah and Faisal, to decide the Hejaz's stand in the War. There were two ways to support Turkey in her hour of trial, or to rise in a revolt to secure the aspired freedom. Faisal preferred the first, as Kitchener's proposals did not contain any guarantee against French designs on Syria. But Abdullah insisted on the second out of his insight of the revolutionary feeling. Hussain took a double course : he sent emissaries to different Arab states to discover the depth of national feeling and preparedness and sound the leaders and gave enough encouragement to Kitchener 'to keep him in play'. He himself remained cautious on the call by the C. U. P. leaders for a jihad or holy war against the Allied Powers.

In fact Hussain, during the early years of the war, continued by bargaining with the nationalists as well as the British. Faisal, by this time, understood the need for a revolt, and his father employed to know the nationalist secrets. He succeeded in co-ordinating the secret societies and secured their unavowed consent on the cause of Arab revolt in association with the

British, subject to certain conditions. The nationalists arrived at a decision in the Damascus Protocol to support an Arab revolt to be proclaimed by the Sherif of Mecca, and to do whatever in their power to help the Allied cause.

The British authorities in Egypt, in the meantime, had done what was possible to parry the threat of *Jihad*. Sir Henry MacMahon was appointed as the High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan, and Sir Reginald Wingate as the Governor General of the Sudan. Ronald Storrs and Colonel Chayton had already opened conversations with the Arab leaders. Mac Mahon made a public declaration that Great-Britain would recognise the Arabian Peninsula as an independent state with full sovereignty on the conclusion of peace. The Government of India entered into treaty relations with many of the princes in the Arabian peninsula.

The British negotiations with the Arab rulers attained a climax in the Hussain Mac Mahon correspondence of July, 1915 to next January. This was a unique example of epistolary conversation, and there were altogether eight notes to and from the Sherif, which completed the bargaining between the two heads. Thanks to George Atonius, he has collected the letters containing the negotiations in the appendix of his *The Arab Awakening*. It was a complete cycle of negotiations which moved the Sherif to a revolt. These documents were extremely controversial and evoked much criticism among historians.

In this correspondence, Hussain agreed to bring all his power and influence with all the material resources at his disposal, in order to defeat Turkey. Great Britain, on her part pledged to supplement the deficit of material resources, arms, equipments and money. Politically, the Sherif committed to proclaim an Arab revolt and to denounce the Turks openly as the enemies of Islam. In return, Great Britain agreed to recognise the Arab caliphate if it was proclaimed and to recognise and uphold Arab independence in a certain area. The area specified by the Sherif on the basis of 'natural'

frontier was accepted by Mac Mahon with certain reservations. The thing that whether that part of Syria, which later became the mandate of Palestine, was included within the British promises, became a matter of acute controversy.

Clearly the Sherif expected two things from the British : recognition of an Arab caliphate and an independent Arab empire with him at its head, and assistance to translate them into a reality. He expected much from the British, while the latter took the negotiations as a strategic expediency to win over the Arabs to the cause of the Allied powers. So, from the very beginning of Hussein-British agreement that the British would support the ambitions of the Sherif so long they were in danger. Hussein succeeded in bargaining a lot, but eventually he was to be frustrated.

Having arrived at a definite agreement with the English, the Sherif then engaged himself in arousing other Arab chiefs to revolt. During this time, the C. U. P. reign of terror attained a height at the Damascus massacre of mid-1916. The Sherif issued a proclamation, invoking the traditionalist sentiments. He called the Young Turks impious innovators, who had put Islam to danger and represented himself as rising against them in the interests of the Faith. He became the rallying point of all the malcontents, and broke out in a rebellion at the news of the Damascus massacre.

4. Discuss the progress of Arab nationalism during the twentieth century.

Arab nationalism had stemmed out largely of the Islamic heritage of the Arab people and taken a somewhat secular form in the writings of Abdul Rahman al-Kawakibi during the nineteenth century. Arab nationalist movement took an extreme form due to the failure of the Young Turk rulers of the Ottoman Empire to satisfy the grievances of the Arabs. At a favourable opportunity, offered to the Arabs by the outbreak of the First World War, the nationalist forces agreed upon a common and rallied round Sherif of Mecca, Hussein. They rose in revolt, having assured by the English, to secure

freedom of the Arab countries from Ottoman rule. But as yet Arab nationalist thought did not attain the form of a definite ideology.

The Arab revolt was a success in its military aspects but failed to achieve Arab independence and unity. Albeit Britain had outright assurances to the Arab cause, she signed the Sykes-Picot Agreement with France and Russia to the effect of dividing the Arab land into British and French spheres of influence. Each Arab province except Hejaz and Nejd, was mandated to either of the two power. This betrayal of the British to Arab nationalism caused a stupor, and the leaders were completely disillusioned. What was more, due to imperialist fermentations there developed a strong regionalism to the detriment of a united movement.

After the post-war disillusionment, the progress of Arab national thought took a somewhat liberal and democratic line, with a base in democratic movements. Scholars turned to find the growth of Arabism in history and anthropology instead of religion. Arab nationalism was defined and the Arabs were taken as a political entity. They denounced *iqlimyya* (regionalism) as a crime, and gave a secular meaning to the word *umma*. In consequence, the gulf between the ruler and the scholar widened increasingly.

The foremost of these writers were 'Abdul Rezzaq Sanhoury and Muhammad Rasid Rida. Thanks to Albert Hourani, he has made an analytical study on the ideas of the latter. Rida published his book *Al-Khilaafa aw al-imama al-uzma* (The Caliphate or the Greater Imamate) in 1923, from which Sanhoury drew much inspiration. Confusing and ambiguous as Rida's ideas were, they were influenced by western notions of secular constitutionalism and by traditional doctrines of the caliphate. He reduced the caliph to being the first among equals. It was his duty to consult the citizens and to accept their collective judgement. Nuseibeh has compared this view of national sovereignty to that of

Rousseau, which others have described as "the scrupulously faithful reproduction of the doctrine with the same formulas that had been taught for more than eight centuries". Nevertheless, it was the Muslim assumptions that remained fundamental to Rida's ideas.

In fact there was a modernist school of Arab nationalism, who injected a sense of secularism in it. Besides Rida, there were the Salafis and secular liberals, all of whom were at one in wishing to replace the static, complascent, and indifferently administered society by a progressive, constructive, aspiring, idealistic and mobile one. But they suggested different ways to attain the goal. While Rida thought it possible by following a common faith, others contemplated that a type of good citizenship could be derived from rational self-cultivation of the western type.

Such moderate thinkings did not satisfy the angry young Arabs, and as a result a variety of militant ideologies were formed. In the early 1930's there were super-nationalist groupings like *al-Ikha al-Watani*, which evidenced disillusionment with constitutional liberalism. Another such organisation was the Islamic Brethren, which was responsible for the reintroduction of the religious question into Arab politics. It also offered a political doctrine to the effect of "eliminating political parties and orienting the political forces of the nation in a single direction and in a single bloc." It shared the militant and revolutionary spirit of the secular radicals and endeavoured to compensate nationalism without any social content by a still more nationalism. They were the Arab counterpart of the totalitarian rulers of Europe.

The immediate question before the Arab nationalists was to get rid of alien domination in the form of mandates. They developed an uncompromising opposition to the west, and people in general irrespective of knowledge and ideology from scholars down to the lower levels waged a struggle to shake off the mandates. Political parties were formed and a tradition

of open revolt established. Words like imperialism and colonialism became current on Arab tongues, and this new consciousness clashed with colonialism there sparked revolutionary risings in the face of which imperialism failed to stand. So, before the outbreak of the Second World War, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen and Transjordan became independent states.

During the Second World War Arab nationalism made a definite stride forward by reviving the spirit of unity among the Arab states. The seven independent Arab states formed the Arab League as a bulwark of defence. There was of course British encouragement behind its formation, and this unity of the Arabs suffered a rude shock in the Palestine wars. But a unison of these Arab states was not possible during the war period due to clash of personalities, conflicting foreign policies and divergent domestic factors. But it definitely set an example for the future of Arab nationalism.

In the post-Second-World-War period secular versions of Muslim supremacy were extended by different writers. The novel aspect of Arab nationalism now is that it is not only a political force, but also a social movement and its spokesman is Munsif al-Razzaz. What is more, henceforward, socialism married with nationalism which gives Arab politics a somewhat different shape. There have developed both moderate and radical notions of democracy. A broader Arab unity is formed in the establishment of the United Arab republic.

The development of Arab nationalism, as has been already noted, is based on a secular version of Islam. Against this a rival doctrine had been formed by the Jews known as Zionism. The conflict between Arab and Jewish nationalism is a unique phenomenon in the history of the Arab countries. Nationalist efforts were divided, and the Jews claimed Palestine as their homeland. It has ultimately developed into the modern state Israel. The conflict between the two nationalities is now an international problem.

Arab nationalists in the twentieth century desired democracy. But once they achieved independence, it was found that democracy unsuited with the social and economic development of the Arab states. In the midst of frequent military coups it remains to be seen as to what course Arab nationalism will take in future.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ARAB WORLD IN THE INTER-WAR YEARS

Describe the struggle for power between Hussein of Mecca and Ibn Saud of Nejd.

Or, Discuss how Ibn Saud established and strengthened the Kingdom of Saudi Arabian.

The First World War ended in the Arabian Peninsula differently, because unlike the mandates of the Arab Rectangle, the Peninsular states were left free both from Ottoman suzerainty and the Allied predominance. Five new states came into being ; and they assumed the prerogatives of independent rule. They were the Kingdom of Hejaz under King Hussein, the sultanate of Nejd of Sultan Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, the Imamate of Yemen of Imam Yahya, the territory of Asir of Idrisi Muhammad and the principality of Shammar of Ibn Rashid. These states had mutual rivalries among themselves over common borders ; and more powerful among them was, Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud of Nejd, who had revived the Wahhabi militarism. He established the independent Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and by virtue of his modernisation, it became the most powerful state in the Arabian Peninsula.

Of the several feuds in the Arabian Peninsula, the most important one was the struggle for power between King Hussein of Hejaz and Sultan Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud of Nejd. The crisis arose in their relations over the dual position of Hussein as the ruler of the Holy Land of Islam and spokesman of the Arab national aspirations. The Nejdi Amir supported him for the cause of Arab nationalism at the pursuit of

Great Britain ; but the former scorned at the pretensions of the latter when he assumed the title of King of the Arabs. The assumption of the title would place other Arab rulers including Ibn Saud in vassalage to Hussein, or at last abate their claims to full sovereignty in their own territories. Their dissensions concentrated on a region where the Wahhabis extended their missionary activities and which was regarded by Hussein as owing allegiance to him. Over it arose a boundary dispute, which Hussein due to his highhandish treatment of Ibn Saud, failed to settle amicably.

The war between Nejd and Mecca broke out at Turaba on May 19, 1919. Ibn Saud had all but annihilated the enemy. A complete fall of Hussain was temporarily averted due to timely interference of the British. Ibn Saud judiciously liked not to antagonize them ; and he engaged himself elsewhere. He captured Abha, the capital of the Idrisi ruler of Asir, and annexed it with his dominions in the same year. His family enemy Ibn Rashid of Shammar had supported Hussein, and so he invaded his kingdom. By 1921-22, he conquered the northern oases of Hail and Janb and extended the frontiers of his kingdom to those of Iraq and Transjordan.

In the meantime, Hussein succeeded in alienating his friendship with the British. Britain expected a recognition of her 'special position' in Palestine from the Hashimite potentate and extended the proposal to him in a draft treaty. But it was incompatible to the promises which Hussein had given to all the Arab including those of Palestine. He at first refused to sign the treaty, but after Hogarth's oral assurance, he agreed. But these deliberations not only alienated British sympathy towards him, but at the same time lowered his position in the eyes of the Muslims. Moreover, by proclaiming himself caliph in 1924 after the Turkish republic had renounced the Ottoman claim, he further weakened his position in Arabia.

The assumption of the caliphate renewed the conflict between Ibn Saud and Hussein. The Amir of Nejd refused to

recognise Hussein's claim to the caliphate and invaded Hejaz in August, 1924. Britain ended their subsidy, but it could not resist Ibn Saud from attacking Mecca. In the face of the struggle, Hussein abdicated in favour of his eldest son, Ali. But the defence of Hejaz was at stake, and it completely failed in 1925. Ibn Saud completed its conquest and early next year proclaimed himself as the King of Hejaz.

The success of Ibn Saud in the struggle for power in the Arabian Peninsula was due no less to the delinquency of Hussein than to his own military superiority. Antonius has rightly summarised: "In his dealings with the British Government he (Hussein) was bound on the one hand to make himself importunate in the process of claiming his due, and on the other to confess weakness by soliciting their help in his quarrel with his Wahhabi neighbour—a stultifying inconsistency which he was not able to overcome and which led eventually to his downfall in 1924. Again, the Wahhabi troops of Ibn Saud were well organised with a zeal for propagation of their purist faith. Their recent successes and exploits strengthened them so much that their overwhelming of Hussein also terrified the British themselves.

The British were then engaged in the occupation of Maan and Akaba in Transjordan and Palestine respectively. They incensed the strength of Ibn Saud's troops at the fall of the Hashimites, and avoided a costly and unprofitable war. General Clayton of the British intelligence service in West Asia negotiated a treaty with Ibn Saud, and it was signed at Jedda in May, 1927. By the Treaty of Jedda, the British government recognised Ibn Saud as the king of Hejaz, Nejd and its dependencies. The British recognition of his gains, further emboldened Ibn Saud, who in the same year, defeated his family rivals, the Rashids of Shammar. He made himself master of approximately two-thirds of the Arabian Peninsula and created the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932.

With the establishment of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Ibn Saud's desire for further expansion was satisfied. The

then devoted his undivided attention towards the social and economic well-being of his realm. He replaced the traditional raids and lawlessness by orderliness and security by suppressing the rebellious tribal chiefs. He re-introduced the Islamic liberal laws of marriage, divorce, hostages and coinage. For efficient administration he began the use of Telephones, radios and telegraphs. These were considered as instruments of the devil, by the Muslim obscurantists and the Wahhabis ; but Ibn Saud convinced, reconciled or silenced their opposition. More important were his introduction of modern facilities for transport and communications. He introduced motor vehicles to replace camel caraval. He built a few hospitals and clinics, and brought doctors and other men of profession from the neighbouring states, particularly from Egypt, Lebanon and Syria.

The ordinary revenue of the land was quite insufficient to meet the expenses of the new projects. So, Ibn Saud was to draw mounting royalties from the Arabian, American Oil Company. His kingdom was rich in oil resources. He had given another concession to American and British interests in 1934 over the mines yielding gold. Having thus obtained money, Ibn Saud inaugurated large scale plans for land reclamation and irrigation. Ibn Saud made Saudi Arabia by introducing western technological developments. For a continued prosperity of the realm, he maintained realistic relations with the Arab states and the European powers. But his government paid the least attention towards the development of education, and such about 95 per cent of the people remained illiterate. Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud died in 1952, by which time the kingdom of Saudi Arabia attained a mature statehood.

Q. 2. Sketch the genesis of the Zionist movement and how it was resulted in the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine.

or, Discuss the Arab-Jewish problem of from 1914 to 1939.

or, Discuss the importance of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 in the light of subsequent developments in Palestine.

or, Show how the mandate of Palestine created problems

of exceptional complexity. Why did the efforts of great Britain for their solution till 1939 fail ?

The most thorny problem in the Middle East during the twenty years between 1919 and 1939 was the "Palestinian Question," and the volume of literature on it has an evergrowing vastness. It originated in the conflicting wishes and desires of the Jews and the Arab Muslims over the occupation of Palestine. Long before the outbreak of the First World War, the Jews had raised the slogan for their return to the 'Promised Land', i. e. Jerusalem and Bethelhem, and now during the closing years of the War, the British minister of foreign affairs, Lord Balfour, pledged to support their cause for a 'national home' in his declaration of November, 1917. It ran contrary to what they had promised only a year ago to the Arabs with regard to the independence Arab lands. At the end of the War, Palestine was declared a British mandate ; but thereafter the relations between the Arabs and the Jews in palestine had a course of continued decline. The British made various abortive effects to solve the problem, but the Arab-Jew conflict melted into a civil war in 1936.

Palestine has been regarded 'by the Jews as their original homeland, and actually a Jewish state was established there sometimes in 1100 B. C. From the sixth century B.C. onwards it was successively occupied by the Persians, Egyptians, Syrians, and in the first century B.C. it was destroyed by the Romans. Since then, the Jews had become homeless, and wandered in the different parts of the world. In course of time the Arabs inhabited in the region, which by the nineteenth century became a part of an Arab province of the Ottoman Empire.

Although exiled, the Jewish priests carefully preserved and lulled for centuries the idea of a return to the "Promised Land" for the "Chosen People" of Jehovah or to Zion. There had been plans for the return since the sixteenth century, but it was not crystalised into a movement until 1882, when a Russian Jewish doctor, Leon Piansker, organised it into a

movement. An organisation "Hovene Zion", was established at Odessa on the occasion of the persecution of the Jews in Russia and Rumania. From there, they migrated to Palestine, and established Jewish colonies there.

It was on the occasion of anti semitic excesses in France over the Dreyfus Affairs that the Hungarian-born Viennese journalist, Theodore Herzl, issued a pamphlet titled *Der Judenstaat* or the Jewish state in 1896. Having deeply stirred by the recent anti-semitic persecution, Herzl organised the Jews in 1897 in an international congress at Basel "to establish a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine". Since the 'Diaspora' insisted on the return to Zion, he chose Palestine for the desired 'national home'. Zionism thus incorporated the religious aspiration with the social need for an asylum and the political dignity of a state. The Zionist organisation set up the Jewish Agency for Palestine and soon it became a world wide association for the Jews. The movement was later headed by Haim Weizmann, who defined the two pillars of Zionism : the 'in-gathering' of the 'Diaspora' and the provision of land for their settlement.

The Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, echoed exactly the same thing to secure support of the Jews all over the world to the British cause. It reads : "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and with use will their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of the object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine". The declaration was not clear in certain aspects, yet it became an integral part of the Mandate of Palestine given to Great Britain in the San Remo conference of April, 1920.

As a pledge, the Balfour Declaration conflicted with other pledges given to the Arabs. Not to speak of Hussein-Me Mahon correspondence ; Great Britain and France issued a declaration on November 7, 1918, immediately after the

conquest of Palestine and Syria. It reads: "The goal envisaged by France and Great Britain...is the complete and final liberation of the peoples (Arabs) who have for so long been oppressed by the Turks, and the setting up of national governments and administrations that should derive their authority from the free exercise of the initiative and choice of the indigenous populations". Clearly the declaration made no reservation for Palestine, and thus, the British pledge for the "promised land" became a multi-promised one.

The 'non-Jewish communities' of the Balfour Declaration were not slow to react. In fact the Arabs of Palestine far outnumbered the Jews by ten to one. There were 700,000 Arabs against 70,000 Jews. The mandate was a living symbol of denial of the right of self-government to the Arabs. Added with this, the Zionist claims led them to hostility. The Arab Congress of Damascus (1919) demanded the rejection of the Jewish claims over Palestine. The King-Crane Commission also warned about its fatal consequences. But the British mandate over Palestine was formally confirmed by the League of Nations in July, 1922; and by Article 2, Britain was made responsible to secure the establishment of the Jewish national home.

Hostilities broke out between the Arabs and the Jews in 1920. The Arabs demanded that Palestine should remain an Arab land, and it should either be independent or a part of such a state. The Jews, on the other hand, were determined to use the Balfour Declaration as a means to make Palestine a Jewish land and to develop there an independent Jewish state. Britain promulgated a constitution in August, 1922, to make a compromise. Thus, it was a triangular and the constitution made English, Arabic and Hebrew official languages. This time, the British policy was influenced by the 'Cairo School', who felt the need of Arab friendship in the Middle East. In the White Paper, issued in 1922, Winston Churchill assured the Arabs "that His Majesty's Government did not contemplate either the creation of a wholly Jewish Palestine or the

disappearance or subordination of the Arab population, language or culture in Palestine."

The first major outbreak occurred in 1928 centering on the Wailing Wall. For the Jews the wall marked the site of Solomon's temple, and for the Muslims it was holiest sanctuary in Palestine. This time the Arab onslaught upon the Jews was really incited by the growing strength of the Jewish population due to migration. Great Britain employed an enquiry commission headed by Sir Walter Shaw, and on the basis of the recommendations of the report of the Shaw commission, she engaged another enquiry commission under Sir John Hope-Simpson to report on the land settlement in Palestine. These reports were somewhat Pro-Arab without being essentially anti-Jewish.

But the tempo of Jewish immigration and colonisation continued increasingly and it reached its crescendo in the mid-1930s, subsequent to Nazi persecution of the German Jews. It provoked an outbreak in 1936, which assumed the dimensions of a civil war and lasted till 1939, when a Royal Commission under Viscount Peel was sent to enquire into the causes of the disturbances. The Peel Commission recommended the partition of Palestine—an idea which the Jews tacitly accepted, but the Arabs rejected outright. But the English appointed another commission under Woodhead, who in his report dismissed the idea of partition and suggested instead an economic federation of the Jewish and Arab components of Palestine.

The immigration of the Jews caused really a danger to the Arabs in respect of economy and employment. The Jews purchased most of the productive lands; and they lured the landlords by offering higher prices. They pioneered various agricultural projects with the effect that the Arab workers were displaced. The growth of population natural and immigrant lowered the proportion of the Arabs and the Jews by two to one. The hostility against Zionism was unanimous among the Arabs of West Asia; but due to these and due to

lack of support from outside, the lionists pushed their aggressive designs forward.

So before the outbreak of the Second World War, the Arab rebellion had spent itself. Great Britain convoked a Round Table Conference of the Jews and the Arabs in London. In the White Paper, issued on May 17, 1939, the British government rejected the Jewish idea of converting Palestine into a Jewish majority state by immigration. It put a limit to Jewish immigration; but it dissatisfied the Arabs as their demand for self-determination had not been clearly recognised. Britain wanted not to alienate either of the two, for the impending threat of the War. The problem was shelved and reopened during the War with a new vigour, the Jews being backed by President Truman, culminating in the end of British mandate over Palestine in 1949.

Q. 3. Review Britain's policy towards Iraq from 1918 to 1930.

Britain's policy: British diplomacy with respect to the Valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, i.e., Iraq, between 1914 and 1932 had a certain rigidity in its objectives, and considerable resilience of the means used in obtaining them. Their primary objective was to secure the strategic bases on the Persian gulf coasts on the route to India and Persia. It was also necessary for them to occupy the lower part of the Tigris and Euphrates Valley to protect the Anglo-Persian pipe-line and oilfields. There were necessary in the face of German and Russian hostility and Turkey, an ally of the Entente Powers during the First World War. Moreover, it was also necessary for Great Britain to get her claims to lower and central Mesopotamia recognised by France.

In pursuit of her policy to secure her hold over the strategic bases on the Persian Gulf region, Great Britain extended pledges to the Sherif of Mecca to rise in revolt. It was due to the same reason that the San-Remo Conference was followed by an Anglo-French agreement, by which France surrendered her claims to Mosul and Britain to Syria. These Arab provi-

nces, which were not the German colonies, now classified as class A mandates and Iraq was allocated to Great Britain.

The news of British mandate over Iraq was announced by the British High Commissioner, Sir Arnold Wilson in June 1920, and it met a hostile reception from the Iraqi nationalist. Those who fought under Amir Faisal immediately began to drive the British military units of posts along the upper Euphrates. The insurrection spread into the whole of the Euphrates Valley in July and continued till the autumn. The nationalist feeling of the Iraqi saw the prospect of independence as a cry, and this made them infuriated. To face the rebellion, Britain had to bear an expenditure of £ 20,000,000 and a loss of 400 British and Indian troops.

Due to this loss of men and money, and the threat to British control over Iraq British public opinion demanded the adoption of a new policy. The British High Commissioner, Sir Percy Cox disclosed the British government's intention to aid in the establishment of a national government in Iraq. He stated this in Bagdad on October 17, 1920. In fact he and his assistants like Miss Gertrude Bell and H. St. John Philby were well versed in the lore of the people and their psychology. Within a very short time, Sir Percy Cox secured co-operation of the leading Iraqi and succeeded in organising a Provisional Council and a Ministry.

These were gestures of national government, the fundamental objective of the British Government remained unaltered. The problem before them was to secure an Arab prince, who would be acceptable to the Iraqi nationalists and at the same time would conform to the fundamental objective of Great Britain. The choice fell on the Hashimite Amir, Faisal. The decision was taken at the Cairo Conference, and it was relayed to Faisal by T. E. Lawrence. Once the choice of Faisal was made final, it was not difficult for Sir Percy Cox to obtain a unanimous vote of the Provisional Council in favour of him.

Thereupon, Britain proposed to the League of Nations

in December 1920 to withdraw the draft mandate and to incorporate the principles of the mandate in a treaty with Faisal. Faisal was thus compensated for his expulsion from Damascus by the French. The proposed Anglo-Iraqi Treaty was signed on August 23, 1921. By this treaty real power was retained by the British High Commissioner and British advisers attached to the administration. There was also provision for the maintenance of the British naval and air bases. While the moderate politicians of Iraq had some satisfaction, the treaty made Iraq practically a British protectorate.

The area of British oil interests in Iraq increased after the treaty of Lansanne (July, 1923), when Turkey renounced all her claims on the Arab vilayets. But the future of the district of Mosul was left to be decided by negotiations between Turkey and Great Britain. The area was inhabited by the Kurds, and the Turks had already established an oil company there well before the First World War. The Germans had a lot of shares in the company, which they had lost during the War. In accordance with the Anglo-French Agreement of September 1919, these two powers gave their claim to Mosul. But the oil was a lucrative substance, and Great Britain had it incorporated with Iraq, despite Turkish protests. This time, realising the financial importance of Mosul oil, the Iraqi council of ministers ratified the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty on October 10, 1922.

All these deliberations appeared to the Iraqi nationalists as merely an eye-wash, and they continued the agitation for complete independence. In March 1924, the constitutional assembly unilaterally declared Iraq an independent state with a hereditary monarchy and a responsible system of government. Britain also was not well with frequent intervention by the League of Nations over the Iraqi affairs. They also looked for a change it means, and in conformity with the recommendation of the League of Nations, a new

Anglo-Iraqi Treaty was drafted in 1930, and, approved by the League in the autumn of 1931.

By the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1931, Iraq was qualified to the status of an independent state and entitled to the membership of the League of Nations. But her alliance with Britain provided "full and frank consultation between them in all matters of foreign policy which may affect their common interests". They also undertook "not to adopt in foreign countries an attitude which is inconsistent with the alliance or might create difficulties for the other party thereto". Britain thus retained an effective control over the foreign affairs of Iraq. The treaty also provided a clause for mutual aid in times of war. There were a good number of annexes attached to the treaty, by which Britain retained her advantages relating to business, finance and education. The British high commissioner became ambassador, and the treaty was to work for a period of twenty-five years.

Clearly the terms of the treaty were highly satisfactory to the British War Office and the British manufacturers of ammunitions. The Iraqi independence was formal rather than real. Under cover of constitutional government, Britain made Faisal a British tutelage. Britain stood firm in her objectives ; and she made the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1931 a diplomatic model to secure imperial interests without assuming the invidious burden of colonial rule.

Q. 4. Discuss the rise and fall of French mandate in the Levant.

The French mandates in the Levant coast roughly corresponded to Syria and Lebanon and was defined in the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916. In a secret treaty, Mark Sykes, a British Oriental expert and traveller, and George Picot, the French Consul at Beirut in 1914, put the area-West on an Aleppo-Hamah-Damascus line in the French sphere of influence. France had a long historical association with these states. But at the end of the War, the Syrians expressed their resentment against the imposition of a French mandate before

the King Crane Commission, and Amir Faisal, at the head of a nationalist movement, was ruling in Damascus. Faisal was, like the Levantines, susceptible to British rather than to French influences. France took recourse to military action, and General Gourand expelled Faisal from Damascus and established undisputed military supremacy over the region. The position was accepted in the San Remo Conference (July 24, 1920) and the relationship between France and the Levant was formalised in the Act of Mandate signed in London on July 24, 1922, under the auspices of the League of Nations.

In consonance with the old maxim, *divide et impera* General Gourand divided the mandated Levant into four distinct units. They were Great Lebanon, Damascus, Aleppo and Latakia or Alwai territory. They were placed under respective French Governors, France being represented in the Levant by a high commissioner. In 1922, Jebel Druze was accorded a separate status and Damascus made an autonomous district in 1924. In the following year, Aleppo and Damascus were included into the state of Syria. France introduced the system of colonial rule in the Levant.

French colonial rule relatively succeeded in Lebanon, inhabited by a mixed population with a slight Christian majority. In fact, it succeeded in assimilating certain aspects of French culture. It was proclaimed a republic in 1926, and the Lebanese Representative Council drew up a constitution on the model of Western parliamentary institutions. The constitution specified the republic's dependent relationship to France and made no provision for state religion. It was amended in 1927 and in 1929 ; but in the face of an acute economic crisis the High Commissioner Ponsot, suspended it in May, 1932. It was replaced by a care taker government, and followed by a new constitution, two years later, which "assured the representation to professions, limited the authority of the parliament, reinforced the executive power and provided

proper safeguard against irresponsible spending". With it a convention also developed requiring a Maronite president, a Sunnite prime minister, and a Shiite speaker. The Alwai territory was more or less peaceful; only the Muslims were anxious to reserve their identity.

But in Syria, where the Druzes composed a majority of the population, the France colonial rule was resented. The nationalists among them deplored the centralised administration and alienation of certain Syrian districts. Repressive measures were taken against the leaders, as they reactivated the nationalist secret societies. Popular dissatisfaction became so strong that the Syrians rose in an armed insurrection in 1925-26. It was suppressed by the use of force and the new and the fifth high commissioner promised a general amnesty and authorised elections. Accordingly a constituent assembly was elected in April, 1928 and drafted a constitution, in which there was no recognition of the French mandate. The high commissioner rejected the constitution and adjourned the parliament. He himself promulgated a constitution in 1930 making Syria a republic. There was to be a president, elected by the parliament for a term of five years. Accordingly elections were held in 1932, and the Popular Front Party won a majority. But the extreme nationalists were dissatisfied, and it was due to their interference the parliament was prorogued two years later.

The Nationalist Bloc (Kutla) in Syria demanded a Franco-Syrian treaty replacing the mandatory regime, like the Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1931. In face of their intransigence, France was obliged to sign the treaty of friendship and alliance in Paris on September 9, 1936. The treaty provided the end of the mandate within three years and France pledged the facilitation of Syria's entry into the League of Nations. A treaty was also signed with Lebanon in the same year, which was almost a replica of the Franco-Syrian treaty. It differed only in allowing the French to maintain armed forces in

Lebanon for the duration of the treaty. But while the Syrian parliament ratified her treaty with France, the French government did not at all submit these treaties for ratification.

French highhandedness reached its top over the sanjak of Alexandretta. It was inhabited by a mixed Turkish-Arab-Kurdish population, and it was the only Turkish *terra-irredenta*. France entered into a compromise with Turkey in 1937, by granting the sanjak full autonomy in its internal affairs. But subsequently, she signed an agreement with Turkey, giving a free hand there to the latter. It ran counter to the provision of the mandate for not to violate the territorial integrity and the Syrian government if and people there violently protested against this. The sanjak of Alexandretta was incorporated with the Turkish republic under the name of Hatay in 1939.

On the outbreak of the Second World War, the French High Commissioner suspended parliamentary procedures in the Levant and put it under martial law. Attempted resumption of the mandatory regime by the Vichy regime in Syria and nationalist opposition in both the mandated territories were blanketed by the war. One observer has put it, "From the point of view of the exploited nations of the East, there was nothing to choose between the oppression exercised in the name of democracy and that exercised in the name of Fascism". The people of the Levant trembled on the prospects of the war, and developed an anti-Allies sentiment. In Syria the Vichy government had definitely sided with the Axis powers.

Situations in the Levant altered on France's collapse in the summer of 1940. High Commissioner Gabriel Puaux also sided with Vichy government. He closely co-operated with the Axis troops and cordially received the German Commission. It put a grave danger before the Allies. The British and Free French troops attacked Syria and Lebanon by sea and land.

They succeeded in reoccupying both the countries after some resistance. In view of the war and nationalist agitations, Georges Catroux, commander of the Free French troops in the Levant was authorised to declare that he was sent "to end the mandatory regime and to proclaim you free and independent". The British government also attested "the assurance of independence given by General Catroux on behalf of General de Gaulle to Syria".

Emancipation of Syria and Lebanon was recognised in 1941. On September 28, Syria was proclaimed independent pending a final settlement "in the form of a Franco-Syrian Treaty which will definitely guarantee the independence of the country". It was followed by the proclamation of Lebanese independence on November 26. Syria resumed a constitutional life two years later when a newly elected chamber chose Shukri al-Qawatli president of the republic. For exercising the full privileges of independence, she was to wait till 1946, when the evacuation of the French troops was completed. But the case of Lebanon was different, for, although its chamber elected Bisharah al-Khuri as president of the republic in 1943, the new delegate-general of the Free French-troops arrested him. The incident infuriated the public and France was obliged to restore full independence on November 21, 1943. French troops evacuated Lebanon in December, 1946.

Q. 5. Describe the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. How far did it satisfy the aspirations of the Egyptian people ?

The declaration of Egypt's independence, made by the British unilaterally in 1922, was more nominal than real. King Fuad, who owed his throne to the British, now promulgated a constitution in April 1923. The Wafd, organised for revolutionary purposes, won the elections under the new constitution and assumed the control of state affairs. A clash between the Wafd government under Saad Zaghlul and the King was soon to come ; because the King was, by temperament, tradition and training, too sensitive to arrive at a compromise with a

democratically elected parliament. The British, in their turn, were not ready to relinquish their authority on Egypt. Anti-British sentiment was so strong among the nationalists that a Wafd fanatic assassinated Sir Lee Stack, the Commander-in-Chief of the British army in Egypt and Sudan in November, 1924. The murder definitely put an end to Anglo-Egyptian friendship.

Egypt was thus set for a triangular contest between the King, the Wafd and the British. Henceforth there were prolonged and frequently interrupted negotiations for a bilateral treaty between the British and the nationalists. But in the back-ground of mistrust and suspicion, Cairo could not rely on Great Britain's overtures. Besides, the Sudan stood out as the principal stumbling block to any mutual understanding. The Egyptians claimed the right of conquest over the Sudan, and they stood for unity and independence of the Nile valley. For economic and strategic reasons, the British, on the other hand, were determined to hold on the Sudan. Moreover, British military occupation of Egypt caused Egyptian resentment so much so that British warships made three appearances in of the port of Alexandria. The Anglo-Egyptian negotiations failed outright.

In the meantime, the struggle between the Wafd and the Palace in Egypt assumed serious proportions. Determined to curb the influence of the Wafd, the King rigged the elections of 1930, and managed an anti-Wafd majority in the parliament. Ismail Sidki Pasha was appointed Prime minister and the constitution of 1923 replaced. The Palace rule brought a period of Anglo-Egyptian co-operation, because it amounted to the rule of British Residency. But this did not last longer; and contrary to British advice, the ailing King made a compromise with the nationalists in December 1935. The Wafd leader Nahas Pasha was again brought to power and the constitution of 1923 re-introduced.

This time a new threat was felt by both London and Cairo.

Signor Mussolini entered the Red Sea, at the head of the Italian troops to invade Abyssinia. British thought it wise to make up with Egyptian nationalism while the Wafd, now dominated by the propertied classes, saw the possibility of Egypt turning into an Anglo-Italian battleground. British offers for the negotiation assumed a new significance against this background ; and an Egyptian delegation with Nahas Pasha as the leader was sent to London. The Anglo-Egyptian treaty was signed on August 26, 1936.

By this treaty, Britain pledged to defend Egypt against aggression. She was empowered to maintain bases and garrisons for the protection of the Canal Zone, pending the development of adequate local forces. In place of military occupation, Egypt agreed to receive a British military mission, and regained full freedom to increase her armed forces. Egyptians could freely migrate to Sudan, and their troops were to return there. Britain promised to support Egypt in her plea for the abolition of capitulations, and her candidacy for membership in the League of Nations. The British High Commissioner became ambassador, and the treaty was to be renewed after twenty-one years.

The Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 was a new milestone, in their relations, because during the seven decades between 1882 and 1953, it was the only truly negotiated treaty. In the way to complete independence of Egypt it was significant because its occupation by the British was formally terminated. In case of the Sudan, the treaty paved the way for full independence by allowing its government not to employ British and Egyptian officials except in those cases where Sudanese were not available. For the nationalists in Egypt, the treaty facilitated Egypt's membership in the League of Nations, and in the Montreux Conference (1937) she was able to put an end to capitulations.

Clearly, the terms of the treaty fell far short of the minimum demands hitherto made by the nationalists. They

demanding the termination of British hold over, but secured only a nonce of it. Egypt obtained freedom without having control upon the army and foreign relations. The military occupation was replaced by a twenty-one years' military alliance. The nationalists were to strive yet a long way before Egypt would be free. However the propertied Wafdists very enthusiastically ratified the treaty in the Egyptian parliament.

Q. 6. Discuss critically the Anglo-Arab relations between the two World Wars.

Anglo-Arab relations since its beginning had been shaped by certain basic objectives of Great Britain. They were, as Lenczowski has summarised, to protect India, to safeguard the metropolis and the empire, to promote British trade, and to assure respect for a minimum humanitarian standard. Britain had developed a consistent policy and a set of principles to attain these objectives. It had been necessary for her to keep the area free from the threats and encroachments from other European powers. For the sake of strategic needs she had built a chain of naval strongholds between the metropolis and the East. She had concentrated on the major routes to India and assumed an uncontested supremacy in the Persian Gulf in course of the nineteenth century. These moves were, therefore, not exactly to absorb and colonise major land areas of the Arab world. But that Britain had sought commercial opportunities in the area, was evident from the corps of the Levant Consular Service. On humanitarian grounds she had attempted to suppress the slave trade in the Persian Gulf and the Sudan.

But Britain's attitude towards the Arab States was totally re-oriented at the advent of the First World War. With Turkey's entry into the War on Germany's side she adopted "a new a grand design" by erecting an Arab political structure in order to outnumber the Ottomans. Arabs, at the crest of a nationalist movement, were then surging for eman-

cipation from Ottoman rule. A chapter of Anglo-Arab co-operation and understanding began with the Husain-McMahon correspondence. Britain pledged to support the creation of independent Arab States after the victory in the War, and the Arabs in their part, came to assist the British by rising in a revolt in 1916, against the Turkish authority.

But this understanding did not last till the end of the War. Britain had to make concessions to France at the expense of Arab aspirations. If the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 the Allies, namely, Britain, France and Russia committed to partition the Ottoman Empire among themselves at the end of the War. It was a secret deal made without the knowledge and consent of the Arabs, nor there were any provisions for the recognition of their independence. Russia withdrew from the negotiations and disclosed the secret; but France and Britain made it their cause to divide the Arab World along the Aleppo-Hamah-Damascus line into their respective spheres of influence. What was more under wartime duress, Britain also made concessions to the Zionists. Under the Balfour Declaration of 1917, Britain took up to support the cause for a Jewish a "national home" in Palestine. These were directly opposite to Arab aspirations and the Arabs considered themselves betrayed by the British. Anglo-Arab relations entered into a bitter phase.

The Post-War peace negotiations were carried on the lines of the Sykes-Picot Agreement. At the San-Remo Conference it was accepted and in the Act of Mandate of July 22, 1922, the Arab states were partitioned. Under the auspices of the League of Nations the Levant was mandated to France, and Iraq, Palestine, Saudi Arabia were mandated to Great Britain. In Egypt Britain had already established a protectorate during the War. These measures were a new means to sustain the basic objectives of Great Britain. Added to political, strategic and military considera-

tions, the production of oil in the Arab countries and Iran increased British interests in the area.

The doom of Arab nationalism now frustrated the Arabs. The concept of nationalism also assumed an ideological shape after the First World War. The people in the Arab provinces began to clamour for full self-determination. Faced with a new danger, Britain devised the compromise solution of 'freedom without sovereignty'. It would satisfy the basic demands of the Arabs, while preserving British influence in the area. It included the right of self-determination for the Arab states and their entry into the League of Nations and Britain's hold upon the strategic and military bases as well, by implication, upon the foreign policies of these states. To achieve her objectives, Britain encouraged the conservative elements in the Arab world.

In pursuit of this pattern, the Anglo-Iraqi and Anglo-Egyptian treaties were signed. It was applied to Jordan somewhat later. But in case of Palestine, Britain pursued a policy of *divide et impera*. But Britain's contradictory pledges to the Arabs and the Jews led to a series of Arab-Jewish riots in Palestine. For some time, she toyed with the idea of partition; but realising the vigour of anti-Zionist upsurge in the Arab East Britain abandoned the idea of implementing the Balfour pledges immediately before the outbreak of the Second World War. Designed to prevent the Arabs from aligning with the Axis Powers, Britain issued the White Paper on Palestine.

Anglo-Arab relations between the two world wars, were thus maintained on a principle of compromise. But both of them remained firm on their basic objectives while the British were not ready to relinquish the strategic, military, political and economic interests in the Arab area. The Arab states in their turn would continue agitation until full independence. Their relations were perfect, but they were never

very cordial. Although for fear of German and Italian onslaughts Britain made peace with the Arab states and took initiative to form the Arab League, the basic obstacles to Anglo-Arab friendship remained as such. The British pledge to the Zionists led to the creation of the Jewish state of Israel in 1945. It was contrary to Arab aspirations, and since then it became a bone of contention between Britain and the Arab states. Again Britain's primary objective was contradictory to Arab independence. In fact, the four devils of Arab nationalism were Zionism, colonialism, economic imperialism, and alliance with reactionary traditionalism. To the Arab eyes, Britain was guilty for promoting all the devils. Therefore, a clash between the two was inevitable ; and it broke out on the Suez Canal crisis of 1956.

CHAPTER XX

SINCE THE WORLD WAR II

1. Q. Write a critical note on the Arab League.

Seven Arab states, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen and Transjordan, organised themselves into the Arab League on March 22, 1945. It stemmed out of the Arabs, desire for greater unity and strength. It was backed by Great Britain as a means to reconcile her imperial interests with an Arab movement for unity.

Background : The desire for an association of Arab States first arose during the years of First World War ; but it ended in the creation of a number of dependencies. It means the shattering of the glass ; but the Arabs never ceased to think of achieving a greater territorial unity. The movement gained a fresh momentum, when great Britain, for fear of apprehensions of the Axis Powers in West Asia during the Second World War, renewed her efforts to manipulate the Arab politics. Britain's position had been hitherto undermined by her pledges to Arab nationalism and sponsorship of Jewish 'national home' in Palestine, which were contradictory. But during the Second World War, the British and Free French troops capitulated the Vichy government in Syria, and by 1942, British military control spread into the Whole Arab West Asia except Saudi Arabia. It was found opportune for Great Britain to encourage the union of the Fertile Crescent under the leadership of the Hashimites.

The first concrete proposals for an Arab unity was made by

Nuri-as-Said Pasha, the Anglophile Prime minister of Iraq. In his Blue Book, Nuri proposed an enlarged Syria including Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan, and linked with Iraq by a federative agreement, But it was not universally accepted ; and the rulers of Saudi Arabia and Egypt, and the leading families of Syria and Lebanon did not like to accept the Hashimite leadership. So the plan failed, and upon its failure Nahas Pasha of Egypt took the initiative. For more than a year and a half, he conferred with the prime ministers and foreign ministers of all Arab states. The concept of a loose league of sovereign Arab states was widely accepted, and finally at the intervention of Lord Mayne it was signed in March, 1945.

Main provisions : The formation of the Arab League was preceded by the Alexandria protocol signed by the seven Arab states on October 7, 1944. It drafted a set of principles which provided for an association of sovereign states likely to evoke popular approval. The protocol prohibited Syria and Lebanon from concluding special treaties with France, by forbidding the members to conduct policies detrimental to the League. Moreover, the plan for a greater Syria, was shelved by proclaiming the principle of non-interference in the affairs of the members. A loose association of the Arab states was contemplated in Alexandria.

The pact proclaiming the Arab League was signed at Cairo. It laid great stress on the sovereignty of the individual members and thereby made the association even looser. The machinery of the League was to be composed of a council and six committees, and there was to be a secretary-general with the headquarters at Cairo. It did not provide any specific guarantee of Lebanon's independence ; nor did it deny representation in the council to Palestine. As for the conflict between the Hashimite and Egyptian programmes, the pact failed to extend any real reconciliation.

The League at work : The Arab League was thus a weaker association of the Arab states. which became an instrument

of collective British control over all of them. It could pride for its accomplishments in the non-political fields of cultural and technical co-operation. But on political issues the League was utterly helpless. In 1948-49, it recognised the *de jure* independence of Palestine ; but when the Jewish state of Israel was proclaimed there, the League acted to prevent it from happening. But in the event of Palestine war, it ceased to act on the basis of inter-Arab co-operation. Nor it was very much effective in case of France's withdrawal from the Levant, when Lebanon and Syria attained independent statehood. Moreover, the League was on the point of break down on the occasion of the Hashimite-Egyptian feud over the question of greater Syria.

But Egypt soon took the initiative to revitalise the League. She proposed an Arab collective security pact, and it was adopted by the Political Committee of the League on April, 1950. The pact combined certain features of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation with the basic principles of the United Nations Charter and stated that aggression against any one of the signatories would be regarded as aggression against all. It provided for a mutual defence and made provisions for a Joint Defence Council. Essentially to maintain the *status quo*, the pact was devised to deny the very existence of Israel. It came into operation in 1952 ; but it was flagrantly violated when Iraq joined the NATO by lowering its efficacy. Thereupon, Egyptian influence upon the League became paramount, the sole aim of which was to unmake Israel.

The cause of Arab unity ; During the 50's and 60's of the present century the League kept the idea of Arab unity alive. It followed a somewhat paradoxical course of Pan-Arab solidarity and internecine conflict among its members. Solidarity on political and psychological plane was maintained in case of Arab struggle for emancipation from imperialism. But due the support of its members to vested interests, they were deeply divided. The most glaring one among the

conflicts was one between Cairo and Baghdad, which had its roots deeper in cultural and economic particularism.

Owing to the economic cultural and other differences among the Arab states, the Arab League ceased to function as a moving vehicle of Arab unity. It was an association of sovereign states, and more positively it succeeded in promoting Arab solidarity on negative anti-imperialist issues. In the words of Lenczwaski, "by confirming the existing division of the Arab world into a number of separate states it was an instrument of particularism". So, to attain the Pan-Arab objectives, it was necessary to resort to other more dynamic channels than the League. This explains the emergence of the Bath Party, the United Arab Republic, the Arab Federation and the United Arab States.

But the Arab League did not lose its utility. Rather its policy of "Arab liberation" assumed a new proportion under Egyptian leadership. The amalgamation of Syria with Egypt in 1958 made the latter more powerful in the Arab world. That the League was still popular among the Arabs is attested by the fact that between 1953 and 1961, its membership rose to twelve. The members were mostly African; and they were Libya (1953), the Sudan (1956), Tunisia (1958), Morocco (1958), Kuwait (1967) and Syria (1961). The League now stands for Arab-African solidarity and there is unquestioned leadership of Cairo. But clashes of local interests are not entirely avoided.

CHAPTER XXI

TRADITIONAL CHINA

Q. I. Trace the history and civilisation of ancient China.

The beginnings of history and civilisation in china are drawn from the traditional and mythical accounts. But the truth underneath these stories are largely not verifiable from archeology and scholarship. In fact, not before the beginning of the shang period, there is solid ground of facts established by archeology. Since then, i. e., second millennium B. C., the shang, the Chou, the Chin, the western Han, Wang Mang, and the Later Han dynasties followed one after the other. By the early third century A. D. china had developed most of the main aspects of its civilisation and history. The most part of modern China had been occupied and the traditional Chinese Empire had come into being.

The mythical accounts of China has a recorded the anecdotes of many rulers, among whom Emperors yao, Shan and Yu were the model. From the model Emperors it has been derived that from the dawn of civilisation, there was something akin to the imperial institution as a normal part of life. But it did not prove where whether the Chinese civilisation was an immigrant or an indigeuous one. But thanks to the recent archeological discoveries, several facts are now made clear. The skeleton remains of Peking, and the evidences of paleolithic man indicate that the initial glimpses of chinese culture and civilisation were dawned on the great alluvial plain of North China or northern part of China proper. There are remains of neolithic cultures and the extensive relics

highlight a rich bronze age. Overland trade routes leading to Central and Western Asia are also found. There are the established parts of the puzzle, but they do not prove whether Yao, Shun, and Yu have ever lived.

Archeological discoveries however, record a consistent history of China from the second millennium B. C., when the Shang dynasty came to rule. Even before that, traditional Chinese history speaks of another dynasty. The Shang rulers had their capital on the northern border of Honan, and they used bronze weapons, sacrificed vessels and chariots. Houses were built with tamped earth and highly developed characters were used for writing. There are remains of beautiful hard pottery and of remarkably skilful casting of bronze. There were class stratifications in society and cowry shells were employed as a medium of exchange. Probably the Shang's was an old culture and an indigenous one. Their traditional dates are 1765 to 1122 B. C. ; but they may be millenniums before it.

In terms of traditional history, the Chou was the third dynasty, who overthrew the Shang in the twelfth century B. C. and continued on the throne for nearly nine centuries. The Chou expanded the territory of their rule and pieced together more or less closely the whole present Shansi, Shensi and the Yangtze valley. The central authority was weak, and the Chou monarchs continued to enjoy certain preeminence upon the subordinate princes. The states were assimilated within the empire, but bound together by a tie of culture. It was in the words of Latourette "a kind of league of nations. There were frequent wars between the subordinate princes, and in the later centuries there was seeming anarchy. But these wars did not affect the cultural developments of the period. There was freedom of thinking and discussion and such books were produced, which in the later centuries were regarded as classical and venerated as authoritative.

The most important development under the Chou was the intellectual activity which had its influence upon later and present day China, and upon Japan, Korea and Annam. The character of the age, viz., political divisions and struggles, and the strife and exploitation of the weak by the strong inspired the thinkers to create an ideal society or at least to thrash out the ways and means for the salvation of society. Various schools of thought had emerged, and all of them took morality as an essential ingredient of society. The dominant school of thought since then down to the present day was founded by Confucius. This scholar-statesman wielded his pen for the achievement of an ideal society and believed that the universe is on the side of righteousness. Another less dominant, but not less important thought was Taoism.

About the middle of the third century B. C., the prolonged warfares among the different princes ended by the triumph of the Chin. After eliminating its rivals the Chin took the symbols of power from the last feeble Chou monarch. The prince of Chin assumed the title, Shih Huang Ti or the First Emperor and under the Chins for the first time brought the Chinese Empire into being. They followed the principles of the Legalist school and from the valley of the Wei, they introduced a centralised administrative system and the political philosophy throughout the whole of China. But the political ineptitude of the immediate successors of the First Emperor drove the Chin dynasty towards a speedy decline. Resentment was there against the stern application of laws and the speedy destruction of the old order. Disturbances broke out in the provinces ; and after a brief period of civil strife, a man of obscure origin founded a new dynasty.

The Han dynasty thus began its rule ; and continued on the throne for over four centuries with a brief interlude. The earlier Hans, however, restored much of the essential administrative machinery of the Chin ; but repealed their stringent laws and lightened the taxes. They relapsed the absolute autocracy of the Chin and adopted Confucianism as the

basis of the State. They developed a system of appointive bureaucracy, and introduced civil service examinations. The founder of the dynasty, Lin Pang, and his ablest successor, Han Wu Ti pushed the frontiers of the Empire still further. Especially Han Wu Ti's reign was remarkable for certain internal achievements like the writing of a series of official histories, interesting economic measures etc.

During the declining years of the Han rule, about a century after Han Wu Ti, one Wang Mang attempted to inaugurate a new dynasty. He ruled for fifteen years from A. D. 8 to 23 and attempted various innovations. His drastic measures aroused a vector of opposition and he was killed in his own capital. The Hans once again returned to rule.

The later Hans moved their capital eastward to Loyang, but none of them was as brilliant as that of Han Wu Ti. They gained more or less a shadowy suzerainty over Manchuria and Mongolia and conquered the most of Annam. They were the contemporaries of the Caesars of the Roman Empire ; and unified society on the basis of Confucianism. The Later Hans enlarged contacts with the outside world and during this period Buddhism from India penetrated into the Chinese life.

The Chinese during these years had developed a rich civilisation based mainly on agriculture. Almost all its aspects were established before 220 A. D. Confucianism became a cult, and the Chin and the Han created the imperial structure and forged a cultural unity. The history of China, henceforth, was to amplify the several institutions in existence ; because the die was cast in the period under review.

Q. 2. Give an account of imperial China.

Historians generally took the two millenniums between the heyday of the Hans and the opening of China to the West as the period of imperial rule in Chinese history. It did not produce any fundamental alterations in the basic attitudes towards life, society and politics. These attitudes had stemmed out of the creative minds of the Shang, the Chou, the Chin and the Hans of ancient China, and went on to the

nineteenth century. But during this period there were cultural importations, which brought modifications to Chinese life. Buddhism became an influential philosophy and introduced new conceptions of life and death. China was invaded again and again in part or in whole; dynasty followed dynasty; but the basic attitudes remained unaltered.

The downfall of the Han was followed by three and a half centuries of political division and weakness. China's geographical boundaries shrank down to China proper, and the invaders of the north conquered much of the country. In spite of the political turmoil, Chinese culture not only persisted but stimulated in the Yangtze Valley. The idea of a united and comprehensive empire still lingered. The coming of Buddhism from India wrought great changes in Taoism, in Chinese life, literature and art. It was not a period of sharp break; the main fabric of Chinese life remained almost unaffected.

The period of division and civil strife was brought to a close by the Sui, who ruled from A. D. 589 to 618. Under the two Sui monarchs, the Empire was re-united, the system of administration modified. The later Sui ruler was remembered as a man of volcanic energy, great ability, and ambitious projects. He had a violent end in 618 A. D. and his puppet successors, were displaced by the one of the T'ang dynasty.

The greatest figure among the T'ang kings was Li Shih-min or T'ai Tsung, the second emperor of the house. His capital was at Ch'ang-an where developed the largest and most populous city. But it was Hsuan Tsung or Ming Huang who really brought the T'ang to the apex of splendour and power. Again, it was during his later years that the decline of the dynasty began. The Chinese Empire under the T'angs attained so far the largest area and established contacts with non-Chinese peoples and cultures of the frontier regions. Confucianism was revived and Buddhism declined. Some of

the greatest of Chinese poetry appeared in this period, and there were remarkable developments in the realm of art and printing. "It was a great epoch in the cultural history of mankind" (Latourette).

During the half century following the T'ang there was no ruling line who could control the whole of the Empire. There were short five dyasties who ruled from 907 to 960 A.D. in succession and a General succeeded in replacing their rule. This General assumed the faming title of Sung and established a firm control upon the Empire. The Sung remained in power for a little more than three centuries. They did not rule the whole of proper China, nor they could administer uninterruptedly. Theirs was a period of fresh Mongol menace, who in the twelfth century, had subdued the Sung. But it could effect no cultural changes. But under the Sung there was emergence of neo-Confucianism ; social experimentation was manifested in the writings of Wang An-shih. In addition to philosophy and political science, the period added great stimuli in literary activity.

Although the Mongol conquest, which lasted from A. D. 1279 to 1368, constituted an interruption in Chinese history, the Mongol monarchs took up much of the earlier administrative machinery. Under them, China became only a part of a vast and mighty empire ; but much of the territory which the Grand Khan, Kublai, conquered, remained only nominally under them. During this period a wide variety of foreigners came to China. There were Arabs and Persians who came to China as soldiers. Europeans and the Christian missionaries like the Franciscans also had their way to China. They practised their own religions but they could not bring a religious assimilation in China, and most of them disappeared in course of time. But in the realm of culture, specially in drama and novel, it brought about a sudden flowering.

During the Mongol regime and even earlier, Buddhism assumed a sudden pre-eminence. A former humble inmate

of a Buddhist monastery, established an empire after the Mongols. He took the Ming as his family name, which literally means "brilliant" or "glorious." The dynasty had a fairly prosperous rule from A. D. 1368 to 1644. Under the third emperor, naval expeditions were sent to South East Asia, and never before had Chinese suzerainty been spread abroad by sea. It was an era of building. City walls were built around Nanking and Peking, palaces erected, and the grand canal, connecting the north with the Yangtze valley, was improved. But the Ming did not rule Sinkiang. A bulk of literary work was produced, philosophy lacked diversity and originality. Culturally it was a period of stagnation: despite the fact that increased contacts were made with the Europeans.

The Manchus snatched away the Empire from the Ming rulers from the north in 1644 A. D. They were aliens in the Chinese soil; but they became more Chinese than the Mongols. It was during this period that China was opened to the Europeans. The Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, French, English and a few Italians and Germans veered round the roads and parts of China. They fought wars, acquired trading facilities, and established their control over the economy of the country. Gradually China entered into the European age. The Manchus, however, ruled till 1911.

Prof. Latourette has concluded "a Chinese who had entered into a Rip Van Winkle sleep in the Later Han and had awakened in the declining years of the Ch'ing (Manchu-Ed.) would have felt more nearly at home than would a Western European who had gone to sleep in the fourteenth century and roused to find himself in the nineteenth century." It is true; because, whether in alien conquest or political turmoil, the main fabric of Chinese life and civilisation remained unaffected and unaltered.

3. Briefly narrate the system of government under the Ch'ing or Manchus.

The system of government under the Manchus was an autocratic one. It had the system under the Ch'in and Han dynasties, and handed down to the Ch'ing, under whom it became even more rigid. The most important departments were the Grand Secretariat, the Grand Council, the Six Ministries, the Censorate, the Governors-General and Governors.

The leading organisation of the Central government was the Grand Secretariat or Nei-ko and it remained so until 1729. Before 1912, it did not mean "Cabinet", and each of its members was called ta-hsueh-shih or Grand Secretary, whose numbers did not exceed six. The Grand Secretariat was assisted by Assistant Grand Secretaries and Sub-Chancellors. The Grand Secretaries were to forward to the emperor memorials, petitions, suggestions received from officials, and also to draft endorsements for the throne as well as to participate in the discussion of military strategy.

In the subsequent years the Chun-chi Chu or the Grand Council was formed in order to conduct secret military and important State affairs. In course of time the members of the Council also simultaneously became Grand Secretaries. In fact, the Grand Council absorbed the authority of the Grand Secretaries and the latter was reduced to a merely honorific title. The number of Grand Councillors was not fixed; nor was there any rule for equal representation. Their selection depended on the emperor's sweet will. They could take part in important political decisions, appointments and dismissals, and promotion and demotion of officials. They were also to assist in planning military operations.

There was, however, no provision for a Premier or Cabinet leader in the governmental organisation of the Manchus. The emperor was the fountain of all authorities; only he could issue decrees and instructions.

The Manchus inherited from the preceding dynasties the

system of Six Ministries or Boards and retained it till 1901. These Ministries were to look after the Civil Appointments, Revenue, War, Ceremonies, Punishments and Public Works departments. The Chinese and the Manchus equally shared the principal posts within these Ministries. Two ministers were to head each Board ; and next in line were the senior and junior vice-ministers. They were central administrative organs, but like the Grand Secretaries and Grand Councillors, they also could not send orders to the heads of local and provincial governments directly. The emperor reserved the right to command for decrees and instructions ; as also to act as arbiter in case of a disagreement of the senior members of a ministry.

The general supervisory authority was vested on the Tu-ch'a Yuan or the Censorate. It was consisted of the president, senior and junior vice-presidents, twenty supervising censors, and forty-four inspecting censors. All offices within the capital were supervised by the supervising censors, while those of the local governments by the inspecting censors. The statutory powers of the censors were specific ; yet they could exercise their censorate authority anywhere at any time. They could impeach officials irrespective of rank, pry and object to any matter, command or refute the memorials or reports of the officers and even oppose the emperor's decrees and instructions. They were entitled to submit a petition to the emperor on behalf of a minor official, and could redress grievances of the common people. In short, the censorate was all powerful. But, in practice it did not exercise its so extensive authority. Because its members were drawn from people who had political and administrative experience and they were not privileged with special protection. Moreover, they were also subjected to the same censorship, and the ultimate authority was reserved by the emperor.

The Manchus inherited the system of local government from the Ming period. They appointed Governors-General

and Governors as the highest civil authorities in the provinces. Usually two provinces were administered by a Governor-General. But in case of Manchuria and Chihli, the Governors-General were invested to administer three and one provinces respectively. In each province there was also a Governor ; and so Governor-General might have no territory under his direct jurisdiction.

The duties of a Governor-General and a Governor were originally different. In the Ta-Ch'ing Rui-tien or the *Comprehensive Statutes of the Great Ch'ing* their duties were thus defined : "A Governor-General takes general charge of civil and military affairs and vigilantly supervises soldiers and civilians, while a Governor takes charge of educational, financial, judicial and administrative matters." But from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, their duties became almost identical. However, they were the chief local administrators, and each was empowered to report directly to the throne. They were immune from the direct supervision of the Grand Secretariat, or the Grand Council, or the Six Ministries. Each of them were ex-officio members of the Censorate and they could impeach each other. In case of difference of opinion between a Governor-General and a Governor, the matter was to be referred to the Emperor's arbitration. Actually only the Emperor, therefore, was their superior.

From the above analysis it is presumably clear that the Emperor was the pivot of all powers. Again, in the several organs of the government, all officials were invested with such powers and duties as they could counterbalance each other. The institutions were no innovations of the Ch'ing ; they had been deeply rooted in China's past. It was a complete autocracy ; and it always required a very capable emperor.

Q. 4. Examine the pattern of life in China until the impact of the West.

"Every Chinese is born at least thirty-five hundred years old"—so runs the legend about Chinese life ; and it is largely

true. It is because of the fact that the life of the people there today in all its essentials very much corresponds to its life at least two thousand years ago. Indeed, it has developed a static scheme of life within the traditions of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism in an unindustrial static society. In fact, the Chinese have a long continuous history in which the basic institutions and the fundamental attitudes are preserved even today. Moreover, they have a comparative contentment for their "old, sustained, and highly advanced culture".

It has long been a truism that the Chinese had developed a highly developed culture and had the capacity to absorb the conquerors. It was the net product of a tradition, which was universally accepted to decide the good and evil, the true and untrue, and the relations between man and man, and man and State and society. This tradition has been formed from the teachings of Confucius and his disciples and it has given the stamp to Chinese life. It is a code of ethics and a social and political philosophy. It has given to the Chinese a certain sense of rationalism and humanism, and stated that good government is the basis of human society. Confucianism speaks for career open to talents, and does not confine the administration to any social stratum. The highest aim of the State is the welfare of the people, and the people in turn have to maintain five primary relations. Two centuries later it has been expounded by Mencius, and by explanation he derives that a tyrant can be overthrown.

It is the political aspect of Confucianism which has provided a mature governing philosophy to the Chinese people. But Confucius has left a permanent impress on the Chinese life by giving special emphasis on education. To him education is the only qualification of a governing class, and the scale of human values. It has two manifestations in the examination system; and the conservation and transmission from generation to generation of the tradition. In the system of examination, there are no rooms for originality ; but it gives the passport

to political office. It is widely followed by the people irrespective of social stratum, and people can at least impart to their children the moral maxims of Confucianism. Confucianism did not make the country intellectually stagnant but only made it repetitive. It gave the Chinese culture a homogeneity which continued to function at least until 1911.

Confucius has a paramount influence on Chinese life. But there are two more rather subordinate influences, viz., those of Taoism and Buddhism. Once Lao Tze, roughly contemporary to Confucius has propounded the doctrine of Taoism, which, in the main, speaks for passivism or quietism. It is a mystical philosophy; and mostly disliked by the rationalistic and naturalistic Chinese. Anyway, it has only slight influence upon Chinese life. More influential than Taoism is Buddhism which entered into China from India shortly after the beginning of the Christian Era. It is a doctrine, which repudiates the worldly life and promulgates a cosmological scheme of life. But the impress of Buddhism also did not strike deep in the Chinese life. Confucianism has remained the dominant force in shaping the spirit and material life of the Chinese people.

The Chinese society is organised almost wholly within the precincts of Confucianism. China, in course of time, became an empire without integration or effective centralisation. It was Chinese culture which kept the empire in a common bond. China was not a nation in modern sense and its government also was of lesser importance. The emperor claimed his divine originality and maintained an imperial court and a set of bureaucracies. The functions of the officers were nominally unlimited, but they were to depend solely upon the wishes of the emperor. The country was divided into various administrative units, but there the emperor's mandates were not very much operative.

Actually the functions of management in such a society were exercised by two agencies: the guild and the family.

In fact, these were the basic institutions around which the Chinese system had developed. These institutions were governed by an unwritten tradition which was even more binding than any statutes or laws. The Chinese guild, like the guilds of Medieval Europe, regulated the economy. It was an association of merchants, craftsmen, and of those in personal services including the beggars. It acted as an intermediary between the community and the administration. It fixed the minimum prices of commodities, and prohibited free competition among merchants. Democratically organised these guilds fixed the standards of weights and measures, and regulated all the activities by which men make livelihood.

The family stretched its jurisdiction to what did not fall within the purview of the guild. The family was the foundation of the society, around which life is organised, "not only biologically but economically, socially, morally, spiritually." The Chinese family embodied three or more generations and collateral lines together and ruled by the male elders or the patriarchs. In the rural areas, the family was the intermediary between the farming community and the official government. None of the family members had the power of taking decision and the family responsibility was a collective obligation of every member. The Chinese adopted the system of ancestor worship and reserved an exaggerated adulation of the past. The family system stepped down personal initiative. In fact, the Chinese derived their unity and meaning of life from the family system.

Such then, was the pattern of life in China for more than two thousand years. The Chinese culture was old and the value of life fixed. During these years the Chinese multiplied their numbers and increased their wealth, but they were repeating the cultural forms of their ancestor. But it was not a 'narrow civilisation, it embraced all mankind ; yet the Chinese had a sense of superiority over all other peoples and cultures. Their's was a sophisticated culture embracing all the

worldiness based on Confucianism. The major social achievements of the Chinese were the family and the guilds. The Chinese, having bred in their cultural past, could endure and condition present action and events. China, having covered in the straight-jacket of Confucianism, remained governmentally weak, and for this it was easily exposed to the foreign nations.

CHAPTER XXII

OPENING OF CHINA

Q. Review Anglo-Chinese relations from 1793 to 1842. Or, Discuss the circumstances leading to the first Anglo-Chinese War or Opium War.

Early relations of China with Europe may be traced in the hoary past when trade was carried through the Silk Road across Central Asia to Eastern Europe, and along the coasts of Asia through the South China Sea to the Mediterranean. But the first European settlers came to China in the wake of the prodigious sweep of the Mongol hordes. It was after the renaissance when the sea passage to the East had been found, that the Portuguese traders arrived in Canton in 1517. The Spaniards followed the Portuguese; and the Dutch both of them. The missionaries accompanied the traders and won a foothold in China. The British first docked their ship in the Chinese coasts not earlier than the eighteenth century, and they were followed by the French and the Americans. Earlier, in the seventeenth century, Russia approached to China by land. By dint of their control over India, supremacy over sea and material prosperity following the Industrial Revolution, the trading enterprise of the British far exceeded other. Of the eighty-six vessels touching the shores of Canton in 1789, sixty-one were English.

But China as a nation refused to set up a regular trade and formal political relations with the European nations trading in her coasts. Her first treaty, the Treaty of Nerchinsk, was signed with Russia in 1683 over the common boundaries. The

two nations for the second time agreed in the Treaty of Kiachta in 1772. No other governments had treaty relations with China. The Portuguese held Macao only as a *fait accompli*. Nor the Chinese trade system was congenial for the European merchants. The rate of custom duties was uncertain and irregular. There was an irregular process of limitations with regard to the trading ports. The Chinese government in 1702 appointed a group of Cantonese merchants as monopoly brokers of foreign trade. The Kwangtung merchants organised the Co-hong in 1720, to take place of the government appointed merchants in dealing with the foreigners. They set up a monopoly over the entire transactions of China's foreign trade. Moreover, the Celestial Court issued occasional regulations restricting the conduct of the foreign traders.

Yet the Co-hong merchants and the Chinese officers, and the European traders had their way to compromise. The latter established their factories, and their commerce continued flourishing. In the meantime, the Industrial Revolution gave new impetus to the commercial activities of the European nations in the Orient. Since England had a lion's share in China's foreign trade, she began to send diplomatic representation at the Court of Peking in search of special consideration. The Chinese, suffering from superiority complex, considered the Europeans as *i-mu* or the barbarians.

However, the first diplomatic envoy, Lord Macartney, sailed from Portsmouth, arrived at Taku, near Tientsin, in August, 1793. His object was to conclude a treaty providing for the opening of more ports to British trade, a ware-house at Peking, unfortified depots near Chusan and Canton, a fixed schedule of transit duties, exchange of diplomatic representatives, and permission to preach Christianity in China. Macartney was received very cordially to Peking; but he was ordered to perform the ceremony of three kneelings and nine bows—the Kotow—to the emperor. Macartney considered it an insult to a representative of the British Crown, and the Chinese rigidly persisted on the ground

that it was the emperor's due from all men. Macartney left Peking on October, 7, emptyhanded. Twenty-three years later Lord Amherst was sent to achieve the same objects. But he fared even worse, and achieved nothing but creating ill-feeling on both sides. During this period Napoleonic France could not challenge the supremacy of Great Britain on the sea.

Great Britain made fresh efforts to establish trade and political relations with China, when the East India Company's monopoly over the China trade was expired in 1834. The British Parliament, by an Act, appointed a chief superintendent and second and third vice-superintendents as supervisors of British trade in China. Accordingly, Lord Napier was appointed the chief superintendent, and William Plowden and John Davis his companions. The Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston gave them dubious instructions to act as quasi-diplomats, negotiating on equal terms with the Governor-General of Kwangtung, and at the same time to observe Chinese laws and customs. "In Chinese customs foreigners were forbidden to have direct correspondence with the Governor-General save through the Co-hong merchants; nor he could proceed to the Chinese interior without the prior approval of the local authority. Napier violated these two customs; and as a result the Governor-General even refused to receive the letter from him. A crisis developed in Anglo-Chinese relations, but it could not explode due to Napier's sudden death.

Napier was succeeded in his office by Davis and George Robinson one after another. But their's was a period of inaction; and at the request of the British merchants in China, Charles Elliot was appointed as the chief superintendent in 1838. His tenure of office coincided with China's serious measures to suppress the import and consumption of opium. He made certain skilful adjustments; but he reported to his government about the possible conflict over the ban on opium. Accordingly, the British Government ordered Rear Admiral Frederick Maitland, the commander of the East Indian squadron, to send a few warships to China.

It was the opium problem which provided the excellent fuse already lit and leading to explosion. Opium was a commodity used in China for centuries as a medicine. But gradually it was rammed into the country by the white man and the people developed a habit of smoking it. The nation was so addicted to opium that in 1589 its annual import was only 10 catties while in 1836 it totalled more than 20,000 chests. The first imperial decree prohibiting opium smoking and not its purchase, issued in 1729. By a fresh decree issued in 1800, opium was made a contraband article.

But the smuggling of commodity did not stop, but increased by leaps and bounds statistically. The clandestine trade was carried on by means of bribing the government officials. But the scandalous opium dealings seriously unbalanced exports and imports. There was a huge drain of silver specie threatening an inflation in China. Events were moving to a climax in the 1830's when the imperial government had either to legalise its trade, or to take stern measures to suppress it entirely. At length, the government appointed Lin Tse-hsu, an ardent advocate of suppression, as the High Commissioner to go to Canton and deal with opium once and for all. Having arrived at Canton in 1837, Commissioner Lin made some electrifying pronouncements and ordered the native merchants to turn over all the opium they had. He also forbade the foreigners from leaving Canton. They were made, in effect, prisoners. Lin made a show of force and offered them to surrender the entire quantity of opium and sign a band with the government. 20,000 chests of opium were so far collected and destroyed.

The English superintendent of trade, Charles Elliot, had not yet a fixed intention to protect the merchants in their opium trade. But he agreed to first proposal of Lin but refused the second. British merchants evacuated the factory and retired to Macao. Having primary success, Lin now, turned to even stern measures. In the meantime, a Chinese was killed by the British sailors near Macao. Charles Elliot

punished the culprits in a court martial. But Lin demanded their trial in the imperial, pending which he cut off their food and supplies. When he sent ships to seize the sailors the English began firing. In the meantime two months had passed, during which period British re-inforcements arrived in the mouth of the Pearl River. The Anglo-Chinese War thus, began.

The War was fought in three phases, and in each phase the Chinese experienced defeat. Chinese officers who were sent to face the English, were forced to sign armistices ; but they were nullified by the emperor, who also dismissed these officers. In fact he was ignorant of the foreigner's military might. But facing the eventualities, he was to amend his views. He was to yield to the British demands ; and the Treaty of Nanking was signed on August 13, 1842. Among other things, the treaty provided for the permanent cession of island of Hong Kong to the British, and a huge indemnity to be paid to them by the Emperor.

The Treaty of Nanking was a very humiliating document signed under the enemy's artillery. It marked the beginning of unequal treaties ; and it embodied no provision against the import and use of opium. The English on the other hand, fully adjusted their grievances. The Chinese hastily signed the treaty, lest the dignity of the Celestial Court would be disparaged. They tolerated it since they could not resist the barbarian's gunfire.

Q. 2. Discuss the significance of the Anglo Chinese or the Opium War.

The Anglo Chinese War, or the Opium War (1839—1842) was fought ostensibly on the prohibition of opium ; but really it was a conflict of two culture systems—one Asiatic and the other European. Albeit the Chinese had trade relations with the European merchants, they had entirely different conception in regard to nation, government and all forms of society. The war originated more from cultural differences than on political grounds ; and here lies its significance.

Europe had developed the conception of an equal international society especially after the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The Chinese, on the other hand, cherished the idea of one emperor controlling the whole world from the very ancient time. The idea was rooted in the teachings of Confucius which runs thus : "In the sky there is no more than one sun and above the people there is no more than one emperor." Although there were numerous feudal lords enjoying wide independences they formed some sort of a league of nations with the emperor at its head. What was more deprecatory in the Chinese tradition was that the conception of an ideal empire was demarcated by a line which separated China from the barbarians.

In China, this conception was handed down for millennia, and the people learned to treat all special envoys sent by the European nations as tribute-bearers. While they flatly denied to maintain diplomatic intercourse on an equal footing they took the marriage of Hsiung-nu with a Han princess as a great humiliation. Hence, proud of their own tradition the Chinese people compelled the English envoys, or the barbarian chiefs to perform kotow, the system of three kneelings and nine bows specified for the tribute-bearers. The latter, who were conscious of equality in international society and who had vast overseas possessions, naturally took it as an insult. The belligerency between the two nations was thus precipitated.

In Europe, feudalism had already yielded place to industrial capitalism and international trade had become the core of economic life. But the Chinese, having in possession of a large territory and adequate internal resources did not consider the goods coming from afar to be "precious". To them the domestic trade and industry were trifles and international trade threatened a dangerous breakdown of the boundary between them and the barbarians. Since the laws of economy were at work, commerce between the Chinese and the barbarians was in the increase. Scholar officials of China took it as a means to keep the barbarians under control.

They did not think it necessary for the country's economy ; nor did they take trade relations advantageous for China. To them trade restrictions were meant to punish only the barbarians ; but the English took exceptions at these impediments.

The immediate causes of the war were the seizure of the English factories, demand from English merchants sign a bond not to sell opium, and suspension of supply of provisions to them following the murder of a subject to the emperor. Distinguishing laws from orders, the English considered the actions violent and unlawful. But in the Chinese government, an imperial decree or instruction could become a new law without difficulties. Again it was a customary legal practice in China that the leader of a community was held responsible for the actions of its members. The emperor himself had set an example by paying off to the English what was due from the Co-long merchants. So, the scholar officials of China held the English chief, Charles Elliot, solely responsible for everything, and so, what they had done were fully legitimate. These rival conceptions of law directly precipitated the impending war.

In fact the Chinese had a superiority complex regarding their cultural pattern and they were deadly against any conciliation with the same of the barbarians. This cultural clash did not end in the Opium War but remained in tact to produce continuous conflicts until at least there was no alternative but war. The shame and disgrace of the Treaty of Nanking did not lower down the roots of conflict and conceptual differences. The Chinese still considered their culture superior to that of the Europeans. To them their defeat was an accident. But to the Europeans the inadequacies of China were exposed, and they found that it was no superior to Africa or South Pacific islands. Having aware of the weaknesses of China, they began by extending their aggression step by step.

Q. 3 "The Treaty of Nanking marked the beginning of the

opening of China but its actual beginning was effected by the Treaties of Tientsin."—Elucidate.

Or, Review China's relations with the Western Powers from 1842 to 1861 and examine the nature of unequal treaties.

The Chinese had a contemptuous attitude towards all foreigners, whom they called barbarians, and they were proud of their own civilisation, which in their opinion was superior to others. Inexperienced as they were with the idea of an equal international society and industrial capitalism, they maintained whatever relations they had with the Europeans on a principle based on inequality of status. The English were the first to pierce open the Chinese doors in the Treaty of Nanking. In the Treaties of Tientsin, China was forced to open the road to her inner halls.

The Treaty of Nanking was signed in October, 1842, following the victory of the English in the Opium War; and it consisted thirteen articles. Among other things, the Chinese government agreed to pay an indemnity of \$21, 000, 000, and to the permanent cession of the island of Hong Kong to England. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai were made open to the residence and commerce of the British subjects. "Fair and regular" tariff on imports and exports was to be imposed and official correspondence between the two nations was to be made on the basis of equality. In a supplementary treaty of 1843, China's tariff autonomy was more restricted and Great Britain obtained most favoured nation status amounting to extraterritoriality.

Great Britain thus assumed the burden as well as the onus of breaking through China's political isolation. Soon other Western nations trading in China were thriving for the same privileges. The Americans had a same sort of competition with the English in China before the Anglo-Chinese War. They demanded that their commerce would be put on the same footing as those of their competitor. A treaty was signed between the United States and China on July 3, 1844. By the Treaty of Wang-Hia America secured the right to trade in the

five newly opened ports, to consular representation and of extraterritoriality for American citizens. It was drafted in general on the lines of the Treaty of Nanking ; but its terms were clearer and more definite.

Immediately after the Treaty of Wang-Hia China signed a treaty with France in October, 1844. It was drafted on the similar lines ; and its only distinctive feature was that the Catholic missionaries were allowed to proselyte in China. In a decree of 1845, the privilege was extended to the protestants as well. In the same year Belgium obtained the right to trade ; but it did not have any treaty relations with China. In 1847, Norway and Sweden secured a treaty drafted on the model of the Treaty of Wang-Hia. In this way, China was obliged to introduce the "open door" ; and her walls of isolation were battered by the Western nations.

These treaties, while opening the wedge for direct intercourse between China and the Western nations, did not lower down the anti-foreign attitude of the Chinese people. The triangular relations between the Westerners, and the Chinese government and people became even more anomalous ; An even implementation of the treaty provisions was made almost impossible by the Chinese and their local authorities. The foreigners, on their part, were not contented with what they had obtained from the imperial government. In the treaties with the United States and France, there were provisions, for, revision at the end of ten years. The English after 1852, began to press for a review of their treaty of 1842 and demanded added privileges for the foreigners. The French and the Americans joined hands with them to secure these demands.

In the meantime relations between the English and China became once again strained. Undoubtedly the Chinese were stiff-necked due to their ignorance of the world, obscurantism, and sense of superiority. But the English and other foreigners were not less responsible for hostilities. They continued to perform offences. Despite the early hostilities the English increased the import of opium from India to 52,000 chests in

1850. They began the coolie trade ; and piracy became endemic in the China coast. What was more, they allowed the native merchants to enjoy the extraterritorial privileges under the British flag, and thereby deprived the imperial government of its customs. Moreover, they persistently demanded the opening of the Yangtze Valley for their trade and commerce.

A deadlock supervened in the Anglo-Chinese relations in 1856 over the extent of British jurisdiction in Hong Kong. Chinese water patrol learned that several notorious pirates were aboard on the lorcha *Arrow* off the port of Canton. A lorcha was a kind of boats, owned by the English but flying a British flag on its mast. The local Chinese authorities boarded the *Arrow*, turned down the British flag and arrested twelve of the crew. It was a clear violation of international maritime law ; and therefore, the English protested and demanded the release of the twelve men with an apology. The Chinese officer refused the British demand ; upon which the British started firing. In the Second Anglo-Chinese War, the English had the support of the French, who wanted a *causes belli* in the execution of a French missionary.

Only a mere incident thus led to the war. During the war the British were pre-occupied with the mutiny in India in 1857. But by 1858, the English and the French captured Canton and their advance threatened the security of the Chinese capital, Peking. The emperor was alarmed at this and opened negotiations with the English and the French. The envoys of the United States and Russia were also invited in the negotiation. The Treaties of Tientsin were signed in June, 1858, and their terms were ratified in the Treaties of Peking, signed in October 1860.

At Tientsin and Peking, the Celestial Emperor signed separate treaties with Great Britain and France. In these treaties, the Emperor opened eleven additional ports for foreign trade and residence. The merchants of the West secured the permission to ply the Yangtze river. The foreigners could set up permanent embassies at Peking, and might travel with a pre-

per passport anywhere in the interior of China. The Christians were allowed to proselyte, and the Catholic benevolent establishments restored. The French missioneries could purchase and rent land beyond the treaty ports, build houses there. Regulations relating to extra-territoriality were elaborated and Great Britain obtained a bit of mainland opposite Hong Kong. The Emperor also agreed to pay indemnities and legalised the opium traffic. Moreover, Russia was given full title over the territory east of the Ussuri in 1860.

The treaties signed between 1842 and 1860 were the chief legal basis of intercourse between China and Occident until 1943. They were "unequal" treaties, since the Chinese were never fully content with the Europeans. China's surrender of her system of arbitrary tariff in favour of one agreed upon by reciprocal negotiations was considered as a derogation to her sovereignty. The Chinese also objected to extraterritoriality and in those areas they felt themselves to be branded as barbarians and inferiors. In other words, China even in 1861 did not forego her sense of superiority over the western nations. Nor did they take any lessons from the successive defeats. Taking advantage of her military weakness, the western nations established control upon the collection of tariff duties and over her overseas trade. In this way, they penetrated into China's interior and largely influenced her economic life.

CHAPTER XXI

THE TAIPING REBELLION

1. Analyse the background of the Taiping rebellion.

A rebellion broke out in China in 1850, and in the following year the rebels adopted the name *T'ai-ping t'ien-kuo* or Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace as the title of their State. Hereafter it was known as the Taiping Rebellion. Although it actually broke out in 1850, the state of things in China a few decades before the Opium War were already serving as a prelude to the revolution.

Economically China depended almost entirely on agriculture. In other words, the productive power of the soil determined the welfare of the people. But population at times so increased that the agrarian economy could not support it. As a result there were unemployment and shortage of food. Courageous individuals easily incited the people to rebellion, and such rebellions generally reduced the population and restored a balance in the economy. In fact Chinese history had a kind of cyclic movement "a period of peace and a period of war".

During the early decades of the nineteenth century there was a downward sweep of the cycle. The population increased nearly three times in a span of hundred years from 1741 to 1841. An area of arable land could no longer support the increasing family of a farmer. Since there was no other means of livelihood peasants had to incur debts and sell lands. Their poverty was aggravated by the drain of silver, due to the ever-increasing import of opium, and its sequels—inflation and

devaluation. Worse still, between 1821 and 1850 there were floods and droughts every year in many of the provinces. The common people were helpless and oppressed by a very high crop rent and an igregious usury. They were ready to lend support to any one who would lead them to a betterment of their lot.

Political conditions during the reign of Taokuang (1821—1850) was not only corrupt, but had a tendency “to gloss over, to make up and to steal days of ease.” The high authorities did not like to take steps against any infringements of law, since the chief minister instructed them not to send reports on flood, drought and bandits to the throne. Since the rate of land-revenue was pre-determined, it could not be lowered for such trifling matters as famine and bandits. They were two chief ministers ; but the bureaucracy was silent with regard to a national policy. There was a general lethargy and irresponsibility in the administration, which paved the way for the rapid development of the Taipings.

The Manchus were regarded as usurpers with whom the Chinese had no love lost. There had been a slogan, “Rebel against the Ch’ing and restore the thing.” Despite royal pressure and persuasion there was no conciliation between the alien ruler and the Chinese people. Secret societies sprang up and started fomenting revolts. The uprising of the Heaven and Earth Society in 1786 was followed by that of the White Lotus Society in 1793. Riots broke out in many of the provices, two decades before the Opium War. The imperial government repeatedly ordered provincial authorities to arrest these secret-society bandits and enacted strict laws. But all these were of no avail. The use of the corrupt troops created riots and disturbances. The militia and “patriotic volunteers” were enlisted to resist the bandits. But when they were disbanded, their weapons dispersed among the people. “served as a temptation and aid to rebellion.” The growing national awareness of the people was for the time being diverted against the foreigners but soon it resumed its anti-Manchu activities.

The Manchu government lost its prestige in the Opium War; and now their defeat tempted the people towards rebellion. In fact between 1841 and 1850, there was not a single year free from local uprisings. The local secret societies organised these revolts. Tseng Kuo-fan recorded that there were the Red and Black, the Incense-burning Society, the Coins, and other secret societies, who were trying to enlarge their forces in the mountainous areas in the south-east and south-west of Hunan. The government officials were as usual reluctant and took no initiative to suppress the societies during their tenure of office. It was during these days that the Taiping rebellion gathered force like a mountain torrent in the province of Kwangsi.

The stage was thus ready for a wide-spread uprising in China. The lead was taken by Hung Hsin-Ch'uan. Born in 1814, he was the son of a farmer of Kwangtung. He grew up as a studious and ambitious youth aspiring for a career in the government service. He appeared in the civil service examination in 1836, but failed. During his disappointment he met a Chinese Christian, Liang A-fa, and received a book from him named *Ch'uan-shih liang-yen* or *Good words to Exalt the Age*. Once more he appeared in the same examination in the next year, which he again failed. Thereafter he had a serious breakdown, and began to see visions. In his dreams, he was ordered by a good old man to go to the world and destroy the demons. A tall scholar who claimed to be his elder brother, assured him of his assistance. In 1843, Hung by chance went through *Good words to Exalt the Age*, and compared it with his visions. It appeared before him that the old man in the black robe and the tall scholar must be God and Jesus Christ. He converted himself to Christianity and founded a new religion with God the Father, Jesus Christ the Elder Brother, and himself the Younger Brother. He thus offered an ideology to the Taiping Rebellion.

Hung then went out to propagate his new faith and founded the God Worshippers Society. Shortly he had a large group

of followers among the peasants and charcoal workers. Hitherto he had no connection with the secret societies. But in Kwangtung, where there was conflict between the guest settlers and the local people, he asked his followers to rise in revolt against the royal troops. The secret societies soon extended their co-operation. This was the beginning of the Taiping Rebellion, which was rather accidental and fortuitous. Hung's new religion was a cement uniting all the forces within China making for disruption, and it was the same which gave them the driving power. Upon this background Hung succeeded in founding the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace.

Q 2 Indicate the nature of the Taiping Rebellion and explain the causes of its failure.

The nature: The Taiping Rebellion was organised by Hung Hsin-Ch'nan on the basis of a new faith, derived from Christianity upon which he fostered to save all brothers and sisters. He magnetised the force of disruption in China, and succeeded in capturing Nanking in 1853, where he set up his Capital. Thereafter, he proclaimed himself *t'ien wang* or Prince of Heaven and his dynasty *Tai ping* or Great Peace. But behind the theocratic state there was a programme of social and economic reforms which enticed the poor peasants and charcoal workers to follow him. The programme was recorded in the *Land System of the Celestial Dynasty*.

According to the *Land system of the Celestial Dynasty*, the family was the smallest unit and each twenty five-families were to form a larger unit with a public store house and a church, and managed by a Master Sergeant. Again, "for every 13,156 families there is one Army Commander, under whom there are five Division Commanders. Below each Division Commander there are five Brigade Commanders and under each Brigade Commander there are five Captains. Each Captain commands four Master Sergeants and under each master Sergeant there are five Corporals'. Civil and military administrations were identical and each one of the hierarchy of

officers had both civil and military duties. The farmers were made soldiers; and so military organisation overlapped the political and social organisation."

Economically the Taiping rebels aimed at three things public ownership of land, equal distribution of money and food, and a self supporting economy. They took up these ideas from the *Rites of Chou* and the *Works of Mencius* and substantiated them with the tenets of Christianity. In their opinion the Manchus robbed the masses and compelled the Chinese to become demons. So before attempting the economic reforms it was necessary to reject the Manchus and worship god. They made full use of divine authority and nationalism to enlist their followers.

The Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace thus involved in hostilities with the Manchus right from the beginning and remained in power for eleven years until it was overthrown in 1864. During these years the military and civil organisations were established. But the economic programme remained for the most part untried. The Taipings concentrated their efforts in cities and towns where there was little arable land to enforce its public ownership. But they seriously enforced the public ownership of money and property.

The Taipings, therefore, aimed at a combination of a vague Communism with divinity and fostered to overthrow the alien Manchus from power. They had their followers mainly among the peasants and charcoal workers who joined their army and carried the military operations. Foreigners also involved in their rebellion and Ward and Gordon actually took active parts. Not anti-foreign, the movement basically aimed at land redistribution on a principle of equalisation. Because of this reason, the Taiping Rebellion could not become anything more than an unsuccessful agrarian revolution.

The causes of failure. The Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace had a career of fourteen years of warfare with the Manchus but then in 1864, it was finally destroyed by the imperial Hunan army, Tactically the Taipings disregarded the

security of the rear and politically cared only for conquest but not for governing it. Again, there was a great paucity of political talent among them. There were internal dissensions, and the mediocre and covetous relatives and members of Hung's family controlled the court. On the other hand, the Hunan army might not be superior warriors but they were rich in all these aspects and in the end won the coveted victory.

The Taipings adopted the principle of Christian divine right. Since it did not persuade the majority of the Chinese people their pro-Chinese policies lost their effect. Again, as an English observer, Sir S. G. Bonham has pointed out, they "used the Christian Scriptures to serve the end of personal aggrandisement and ambition". Confucianism of the imperial court, on the other hand, had a solid base in Chinese history and became continuously popular due to the encouragement of such scholars as Tseng Kuo-fan. They were genuine believers in the Confucian faith; and hence they had more moral strength than the Taiping pretenders.

That a panorama of the Taiping kingdom continued for eleven years was due to the fact that the foreign nations—England, France and America maintained a policy of neutrality. But the Taiping atrocities affected their Commerce. They changed their policy and co-operated with the imperial Government in suppressing the rebellion. In fact, it was the time of decadence of the Manchus. The rebels succeeded in the earlier stage largely because the foreigners appreciated the Christian elements in Hung's religion. But in 1864, the Taipings, who had already lost all popularity, now collapsed in the face of opposition from the foreign nations.

What was more, there was a good slip between Taipings' aims and deeds. Theirs was a lofty programme; but largely they remained in paper. Their economic programme helped enlisting supporters. But they frustrated them, and were not the less inefficient and corrupt than the Manchus. Their anti-Manchu slogan did not ultimately give them a

lease of life. On the other hand, the number of people loyal to the Manchu dynasty increased; and eventually they brought about the downfall of the Taiping kingdom.

Q. 3. Explain the historical significance of the Taiping Rebellion in China.

The Taiping Rebellion was the climax of a series of local uprisings, organised by the secret societies against the corrupt and oppressive government of the Manchus. It was organised on the basis of a quasi-religious and pseudo-communistic doctrine and meant to alleviate the sufferings of the Chinese people. It was one of the movements caused by the cyclic development of Chinese history and economy. But in China, it was by far the largest upheaval of the nineteenth century.

It commenced as a local peasants uprising. But its quick spread revealed the fissures in the Chinese system especially to the foreigners. They at once found that the Chinese people were not satisfied with the Manchu regime. Taking advantage of this they slowly encroached upon China and established control upon her economy. During the turmoils, the British and American consuls collected the 5 per cent tariff duty on behalf of the Chinese Government. When it was found that the restorations of order would be long delayed, the Chinese authorities agreed to set up a joint foreign inspectorate of customs to supervise the collection of tariff duties and administer the amount accumulated. In an agreement of 1858, the system was extended to all parts; and a British Inspector General was appointed. In this way foreigners obtained control upon China's maritime customs.

Again in the Wars between the Taipings and the imperial army, many of the richest provinces were devastated. There were heavy tolls in men and money on both sides. The death of a large number of farmers affected the basis of Chinese economy, viz., agriculture. Poverty of the people increased and the emperor levied new taxes to their detriment. The Chinese economy had already lost its balance; but now it

became crippled and slowly went into the control of the foreigners.

But it was the darker side of the picture. On its brighter side, it added a new impetus to Chinese nationalism. For the first time in Chinese history, Hung introduced catholicity and familiarised aspect of Christianity. Again, he was the pioneer in setting forth a complete programme of reforms. Chinese nationalism was orthodox and anti-foreign. Hung brought about its cross-fertilisation with alien cultures, while retaining its basically anti-foreign attitude. However corrupt and inefficient, the Taipings made the people alert of the oppressing rule of the Manchus. Moreover, by their success remaining in power for more than a decade, inspired the later rebels and made them aware of the weakness of the Manchus. In fact, the Taipings were the forerunners of the subsequent revolutions, and herein lies their major significance in the annals of China.

Lastly, the Taipings caused a shift in the location of military and political power in China. Hitherto the emperor controlled the nerve centre of military administration and exercised it through imperial commissioners. The Manchus had a unified military system with which Governors-General and Governors had nothing to do. But in the face of the Taiping and Nien-fei rebels, the emperor was obliged to decentralise the military establishment. Training of soldiers became one of the principal duties of the provincial authorities and sufficient authority was vested upon them to conduct military affairs. The changes led to the weakening of the Central Government's control over the provinces ; and the decentralised troops were subsequently used by the rebels. Moreover, during this period, the imperial Government by investing the authority to recruit soldiers and raise food helped the emergence of a new local force, the gentry. Gradually the gentry became powerful ; and during the reform and constitutional movement it was used as an auxiliary political force by both sides. Therefore, the Taiping Rebellion

also provided "the key to several critical changes in China in the subsequent decades."

Q. 4. Explain how Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi rose to power.

The Taiping Rebellion and the successive foreign invasions effected a major shift in the centres of political power in China. The administration was decentralised, and the emperors did not rise above mediocrity. Consequently, the Central Government became powerless, and gradually fell into the hands of eunuchs and favourites. Particularly the death of emperor Hsien-feng made open the rift in the Manchu Court. It was Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi who took full advantage of the anomalies and assumed power in her own hands. Under her the Manchu regime gained a reprieve.

Even before the death of Emperor Hsien-feng the Manchu Court was divided into two centres of power. During the second Anglo-Chinese War, the emperor was so afraid that he retired to Jehol accompanied by a retinue of eight high officials and others. He, however, ordered his younger brother prince Kung to stay in Peking and to undertake peace negotiations. The Court at Jehol was really under the leadership of Su-shan. Each of the centres of power organised a political faction to battle the other.

The Emperor Hsien-feng died in 1861 at Jehol without any legitimate heir. His wife, the Eastern Empress, did not bear any son ; but his concubine Yehonala, later known as the Western Empress, or the Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi had one, only five years old. Before his death, Hsien-feng by his last will and testament made the boy his heir apparent, and appointed a regency of eight to be headed by Su-shun. But the two empresses were tired of the over-bearing attitude of Su-shun, and prince Kung and his associates were mortified by the autocratic regency. They discarded the Hsien-feng's will and testament as a forgery. Thus, the two Courts involved in their battle behind the screen.

The Peking Court protested against the regency and

recommended that the two empresses would listen to reports on State-affairs from behind the screens. But Su-shun rejected the idea as "there is no precedent in this dynasty for having an empress attend State affairs". The two empresses grew more resentful at this and conferred with Prince Kung when he had gone to Jehol to pay his respects to the deceased emperor. They decided to execute Su-shun. Prince Kung immediately returned to Peking; and the two empresses and the young emperor followed him through a different route. Su-shun was commissioned to escort the emperor's coffin to Peking. Upon the arrival of the party at Peking, Prince Kung was made prince counsellor by a secret decree. Under his orders, the eight regents including Su-shun were arrested and imprisoned on their way.

Thus, Prince Kung and the two empresses emerged victorious in the political contest following Hsien-feng's death. Su-shun had already taken over the authority of the Grand Councillors to the regency; but after his death it had not returned to them. Instead it was assumed by two empress dowagers and Prince Kung. Since the Eastern Empress was weak in ability and knowledge and aware of the fact that the child emperor was not her own son, she had a retiring attitude. The Western Empress, in consequence, became the real pivot of power. It was unprecedented in Ch'ing family laws and Chinese tradition.

The child emperor, T'ung-chih, attained his legal maturity in 1874, and in the same year he was left without leaving no heir. Tz'u-hsi brought a three-year old child and made him a puppet emperor under the name Kuang-hsu. The Eastern Empress had died in the meantime, and Tz'u-hsi was now left free to dominate the state-affairs. She filled the high offices with her favourites; and the authority of the central government was now wielded by herself and a few eunuchs. She succeeded in destroying the Taiping rebellion and brought an end to court conspiracies. She remained in power until her death in 1908, and at least "prolonged the life of the crumbling dynasty".

CHAPTER XXIV

FOREIGN NATIONS PENETRATE

Q. 1, What lessons did China take from her foreign and domestic turmoils ?

Or, Analyse how China recoiled herself during the years between 1864 and 1894.

There is a legend that "China had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing" from her defeats in the hands of England and France, and the Taiping rebellion. The statement is largely true. Despite the fissures were opened, and weakness of her system revealed, China remained contented with her old and rich civilisation and maintained her bond with the past. There were relatively farsighted statesmen in China, who realised the gravity of aggression. They also understood that Western methods were to be adopted to strengthen the Chinese defence. But very few of them could foresee that it was necessary to modernise the social and economic set up of the empire : and the Chinese sentiment forbade any compromise with the West. Therefore, during the generation from 1864 to 1894, the arms and ammunitions were remodelled ; there were abortive attempts at educational and industrial reforms ; but still China remained almost wholly "inert and immovable".

During the period under review, absolute power in the Chinese empire was wielded in the hands of Empress Dowager Ts'u-hsi. Unscrupulous and vain, this lady was quite ignorant of the world. She relied on the influence of Confucian ethics almost entirely for running the administration. She was not at all enlightened, but she realised

that she could not manage military matters. Fortunately for her, China had produced a band of statesmen, who had been strongly influenced by Confucianism and were willing to fight for it at any cost. Tz'u-hsi relied upon these men wholeheartedly and entrusted them with enormous authority and responsibility.

The key figures of her court were Li Hung-chang, Hu Lin-i, Tseng Kuo-ch'uan and Tso Tsung-t'ang. Among them, Li Hung-chang was the only progressive minister who was the most trusted of Tz'u-hsi. He had a realistic approach towards international problems, and liked by foreigners for negotiations. He revived the idea of *Hai Kuo t'u-chih* or *An Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries* compiled by Wei Yuan. In its preface, it was stated that "it is written to attack barbarians by using barbarians, and to learn the superior techniques of the barbarians in order to curb the barbarians". He realised that it was necessary "to seek knowledge about the secret skills of England and France," especially about manufacturing guns and steamships.

It was due to the insistence of Li and his associates, that many of the western techniques were introduced in the Chinese army. The Kiangnan Arsenal was established in 1865 and in the next year a shipyard was inaugurated at Foochow. A machine factory was opened at Tientsin. In 1872, the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company was organised. A naval academy and a military academy were established at Tientsin in 1880 and 1885 respectively. The Taiping coal mine was opened, steel warships were planned. Students and army officers were sent abroad especially to the United States and Germany—to learn about army, navy, weapons and other techniques. A harbour and shipyard were built at Port Arthur in 1882; and the Peiyang fleet was formed in 1885.

Li considered that China's civilisation and her political and social systems were better than those of the western nations. She lacked only their superior techniques. So he confined his plans to military and economic affairs only; and

never dreamed of a fundamental change in the traditional Chinese system. For this reason he was criticised for not understanding national problems. Even his industrial and military establishments were suspected of yielding adverse results for not adopting thorough westernisation. But Li concentrated his attention on military affairs only ; and he had enlarged the scope of his western incitation it would affect the pride of superiority of the Chinese people.

There were attempts at introducing western education. A language school T'ung-wen Kun, was opened at Peking in 1367. More enthusiastic among the courtiers suggested that brilliant youths be selected from the Government ministries and sent to learn foreign languages, astronomy, mathematics etc. in the Hanlin Academy ; while they would study other subjects in the new school. But the Chinese scholar-officials vehemently protested against the idea. Neo-Confucian grand secretary, Wo-jen, opined that if this was introduced, "the multitude of the Chinese will be tempted to give allegiance to the barbarians". A censor remarked the scholars and court ministers "should not esteem such crafts (astronomy and mathematics), nor should they have barbarians as teachers". Therefore, it was considered shameful and abandoned.

Agriculture was the only economy known to the Chinese people. So they not only did not like industrialisation but also wanted the liquidation of whatever establishments the reformers had set up. For example, in 1882, it was advised that the Fukien shipyard be abolished, because a great deal of money had been spent on it with insignificant results. But it was retained due to Li's bold insistence. But the people and the scholar-officials continued to think that steamships and railways were the bad omen and the results of the ambitious designs of the foreign devils. Hence it was not un-natural that they would stubbornly maintain barriers against China's Westernisation movement.

Despite the Chinese resistance against Westernisation ; some of the Western systems entered into China. Although

there were strained relations between the Chinese and the Christian missionaries, the latter had established schools and hospitals, and imparted free services. Under pressure from Western nations, China was obliged to send a mission headed by Anson Burlingame, an American. Under the British Inspector General, the administration of the Chinese Maritime customs was made efficient and modernised. In these lines only an approach was set to foreign-Chinese relations.

China's adoption of West was thus based on the maxim that "one must be able to fight before one can defend oneself, and one must be able to defend oneself before one can negotiate peace." So, they imitated only the weapons of the foreigners. In doing they so failed to realise that they were not the source of strength but its effect. By not adopting their political and social institutions they only put the cart before the horse. This made the Chinese weaker at a time when Western imperialism was rapidly advancing upon China. This period of Chinese history coincided with the end of Civil War in the United States complete unifications of Italy and Germany, establishment of the Third Republic in France and the restoration of the Emperor Meiji in Japan. These international developments made the spirit of imperialism active and aggressive. When its onslaught came on China, she went the way of Africa.

Q. 2. Write a note on the Russian invasion on Ili and Sinkiang.

Russian advance in China had begun as far back as in the sixteenth century but not until the Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689, that any definite relations were established between the two countries. In this treaty China for the first time opened her account with a Western Power and set the western boundaries at the watershed north of the Amur River. Since then there were minor modifications and incidents in their relations for a century and a half. But Russia took "parallel" participation with other Western Powers in hammering at China's gates. She took part in the negotia-

tions accompanying the "Arrow" war; and had separate negotiations at Aigun. In 1858 the Treaty of Aigun was signed between Russia and China in which the former regained control over all the territory north of the Amur. The treaty also provided for joint control of the territory between the Ussuri River and the sea. But China refused to ratify the treaty and took resort to her usual practice of setting other big powers against Russia. Ultimately she had to yield to the latter's demand during her war against England and France in 1860

But the Russo-Chinese relations became once again strained when Muslims of Shensi and Kansu rose in a revolt. Their leaders were inspired by the Taiping and Nien-fei rebellions and tried to instigate a riot in Sinkiang. They were assisted by a Manchu battalion commander who had been active in inciting a rebellion. They occupied Tien Shan and among others Ili was lost to the rebels in 1866. Yakub of Kokand, a Muslim leader invaded Kashghar, and proclaimed himself Beg. He expanded his power to the west of Urumchi. He was secretly assisted by England, but Russia did not like his expansion. Since the weak Manchu authorities were engaged in Shensi and Kansu, Russia openly occupied Ili in 1871 on pretense of maintaining peace. Thinking that there was no longer a possibility of extending China's power to Ili again, the Russian minister at Peking informed the Ch'ing Court that Russia had no desire of annexing the territory, and that she would immediately withdraw as soon as Chinese power be extended there.

There were men in the Chinese court who realised the gravity of the situation. Although the general opinion of the people inclined to favour giving up the eight cities in the southern route, men like Tso Tsung-t'ang considered that if no action was taken against Russia and Yakub Beg, "our territory may be reduced a hundred li a day." The emperor appreciated the merit of Tso's words, and ordained him as the imperial Commissioner in charge of the Sinkiang military campaigns in 1875. Despite British persuasion to make Yakub king of Tien Shan under Chinese suzerainty, the recovery of

Ili and the creation of Sinkiang a new province became the key issues before the imperial government at this time.

Sinkiang and the other cities were soon pacified following the suicide of Yakub Beg. Tso then prepared a plan of recovering Ili from Russian occupation. Russia at that time was at war with Turkey, and demanded from China guarantee of peace and security at the frontiers in the future and a compensation for having guarded Ili on behalf of China. The Treaty of Livadia was signed by China's minister plenipotentiary Ch'ung-hou in 1878. It was stipulated in the treaty that China would pay a sum of five million rubles to cover the military expenses for the Russian occupation of Ili and to cede the fertile valley of the Texus river. The imperial government of China refused to sanction the treaty and Ch'ung-hou was recalled and imprisoned. Russia considered it a great insult and sent reinforcements to Ili. The Russo-Chinese relations now attained its climax nearing a break-off.

In China, the scholar-officials advocated war with Russia, and the Ch'ing court was influenced by the proposal. Tso Tsung-t'ang was ordered to prepare for a war, and Li Hung-Chang to strengthen the coastal defences. A war between Russia and China seemed almost inevitable in 1880. At this time, General Charles Gordon of England once again interfered in Chinese politics. In his opinion "China should never wage war against a foreign country, because Peking is too close to the seacoast; China has no coastal defence and it is too easy for foreign troops to invade the capital." The Chinese court appreciated the merits of his suggestions and signed the Treaty of St Petersburg in February, 1881. By this treaty China agreed to pay an indemnity of nine instead of five million rubles, and regained Ili.

In this way, a general catastrophe was avoided and the Sino-Russian dispute was amicably settled. Having alarmed of the defence of the western frontier, the Ch'ing Court made Sinkiang a province after the proposals of Tso. The

composite population of this Chinese Turkestan were assimilated by means of education. In her feat with Russia, China won a political success ; but diplomatically she was humiliated and despised at the hands of Russia.

Q. 3. Give a brief account of the Sino-French War of 1884-85.

Much had been obtained by France and other European powers in the Treaties of Tientsin, and it made China tantalizingly attractive to them. In fact, the cyclical move of Chinese history was at its nadir during the nineteenth century. Contrarily, the West was, at this time, gathering momentum and its surplus output following rapid industrialisation was building up the necessity of an outward thrust. It was economic imperialism, and France assumed the lead in China. The area of her advance was the southernmost part of the Chinese Empire—Indo-China, and the missionaries provided the necessary excuse. France won the war ; took away the area of conflict and made it her protectorate.

Historically, the Annamite Empire in Indo-China was deeply sinicised socially and culturally. But politically, China some times ruled directly, but for the most part she only exercised her suzerainty, leaving Annam to govern herself. France had developed her interests in Annam even before the French Revolution ; and French Catholic missionaries had begun to take an active part in Annamite politics. In the late eighteenth century, Emperor Gialong had established himself on the throne of Indo-China through French support. Against it China had failed to retain Wei-Ch'i as the emperor.

France used military power to seize Cochin China and Saigon at a time when China was too embarrassed by the Taiping Rebellion to take care of the affairs of a vassal State. Before that in 1857, France and Spain had jointly sent a punitive expedition following the murder of a Spanish missionary. France also discovered her entering wedge through the Red River of Tonking. She had special interest in Tonking, for it bordered on China and thus offered a strategic point to

enter into it. In the meantime, the French established a protectorate on Cambodia adjacent to Indo-China, following the murder of yet another Christian.

In 1873, France sent an expedition up the Red River, and the French Commander was killed in a war with the natives. Thereupon the Annamite emperor was forced to sign a treaty with France at Saigon. Ostensibly the treaty provided recognition of Annam as an independent state, but really it was reduced to a French protectorate. France secured the right of protection, and that of free navigation in the Red River. What was more, the Annamite government had to conform its foreign policy to that of France and to recognise French possession of Cochin-China. The text of the treaty was sent for China's ratification in 1875. China squarely refuted the opening of Yunnan to foreign trade and protested against the clause where Annam was declared an independent State. However, Annam's status became anomalous. While France had deceitfully obtained the right of "protection," the kingdom itself still desired to be under the protection of China.

The French minister at Peking, however, understood that China had accepted the treaty due to the imprecise translation of the answer. France now began to build forts and stationed troops along the Red River. The piracy of the Black Flag Party provided them an excuse to begin the war. The Chinese Governor-General of Yunnan scented danger and in 1881 submitted a memorandum in the Ch'ing Court suggesting use of force. Since China was then embroiled in the problem of Ili, Teng Ch-tse filed a protest with the French government. The French government paid no heed to his protest, and carried on her predetermined policy of armed invasion. Watching these developments, the Ch'ing Court ordered troops in 1883 to advance from Yunnan and Kwangsi to the borders of Annam.

During the Sino-French War there was a change in the French Cabinet and the new Cabinet adopted a

peaceful policy. Negotiations began ; but the French General, Commander Fournier, continued armed operations on the pretext of attacking the Black Flag Party. From the military point of view, China wanted only the defence of her frontiers, but by 1884, the French troops defeated the forces of the Black Flag and the Chinese troops. They also captured Chinese camps along the frontiers, when Tz'u-hsi not only dismissed all the Grand Councill rs, but ordered Li Hung-Chang to open peace negotiations with the French through the mediation of a German, Gustav Detring, who served as a Commissioner of Cumtoms at Canton.

The Li-Fournier agreement was signed in May 1884 by France pledged not to invade the southern boundaries of China and not to demand any indemnity. China recognised all the treaties signed between France and Annam ; and was assured of not infringing the prestige of the Celestial Empire in such treaties in future. They agreed to exchange ministers plenipotentiary to discuss detailed articles based on this agreement. But Li incurred the nation's hatred for signing the agreement and the French aggressives denounced the indirect recognition of China's suzerainty over Annam. A skirmish developed shortly ; and soon it grew into a sizable fracas. War broke out between China and France in August, 1884.

During the war, an Englishman, Robert Hart, who served as superintendent of the Chinese customs, secretly conducted negotiations for peace on the basis of the Li-Fournier agreement. Although the French had preliminary successes, but soon the Chinese recovered Langson and other territories. The Ch'ing Court now approved the truce arranged by Robert Hart ; but in France the news caused the fall of the Cabinet. However, the Peace Treaty was signed at Tientsin on June, 9, 1885 and it had ten articles. The Li-Fournier Convention was approved in the treaty, and Langson and Laskay were only nominally opened as trade ports. It was agreed in addition that they would exchange diplomatic missions to investigate

the boundary between China and Annam and to negotiate a treaty concerning trade over the frontier. Moreover, France agreed to lend the technical know-hows, should China decide to build railways.

Although the war was in favour of China, she did not fare very well in the treaty. She lost her vassalage over Annam and incurred a loss totalling more than 100,000,000 taels. The way was opened for France to attack Yunnan through Annam. Her failure was brought about by spectacular indecision, whether to favour peace or champion war. But she became aware of her coastal defence, and organised the Navy Yamen after the proposal of Li Hung-Chang.

Q. 4 Review the Sino-Japanese relations down to the Treaty of Shimonosheki.

Or, What led to the Confrontation of China and Japan over Korea in 1894 ? What did Japan gain by the treaty of Shimonosheki ?

Or, Examine the causes and results of the Sino-Japanese War.

Introduction : China and Japan have been the two neighbouring States in the Far East ; and have had official and unofficial relations among themselves throughout their history. But until 1870-71, the Manchus officially ignored Japan ; and the latter had been planning a conquest of China even before the restoration of Emperor Meiji in 1868. Japan inaugurated official relations with China in 1870 seeking trading privileges. Shortly they entered into a conflict, and Japan invaded Liuchieu (Ryukyu) and Formosa. But it was Korea which played the pivotal role in the Sino-Japanese relations ; and upon this luckless Asian corridor, they entered into the most serious conflict in their modern history. The war ended in the victory of Japan, and in consequence of her defeat China's weaknesses were revealed. It paved the way for domination of Western Powers for China.

Opening of Relations : Official relations between the

Manchus and Japan were opened in 1871. Before that, there was no love lost between the two countries. The Ming Court had only taken cognizance of the Japanese pirates ; and that of the Ch'ing remained as usual blind of their neighbour. Japan maintained a hostile attitude ; and being an island state desired expansion at the cost of China. She had an invigorated economy ; and for its sake, she wanted to have commercial privileges in China. Li Hung-Chang, the Chinese Governor-General of Chihli succeeded in persuading the unwilling court of the Ch'ing to open official relations with Japan. A treaty was signed with the Japanese envoy at Tientsin in September 1871 on the basis of reciprocal trading privileges.

But before the treaty was ratified and exchanged, a ship bearing more than fifty of the Ryukyu islanders was wrecked by savages of Formosa. The island of Ryukyu had a dubious status ; it had sent tributes to both China and Japan, but looked to China for power and influence. However, the Japanese Government, assuming suzerainty upon the island, sent an expedition to Formosa in 1874 ; and occupied part of it. The hostilities ended in a compromise through the mediation of the English minister to China. China agreed to pay a heavy indemnity and to restrain the savages ; and the Japanese troops would leave the island as soon as these conditions were met. The agreement helped to secure protection for Formosa, but by inference she confirmed Japan's right to protect the Ryukyu islands.

Developments in Korea : Japan's advance on Formosa and Ryukyu encouraged her for an aggression against Korea. It was a small kingdom strategically important for its geographical proximity to China, Japan, Russia and the Pacific. Historically, it was a tributary State of China, and its kings received investiture from Peking. Japan had had a temporary occupation of Korea in the sixteenth century ; and since the investiture of the boy king in 1863, the aggressive party in Japan had been loudly clamouring for a punitive expedition against it.

In 1875, a war vessel was sent to survey the harbours of Korea and China's Liaotung peninsula. The Koreans barred its cruising, whereupon the Japanese opened firing and destroyed the forts on the bank. The episode was settled in the Treaty of Kianghu in February 1876. Japan recognised Korea as an autonomous and independent state, and Korea opened three trade ports to Japan. China protested against Korea's autonomy but did not take any positive step to assert her suzerainty. Korea thus went the way of Annam.

In spite of the treaty, Korea continued to depend on China for protection. Now Li Hung-chang conducted China's diplomatic affairs by inducing the United States and European states to sign commercial treaties with Korea so that her suzerainty be reaffirmed. At this time the Korean Court was divided into conservative, or pro-Chinese, and progressive or pro-Japanese fractions. In 1882, following a mutiny, precipitated by the conservatives, both China and Japan sent troops to Korea. Due to their engagement with France in Annam, the Chinese troops entered into Seoul and punished the offenders. In the following peace treaty Japan obtained an indemnity and apology from Korea. Hereafter both China and Japan had encamped soldiers in Korea.

China now adopted a more definite Korean policy. The leader of the Chinese troops at Korea, Yuan Shih-Kai, secretly provoked a breach among the Korean progressives. The Japanese minister to Korea, Takekoshi Shinichiro, incited a *coup d'etat* to end Chinese power in Korea on the occasion of the Sino-French War over Annam in 1884. Hostilities ensued between the Chinese and Japanese troops in Korea following the *coup*. Apprehending defeat the Japanese government sent Ito Hirobumi to China for negotiations in 1885. In the meantime, Russia, Great Britain and other European powers had developed interests in Korea. Due to this increasing international importance of Korea, China and Japan signed in April 1885 the Li-Ito or Tientsin Convention. In this agreement China and Japan agreed to withdraw their

troops, not to train soldiers for Korea, and in the event of any disturbance necessitating dispatch of troops to Korea, each was to inform the other of its intention and to withdraw as soon as the objective attained. Korea thus became a co-protectorate of China and Japan. It was Japan's diplomatic victory over China.

The Tonghak Rebellion and the Japanese occupation of Korea : During the decade following the Tientsin Convention both the Chinese and the Japanese were seen active in Korea. China started an economic penetration into the country which was important for Japan for its supply of rice and expansion of commerce. The Sino-Japanese relations grew increasingly stiff; when the climax was precipitated by the Tonghak Rebellion in 1894. The Tonghak was a conservative party ethnocentric and chauvinistic and possessed a doctrine combining Chinese Confucianism, Buddhist and Taoist theories. It had enormous supporters, who rose in an insurrection in March 1894 and threatened to overthrow the government, if it failed to check corruption and foreign intrusion.

The Tonghak storm compelled the Korean government to solicit help from China. The Chinese authority took a belated decision and sent troops. In consonance with the Tientsin Convention it was informed to Japan, who was fostering to take revenge for the murder of their Korean protege. But the Tonghak rebels disappeared, or disbanded by themselves, or were suppressed by the Korean Government before Chinese and Japanese troops take any action. Crisis arose with regard to the withdrawal of troops. At this time Japan proposed to press the Korean Government for reforms jointly with China. But the Ch'ing Court discarded the suggestion outright; whereupon Japan decided to steer it alone. Conciliation having failed to settle the dispute China sent re-inforcements. Japan formally declared the war on August, 1894.

The Treaty of Shimonosheki : The Sino-Japanese war was fought till March, 1895. Japan had already hold the strategic military points; and her troops defeated the Chinese both in the land

and on the sea. The Chinese war-mongers were disheartened ; and Li Hung-Chang was commissioned to negotiate peace. It was a decisive victory for Japan ; but at Li's insistence, the European and American diplomats persuaded her for peace. Japan set very severe conditions for a truce. But during the negotiations, Li Hung-Chang was wounded in an attempted assassination by a Japanese fanatic. Apprehending criticism of the world powers, Japan agreed to an unconditional armistice.

The Peace-Treaty was signed at Shimonosheki on April 17, 1895. In this treaty China agreed to recognise full independence of Korea, to cede the Liaotung Peninsula, Formosa, and the Pescadores Islands to Japan, and to pay an indemnity of two hundred million taels. All previous treaties between the two countries were to be abrogated and replaced by a new one based on the treaties China had signed with the western nations. Four more cities, Shasi, Chunking, Soochow, and Hangchow were opened to foreign trade.

In addition to this, a subsidiary treaty of commerce was signed at Peking in 1896. Among other things Japan obtained right to carry on trade freely in all the trade ports in China, to export all kinds of machines after due payment of the customs duty and to manufacture commodities duty free in China's interior. Collectively these terms extended the privilege of extraterritoriality to Japan and particularly the last article dealt a serious blow to China's national economy.

But Japan could not enjoy all the benefits of the Treaty of Shimonsheki. Li Hung-Chang was active in inciting jealousy of other nations against Japan. As a result eight days after the treaty had been signed by Russia, France and Russia delivered a joint note to the Japanese Government "recommending" the return of the Liaotung Peninsula to China. Japan yielded to it, since she was then not in a position to resist the triple intervention.

Conclusion : China's defeat in the hands of Japan was a mortal blow on her vain pride. Following it the hypothecation

of her sovereignty began. Western nations soon entered into a scramble for cutting the Chinese melon. By the display of her might against China, Japan positively proved her strength. She was stimulated to abrogate the "unequal treaties" and to adopt a vigorous policy of expansion.

Q. 5. What were the causes of China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95)? Discuss its long-term effects on China.

Causes of defeat : The reasons of China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese war are manifold but they may be grouped into three heads ; prevalence of corruption, lack of unification and superiority of Japan.

Corruption was there in the Chinese society affecting all strata in the officialdom ranging from Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi down to minor clerks. Tz'u-hsi herself appropriated national military funds to build her palaces and to enjoy personal pleasure. A group of eunuchs and maidservants were allowed to sell official posts. People were enticed to bribery, and appointments and promotions might be bought off by dint of bribery. Military rations and public funds were grossly embezzled for gifts and bribes. As a result, there were neither men of talents nor sufficient ammunitions in the army and the navy. Li Hung-Chang the illustrious Chinese states man understood that corruption was rife, and therefore he was hesitant to enter into the Korean embroglio.

Lack of unification among the different organs of administration precipitated China's defeat in the hands of Japan. Theoretically, the emperor was the fountain of all authority in the Chinese empire, but Tz'u-hsi, by selling the offices, reduced him to merely a figurehead. The diplomatic affairs were under the control of the Tsungli Yamen ; but it had to depend on the advice of the superintendents of trade. Besides, almost all the officers were directly or indirectly related with the diplomatic affairs. Amidst conflicting opinions the Chinese foreign policy became an issue of indecision. There was no unity in the army and the navy. The ministry of revenue was powerless to collect money from the provincial

treasuries. For this lack of co-operation and co-ordination, Li Hung-Chang had to depend entirely upon the resources of the province of Chihli. In fact, "The one province Chihli, is dealing with the whole nation of Japan." Therefore, China's defeat was predetermined.

Much of corruption and disunity in China was due to reverential complascent for her traditional system. On the other hand, Japan resolved to modernise herself. Against the feudalistic government of China, Japan had a unitary government acting the State's nerve centre. Chinese army and air officers harangued for a war; but neither they nor the emperor could inspire the people to safeguard the national dignity. Japan's public opinion was alive and foreign policy clearly demarcated. Indeed traditional China was far less a match for a modernised Japan.

Long-term effects: China's defeat not only revealed the weaknesses of the Ch'ing regime, but made her a tantalising bait for western imperialism. Within five years after the Treaty of Shimonosheki, each of the Western Powers were seen busy to obtain a slice of the Chinese melon. Japan had started the scramble; it took different forms from time to time. China was now moving the way, in which Africa had gone in the preceding decade.

China had to borrow money in order to pay her obligation to Japan; and it aroused an unforeseen competition among the European nations to lend her money. China herself was a tempting security, while loans might bring more political and economic concessions. Against the security of maritime customs Russia with the assistance of French bankers advanced the first instalment. From the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Great Britain lent money to China in 1896 and from the Deutsche Asiatische Bank Germany in 1898. They obtained the customs revenue, the salt tax and the *likin* (a tax on internal trade) in a part of the Yangtze Valley as their security.

The economic deals soon became politically operative.

France, by means of a fresh convention signed in 1895, pushed the Annam border to further interior of China, obtained three new treaty ports and could employ French manufacturers and engineers in case of mines discovered in Yunnan, Kwangsi and Kwangtung. Next year, Britain secured a "ratification" of the boundary of her possessions with China, opening of the West River, and additional trading and rail and road building privileges. Germany also was tempted to an overseas empire building. In 1898, she obtained a ninety-nine years lease of Kiachow, following which she would be permitted to build railways. China was also obliged to grant a twenty-five-year lease of the Liaotung Peninsula. Jealous of other powers gains Great Britain acquired in 1898 a lease on Wei-hai-wai "for so long a period as Port Arthur shall remain in the possession of Russia, and a ninety-nine-year lease of the Kowloon Peninsula. Another ninety-nine-year lease was given to France on the south coast of Kwangtung. Only Italy was rebuffed in 1899 in Chekiang.

These leaseholds marked the beginnings of China's partition. They formed the basis of annexation when China agreed not to "alienate" some of them to a third power. France was thus assured of Hainan and Indo-China and Great Britain of the provinces on the Yangtse; but similar claim of Japan for Fukien was rebuffed.

The scramble for China attained its climax in the concessions relating to the construction of railways. In 1896, by means of a secret alliance with China against Japan, Russia obtained the right to construct railways across north Manchuria, monopoly right to lend money to China and to build trunk roads north of the Great Wall. France was granted special concessions for railways in the south-west. Britain secured the right to finance the railroad between Mukden and Peking. Germany was given a concession to construct a line between Tientsin and the Yangtze. The road from Peking to Hankow was to be financed by Belgium, in collaboration with France and Russia. America obtained the right to extend it to

Canton. Preliminary agreements were signed by Great Britain for the construction of roads between Shanghai and Nanking and Shanghai and Hangchow. Concessions were also given to an Anglo-Italian Company for mines and railways in Shansi and Honan to the Russo-Chinese Bank and later to a French syndicate for a road from Shansi to the Peking-Hang-chow line, and to a Franco-Belgian syndicate for a road parallel to the Yellow River.

China had already lost her control over the Imperial Maritime Customs to Great Britain. The right given to Japan to manufacture commodities in the interior of China prevented the development of her own industries. The fissures of the Chinese system had already been revealed to the Western nations. Her dire need for money following the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War offered an opportunity for western imperialism to enter into China. Scramble for concession commenced among the British, France, Russia, Germany etc. They penetrated upon her national economy. She was reduced to a pawn in international diplomacy and her decline set in.

CHAPTER XXV

REFORM, REACTION, AND REVOLUTION

Q 1. What were the internal troubles of China between 1860 and 1894.

During the years between 1860 and 1894 the Chinese Government was mainly concerned with diplomatic relations. The period under review begins with China's humiliation in the Treaty of Peking and ends in a prelude for another insult at the hands of her neighbour—Japan. Of the major domestic troubles, the Taiping Rebellion was the most disturbing ; but it was suppressed in 1864. Thereafter it was a period of comparative peace ; but still there were disturbances by remnant of the Taipings in the south, by the Nien-fei in the north and by the Mohammedans in the north-west. Behind all these hostilities there was the racial struggle between the Chinese and the Manchus. There were also troubles in the ruling clique and the administration in general.

The Taiping Rebellion was the most important domestic trouble during the period under review. It was an agrarian revolt destined to set up a Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace. But it occurred at a time when there was a population explosion in China and corruption nepotism a growing national awareness rent the administration. It also had the slogan to "Rebel against the Ch'ing and restore the Ming" ; or, in other words it made a categorical distinction between the Manchus and the Chinese, and waged a ceaseless battle against the Manchus, who were foreigners. But the movement was on the wane in the 1860 ; and it was finally destroyed in 1864.

The factors which facilitated the temporary success of the Taipings did not cease to function. China's arable land failed to feed the daily increasing mouths. Cultivators were indebted and widespread poverty and unemployment gave rise to a frustration among the people. The cyclic development of the Chinese history had been at work. So, although the Taipings were cowed down, it did not stop the rise of secret societies and local revolts engineered by them. The remaining Taipings took shelter in south China, and precipitated occasional disturbances. A similar rebel group, the Nien-fei, rent law and order in the north. The Mohammedans were inspired to revolt against the Manchu authority. One of their leaders, Yakub Beg of Kokand had actually established an independent kingdom in the north-west of China in 1869-70.

Among the political problems, the major one was caused by the death of Emperor Hsien-feng in 1861. The court was divided into two camps; and the country was on the verge of a civil war. But the Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi cleverly plotted the assassination of her rival Su-shun and assumed all political control of the empire. From then till 1908, China was to experience a petty-court government under the leadership of the wily empress dowager. She appointed her favourites in the high offices, and opportunities were open for sale. Corruption and favouritism became the ruling principles and the empire was exposed to foreign dangers. The decline of the Chinese empire began at its edges.

The country was suffering from a pressing financial problem. Already the ever-increasing import of opium devalued the coinage. The indemnities paid to the English, French and the Russians emptied the State treasury. As a result the defence of the realm became weak; and it was further aggravated by the corruption ranging from empress dowager down to a minor clerk. Since, westernisation was opposed to Confucianism the Chinese system remained tradition. China was insulted by the foreigners; she did not move, and

there were preparations only for further humiliation in 1894-95.

The period under review also marked the beginnings of western type reforms. There were men among the Chinese who felt the need to strengthen China by following the method employed by the western nations. The key-man of the period was Li Hung-Chang who attempted by modernising the army and the economy. But even he also did not like to introduce westernisation in all spheres of life, for which the Chinese people were complacent with their traditional system. As a result there was a vector of opposition against educational and industrial reforms. The archaic scholar-officials did not like any change, and they ridiculed the westernisers. In the face of western expansion the traditional system with its westernised parts collapsed, causing both reform and reaction in their embryos.

Moreover, it was a period of preparation. The fissures and defects in the Chinese system were opened both to the foreigners and the inhabitants of China. The Christian missionaries had already started to proselyte and the foreign nations, now in their course of economic imperialism, began to cast covetous eyes on China in order to make her go the way of Africa. The sensible among the Chinese wanted to save their country from parcelling out and they demanded reform in western methods. But the Chinese loyalists and the Manchus, found that the foreigners were the cause behind their distress and so they demanded their expulsion lock, stock and barrel. China was proceeding towards her ruin.

Q. 2. What were the origins of the Reform Movement in China ? How far did it succeed in the first phase ?

Or, Discuss the genesis and consequences of the Hundred Day's reform of 1898.

Origin of the Reform Movement : The Reform Movement in China gathered momentum in 1898 but like all social movements it did not spring up in that very year. In fact there

had been talks of reform ever since China's humiliating defeat in the two successive wars with England and France. That China needed to imitate western methods was first felt after the conclusion of the Opium War. It was advocated in the preface of the *Hai Ku t'u-chih: An Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Courtiers* that it was necessary "to learn the superior techniques of the barbarians in order to curb the barbarians." This realisation became keener than ever when China suffered another great humiliation at the hands of English and France during the Taiping rebellion. Li Hung-chang the ablest statesman of his time, ardently concentrated upon the imitation of Western methods with regard to the manufacture of guns and steamships.

The basis of these early reforms was "Chinese learning for fundamental principles and Western learning for practical utility." In other words the Chinese social and political systems were better than those of the West, but it was necessary to become familiar with the machines of the West to bring China to a secure position. The process started with the establishment of the Kiangnan Arsenal in 1867. An eleven point programme was implemented but all it ended with the destruction of the Peking fleet in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5. Thus the new focus of attention met with an inglorious end. These thirty years of Western imitation seemed to have profited China only meagerly.

Sporadic adoption of Western techniques beginning with the 1860's finally brought forth a reform movement. In the meantime, fifty years of contact with the West helped the spread of Western language, customs, ideas and civilisation in China. Many of the farseeing Chinese began to realise that the Western way of life was the only panacea for China's lack of power, success and survival. The shattering off of China's complacency with the Confucian ethics came in with her defeat by Japan. Numerous societies sprang up to reform the empire and most of their members came from the rank and file of the population. Even some of the scholar officials,

who had been allergic to any form of change now realised that something should be done to save the empire from the serious inroads upon its sovereignty.

The movement for reforming the empire culminated in the work of two great leaders Sun Yat-Sen and K'ang Yu-Wei. As early as 1885, the former decided to overthrow the Ch'ing dynasty while the latter petitioned to the throne requesting reform in 1889. Both of them were born near Canton where the people had the earliest experience of Western civilisation. They had a common stimulus ; but they had different family backgrounds and childhood education. Their aims were also different. Sun propagated revolution, while Kang having trapped by Neo-Confucianism, desired reforms. In the circumstances of 1894, the situation in China was ready rather for reform than for active revolution. Therefore K'ang Yu-Wei was the man who was more immediately prominent in the initial stage of the reform movement.

In fact, Kang caused a political storm in China by rousing the emperor, many high officials and scholars. He derived his political ideas from the six classics of Confucianism but added that "the present government should rule the empire by a new power and should not rule by perfunctory authority." There was to be three stages of political evolution, "a procession from the existing stage of disorder through a local peaceful stage to the stage of world peace." Harping on the intention of Confucius to render service to society, K'ang inspired hope for the future and the scholar's understanding of his present duty to society. With these ideas K'ang attempted to influence the emperor and set up study clubs as well as news papers. In 1898, he gained access to the court and soon won over Emperor K'wang Hsu by persuasion. This was the year, when the empire was paring off to pieces by the Western powers.

The Hundred Day's Reform: The reform movement reached its climax in the summer of 1898, when the emperor K'wang Hsu issued a series of decrees at the instance of K'ang

Yu-wei. These edicts included a change in the topics for themes in the district provincial and examinations from the Four Books to the current affairs. The palace examination was to be revised and the method of grading in the upper examination to be extended to districts and lower examinations. Another decree proclaimed for setting up a bureau of agriculture, industry and commerce at Peking. Sinecure appointments in most of the offices were to be abolished; and the high central and provincial authorities were to report whether the other civil and military posts within and without the capital were to be abolished or not. These decrees were issued between "June and September 16, 1898 i.e., a span of about one hundred days. So, these were called Hundred Days Reform."

"The Hundred Days' Reform" was a revolution brought about by edicts; and, in fact, these were the happiest days of K'ang Yu-wei. But these reforms were coldly received by the empress dowager and the Grand Council. K'ang had control only over the emperor, and he persuaded him to implement them by replacing officials. But these reforms annulled the eternal verities which threatened the citadel of Chinese obscurantism. The empress dowager and other high officials scented rat in all these. They planned a plot to compel the emperor to abdicate. With the help of the army they staged a *coup d'état* on September 21. The emperor was forced to recant, and the empress dowager resumed her control of court affairs and the entire imperial administration. K'ang Yu-wei fled from the country, while his collaborators were either exiled, or imprisoned, but most of them were executed. The reform movement was thus put to an end.

The reason for the failure of reform movement in 1898 seemed at first sight to be the comparative weakness of the emperor. But if it was a cause, it was purely a part of it. It failed largely because the reform theory had brought disgrace to the Confucian classics, which irritated a majority of classical scholars and men of letters. The labelled K'ang as a

"wild fox among classical scholars". Especially the scholars and officials who made a living by their knowledge of Confucian classics were afraid that the reform movement would break their rice bowls by abolishing sinecures. Moreover, students, who aspired to enter into the officialdom by means of recouping the classics suddenly found their way blocked by the examination reforms. They called the reformers the "foreign slaves" and "Chinese traitors". The 'Hundred Days' Reforms' was thus failed, but its author, K'ang, was at least able to introduce a critical attitude among the intelligentsia in general toward the Confucian classics.

3. Explain the genesis and nature of the Boxer Movement and examine its consequences.

Or, Discuss the gravity and consequences of the reaction against the Hundred Days Reforms.

The Genesis

The Boxer Movement was an outgrowth of reaction against the compromise with the West, which had begun in the Hundred Days' Reform of 1898. It derived its name from the *I-ho-t'uan* (Righteous and Harmonious Society) known to the Europeans as the 'Boxers'. It had its branches as the K'an Boxers and Ch'ien Boxers, which again were parts of the Eight Diagram Society, founded toward the close of the Ming dynasty. The members of the *I-ho-t'uan* shared the opinion of the millions of the Chinese from the intellectual scholar official class down to the ignorant that they were superior to other people, and that their country was especially esteemed by heaven, earth and other deities. The basic philosophy of the *I-ho-t'uan*, as one of their leaders had stated, "the annihilation of all foreigners".

The movement had its source of strength in the accumulated anger of the Chinese people against the foreigners. There were successive inroads upon Chinese sovereignty from the Opium War to the Sino-Japanese War, and from the continued aggressions of Germany and Russia after 1895.

Haughty and unruly Christian missionaries further increased the anger and resentment of the Chinese against these foreigners. As a result of the opening of trade ports and the resultant penetration of the foreigners into the economic system of China, her indigenous and traditional industries were suspended, causing unemployment. Again, there was a continued rise of taxes to finance the wars, both domestic and foreign, and to pay off the indemnities. Moreover, floods and draughts since 1875 resulted in successive crop failures. The anger of the people against the foreigners was daily increasing in the event of which the number of Boxers rose sharply. Especially during the eighteen months following Germany's seizure of Kiaochow Bay and the diplomatic troubles in connection with railways, mines and churches, their number increased to hundreds of thousands.

Late in 1899, the Boxer Movement assumed serious proportions. At first it broke out in Shantung, and soon it spread to Chihli and other provinces. The Boxers began by killing Christian converts and burning Churches. These "righteous people" used all sorts of magic weapons like soul-absorbing banners, sky-covering flags, thunderbolt fans etc. With these they succeeded in killing the German minister, Von Ketteler, and an officer of the Japanese Legation. In June 1900, they began formal attack on the foreign legations. While they were thus engaged, the empress dowager was playing a dual role. She ordered them to bombard the Legation Quarters and at the same time she wished to protect the diplomatic envoys. It was sheer opportunism.

Nature : The Boxer Movement was, therefore, not actually a rebellion. It did not go directly against the Ch'ing monarchy. On the contrary it was secretly enthused by the empress dowager, who wanted to use it as a safety valve against the foreigners. In essence, the movement stemmed out of an ethnocentric self-esteem and resentment against war of the Chinese people. It was directed against the foreigners who caused wars, and against the Chinese who advocated

foreign ideas. This reaction was, however, a common tendency, and first expressed in the plot to depose the emperor. People's insecurity and the palace plotting, combined together, created a formidable force. The uprising under the banner of I ho-t'uan was an outcome of the situation aiming at the destruction of the foreigners.

Consequences: The Boxer Movement fully alarmed the foreign powers. Their diplomats organised an international relief expedition 16,000 strong. The Ch'ing Government also, having the danger entered into Peking, declared the Boxers as rebels. Most of the dignitaries including the emperor and empress dowager fled to Shensi. Foreigners then began an orgy of looting in Peking and elsewhere. The Ching court began negotiations for a peace from Shensi and commissioned Li Hung-chang, "an experienced agent in unpalatable function," for this purpose. Finally, an agreement was arrived on September 7, 1901 between the imperial court and the foreign power.

The Boxer Protocol contained a money indemnity of 450, 000, 000 taels to be paid by the Chinese Government for the damages done to the foreigners. It was to be paid in 39 instalments from the tariff duties, which was to be raised to 5 per cent. Among other things the Protocol envisaged official apology to Germany and Japan, punishment of the Chinese officials chiefly responsible for the atrocities, suspension of official examination for five years in the affected towns, erection of expiatory monument in the foreign cemeteries, transformation of the Tsungli Yamen (Foreign Office) into a Ministry of Foreign Affairs etc. What was more deprecatory for China was that the foreign legations in Peking were to be placed under the exclusive control of the legations, to be policed and governed entirely by the foreigners.

The Boxer Protocol, therefore, weakened China both economically and politically. The heavy indemnity enhanced China's foreign debts. The increased rate of tariff duties further crippled her economy and facilitated drain of wealth.

All the foreign nations save America, were seen to act on an assumption that they were authorised to milk China out. Most of them acquired favourable trading privileges, and forced the Chinese Government to facilitate their commerce. America further stressed on the "Open Door" for equal opportunity of trade with China. What was more China was not only insulted, but at the same time suffered a great loss of sovereignty over the foreign legations. Only America openly wanted to maintain her territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Within China, it was hitherto a very difficult period for the reformers. But the further insult inflicted upon her by the foreigners jurked the intellectual forces. The reform activities were revived and China was led to a transitional stage between an old and a new civilisation. At the same time revolutionary agitation began in the Chinese mainland. The citadels of obscurantism were shaken; and when the Manchus failed to collaborate with the gathering momentum, they were to succumb to a revolution. China's new course began immediately after the Boxer Protocol and culminated in the end of the Celestial Empire in 1911.

Q. 4. Account for the reform movement in China during the years between 1901 and 1910.

The end of the nineteenth century was important in the annals of China in two ways: it marked the climax of reaction and the revival of the reform movement. The reactionary forces were organised under the I ho-tsun and launched an anti-foreign war, having blessed by the imperial court, only to wither in 1901. On its failure a new reform force emerged and grew steadily. In the face of its pressure the Government had to yield thrice—in 1901, 1908 and in 1910. But these were attempts more to revise the traditional Confucian system, than to transform it roundly.

For the suppression of Boxer Movement, the Ch'ing Government had not only to bear severe penalties but also to surrender to further humiliations. They signified two changes

in the attitudes towards it. The Western imperialists put pressure upon the imperial Government, but at the same time protected and supported it. Within China, a majority of the scholar-officials now began to think of it as incapable, infamous and without prestige. Their hatred against the foreigners now turned also against the Manchus. Moreover, students studying abroad vehemently protested against the present system and by means of their various journal, which were smuggled into China, they made reform imperative.

The empress dowager also yielded to this demand for reform. She issued decrees in January 1901, ordering reforms. The Office for promotion of State Affairs (T'u-pan Chang-Wu Chu) was organised in April to take over promotion of a new administration. In the army, a certain per cent of the Army of the Green Standard was disbanded ; provinces were ordered to establish military academies compulsorily ; and Yuan Shih-k'ai and Liieh-liang were made directors of military training of the Manchu Banners. There were also educational reforms which included the abolition of civil-service examinations ; the establishment of schools, and the dispatch of students to study abroad.

But the empress dowager did not seriously desire to introduce reforms ; she pretended reforms for disguising her shame in the Boxer episode. The Office for Promotion of State Affairs had actually no new administration to promote. It only caused abolition of certain old positions. But it did one thing good by discontinuing the selling of official posts. What was really important during the five years between 1901 and 1905 was in the realm of education. Particularly the complete abolition of the old system of examinations and the sending of students abroad affected China from the cultural point of view.

The reforms of 1901 did not envisage any change in the pattern of government. On the contrary, the imperial court now more skillfully harped on the Manchu-Chinese racial dispute ; and thereby tried to stave off the situation by

favouring the Manchus. But the empress dowager could not continue with this principle for more than five years due to the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. The people of China irrespective of the Manchus, and the Chinese saw with utter dismay that Japan and Russia were contending in their soil for the control of Manchuria. Their government was utterly helpless. The victory of Japan in this war gave the Chinese a new faith in political reform. They formed a general belief that Japan's strength lay in her constitutional monarchy. They analysed Russian revolution of 1905 as an attempt to adopt a constitution. They concluded that a constitutional monarchy would automatically make a nation strong. So, they fanned a demand for a constitutional monarchy.

The empress dowager and her retinue had to concede again. A commission of five ministers was sent abroad in 1905 to investigate the government structures of other countries. On their return, it was announced in September 1906 that the government was preparing a constitution. It was proclaimed in October. The Central Government was re-organised. Provisions were made for nine ministers, and a Cabinet; but the empress dowager and her successors still retained the right of decision. In 1908, regulations were also proclaimed for the formation and election of the provincial assemblies. These were the outlines upon which a constitutional government was to be completed within nine years.

Even these outlines of the Constitution were very much disappointing. The intention was simply to concentrate all authority in the hands of the Manchus. They made more unrestricted, the great power of the Chinese emperor than ever. He was sacred and inviolable, and be respected by all the people. He would have uninterrupted authority in administrative, military, and judicial affairs. There were also articles concerning the rights and duties of the people, like freedom of pen, publication and speech within the sphere of law. But the proclamation of law was a prerogative of the emperor. In fact, these outlines were meant for fooling the

people. It was "a sugar-coated constitutional monarchy : the convert struggle between the Manchus and Chinese".

Accordingly, the provincial assemblies were formed in 1909 merely to act as sounding boards. It was composed of the wealthy classes who were supinely obedient to government. Before it, both the Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi and Emperor K'ung Hsu died in August 1908. The national assembly was convened by Prince Ch'un in October 1910, and a royal Cabinet was formed next year. But all these did not satisfy the people.

There had been already a revolutionary movement under Sun Yat-Sen. People having frustrated with the Constitution now joined the revolutionaries. The new measure proclaiming the nationalisation of railroads precipitated a revolution. The Chinese emperor once again yielded to the demand for a constitutional monarchy in order to tide over the situation. But it was too late, and in the end the Celestial Empire had to expire. China was declared a republic early in 1912.

5. Analyse the movements of revolutionary and Constitutional forces in China from the beginning of reforms till the outbreak of the revolution.

The Chinese people had begun to realise the need for change ever since the Opium War. But during the fifty years of contact with the Western powers, there were not many men in its support, nor had they any definite programmes of action. All of them, however, desired to strengthen their country by imitating Western methods in order to save it from further humiliations. There were reforms by bits and pieces. There had been as yet no clear ideology to deviate from the age old obscurantism, and self-esteem.

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century forces at work began to take shape around two persons. Sun Yat-Sen and Kang Yu-wei. Both of them were born near Canton, where the Western influence had first penetrated. But they had different cultural backgrounds and schoolings. Born in a peasants' family Sun Yat-Sen was educated in the

missionary schools at Hawaii and in course of time he was baptised. On the other hand, K'ang Yu-wei was born in an old and aristocratic family which for generations had been noted for its scholarship in Neo-Confucianism. Trapped in Neo-Confucianism, he aspired to become, in the traditional sense a sage. Because of these differences they had developed rival conceptions for changing the Chinese empire. Sun Yat-sen proposed to overthrow the Ch'ing dynasty through revolution while K'ang Yu-wei submitted memoranda to the throne requesting reform.

The situation in China following the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 was favourable for change. Sun Yet-Sen founded at Hawaii the Hsing-Chung Hui or the Revive China Society and attempted to organise a revolutionary army in Kwangtung. His stand supported and accepted only by the members of secret societies, and his revolutionary army failed in Canton. He became very much unpopular in China and was portrayed in the press "as a gangster, a rebel, indeed a dreadful monster". The fact behind it was that it was a period of Chinese history ready for gradual reform. Or in other words, circumstances in 1894 were more suitable for K'ang than Sun. In fact, K'ang also took his ban-dirs. He began by interpreting the six classics of Confucianism, and pointed out that a progress from despotism to a constitutional republic was not incompatible with the traditional system.

Kang Yu-wei aroused a political storm in China in the years between 1894 and 1898. His approach to the six classics attracted a section of the scholar-officials, and he himself approached to the emperor to introduce reforms based on his doctrine. The emperor yielded to his suggestions, and the drama of Hundred Days' Reform was staged between June 11 to September 16, 1898. Foreign power accelerated the movement by paring off slices of the Celestial Empire. But the emperor had everything but power; and the empress dowager, who was an ardent champion of obscurantism, staged a *coup d'etat*. he assumed control in her own hands and torn out the paper

resolution. K'ang and his followers either fled or punished but the remaining of them organised the Emperor Protection Society to save the emperor.

A period of reaction began with the *coup d'etat* of 1898 and ended in the great Boxer Uprising of 1900. Powerful nobles along with the empress dowager secretly encouraged the Boxers in order to drive out the foreigners. The scholar-officials had almost same motive. Although the unemployed populace was heavily pressed by economic insecurity, their anger and despair was channelised against the foreigners. Therefore, the Boxer Movement was an outburst of anti-foreignism; while the government took full advantage to rescind the reforms. Hitherto it was difficult for the revolutionory party; but it made a second bid in 1900 and failed. Thereafter a struggle between the Revive China Society and the Emperor Protection Society ensued; and many of the reformists undertook to protect the emperor only to fire others with enthusiasm for a revolution.

Both the revolutionaries and the reformists made capital out of China's humiliation in the Boxer Protocol (1901). But a third force also emerged in Chinese progressive movements—the realistic Yuan Shih-K'ai faction. Yuan Shih-K'ai at this time played a pivotal role in the imperial government. He was an energetic, skilful and an ambitious commander who gradually became prominent. He and his Peiyang military clique wanted to make use of every change to assume more power. However, immediately after the Boxer uprising circumstances were again favourable for the reformists, now headed by Liang Ch'i-Ch'ao, a vetrean journalist. The reason behind this was that some of the scholar officials and a new intellectual force—the Chinese students studying abroad—now extended their support to the reformists. Reforms began in 1901; and the movement was accelerated in 1905, after the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. The reformists proposed that a constitutional monarchy of the Japanese model was the only panacea for China's survival. Accordingly the imperia

government in 1908 made a panorama of constitutional by reserving more than despotic powers in the hands of the emperor. The reformists were henceforward known as the constitutional party.

The revolutionaries also did not spend idle days during this time. They had already raised the slogan "save the nation from current trouble" and begun agitation in the Chinese mainland. The bomb thrown on the five ministers going abroad to study foreign constitutions was not however their organised plot. But Sun Yat-Sen began "a new era of hope" by founding the T'ung-meng Hui or the Revolutionary party in 1905. It had its headquarters at the Japanese Black Dragon Society in Tokyo, and had adherents in China among the various secret societies. Sun Yat-Sen also expended his principles, namely nationalism, democracy and socialism. But during the period, the organisation of the T'ung-meng Hui was very weak due to its narrow anti-Manchuism. It was again in this period that a journalistic dual began between the revolutionists and constitutional monarchists. The latter were seen active behind the constitution of 1908, while the former led seven abortive uprisings.

In August 1908, both Emperor Kwang-Hsu and Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi died; and the minor Hsuan-T'ung succeeded on the throne with Tsai-feng as the regent. Yuan Shih-K'ai was dismissed from the Government service. Since the regent was the younger brother of the deceased emperor, the Constitutional Party hoped that he would promote the reform programme effectively. But soon they were disillusioned. Tsai-feng began by concentrating all power in the royal family. The royal cabinet was convened in 1911; but it was reduced to a puppet body if not a rubber stamp of the emperor. The Revolutionary Party also had the frustration of attempted revolution between 1908 and April, 1911. They fomented a series of uprisings of which the most serious one was that of Canton. They organised a new army, but its failure was due to lack of arms and precautionary measures of

the government against them. Seventy two of them were murdered, whose death served to awaken the great majority of the Chinese people towards the formation of a republic than a constitutional monarchy. The revolutionary forces were now gaining ascendancy in China.

The most serious problem before the government at this time was financial, and Tsai-feng tried to solve it by nationalising the rail-roads. It was a consequence of the struggle and competition among the imperialist powers for making large investments in China. The merchants of Szechwan were seriously affected by this measure and they encouraged the Revolutionary party to rise in revolt. The revolution, started at Wuchang, soon spread into all the provinces. Military government was established at Wuchang, and the constitutionalists were not still at odds with the Revolutionists. "All of the Chinese people had by now revolted against the Manchus," Yuan Shih-K'ai was recalled: but he now bargained with the Manchus. By the end of 1911, there was a some sort of collaboration between the three forces—the radical revolutionists, the mild constitutional monarchists, and the realistic Yuan Shih-K'ai faction—, which ultimately led to the proclamation of the Republic of China on the new years' day, next year.

Q. 6. Give an account of the Chinese Reform Movement from 1398 to 1911. What were the difficulties on the way of a rapid modernisation of China?

The Reform Movement in China started out of her direct confrontation with the Western nations. Her successive humiliations, which amounted to insults, in the two successive Anglo-Chinese wars inspired some of her statesmen "to learn superior techniques of the barbarians in order to curb the barbarians." Among them, Li Hung-chang, an influential statesman, began by inaugurating the Kiangnan Arsenal and a few industries. But it was felt that the Chinese social and political systems were superior to those of the West. Therefore,

these earlier reforms were confined to machines and industries useful for defence, and nothing else.

But these sporadic attempts at Westernisation did not offer China a succour. On the contrary, she was once again defeated by her neighbour, Japan. It jolted China, and some of her leaders now desired to reform China on the Western style. Meanwhile they had also the experience of Western language, customs and civilisation. Secret societies grew like bamboo shoots and two men, Sun Yat-sen and K'ang Yu-wei appeared with the ideas of revolution and reform respectively. It was a period of political storm; and K'ang Yu-wei aroused the emperor and many officials and scholars. The early revolutionary movements failed, and Kang explained that adoption of reforms was not incompatible with the six Confucian Classics.

K'ang's proposals for reforming the empire found favour with the emperor, and a series of edicts ordering transformation of the administration and education were issued between June and September 16, 1898. These were called the "Hundred Days' reform", and they envisaged change in the educational and examination systems, abolition of sinecures, re-organisation of the army etc. It was a whole set of paper resolutions, threatening the citadel of Chinese obscurantism. A vector of reaction began, and precipitated by the empress dowager and scholar-officials. To them the reform theory had brought disgrace to the Confucian Classics, but inwardly most of them were threatened with the loss of their rice bowls. The empress dowager forced the emperor to pretend illness and to transfer power to her. Kiang fled from China and organised the Emperor protection Society.

Reaction against the compromise with the West reached high in the Boxer movement of 1899—1900. The empress dowager, the high officials and the unemployed populace had an accumulated anger against the foreigners. To the China's repeated disasters were due to the end of her isolation and comping of the foreigners. They encouraged the I-ho-t'uan

or the Righteous and Harmoneous Society, which the foreigners called the Boxers, to rise against the foreigners. But it alarmed the foreign powers, who had already been pounding upon China. They formed an international relief expedition, and suppressed the movement. They pressed the Ch'ing Government which had fled to Shensi, to yield to almost all their demands relating to indemnity, trade and commerce.

So, the china of reaction only brought more humiliations for China a goNowod number of people including a few more scholar-officials began to think seriously of reform, but the empire would go the way of Africa. The hatred of the Chinese people against the foreigners now also directed against the Manchus. The empress dowager scented danger at this and during the five years following the Boxer protocol she introduced reforms to palliate the people.

Reform decrees were issued in January 1901. An Office for promotion of State Affairs was organised to promote a new administration. A new administration was, however, yet to be drafted. Yuan Shih k'ai and T'ieh liang were promoted to train the Manchu Bancers. There were to be compulsory military academies in each of provinces, and certain percentage of the army of the Green standard was to be disbanded. The civil service examination was abolished, school established at state expenses and students were sent to study abroad. Of these, the educational reforms yielded durable results while others were meant to disguise the shame of the Boxer episode. There was no change in the pattern of Government.

But within five years, the Chinese people were constrained to see that two foreign nations, Russia and Japan, were contending on their own soil. They analysed that the success of Japan in the Russo-Japanese war of 1905 was due to her constitutional monarchy. They thought that Russia also was striving for a *duma* and parliament after her defeat. So, they came to a conclusion that the adoption of constitutional monarchy was the only means to make China strong and survive. A majority of the Chinese people shared

this belief, and the empress dowager had to yield to their demands. She commissioned five ministers to study foreign constitutions in 1905.

On the recommendation of these ministers it was announced in October 1906 that the Government was preparing a constitution. There were to be nine ministers, a cabinet and a national assembly at the centre, while in the provinces there were to be provincial assemblies. Upon these outlines a constitutional Government was to be formed within a period of nine years. But the constitution of 1908, while attempted to weaken the Governor general, placed in the hands of the central Government absolute military and financial powers. It was entirely taken from the Japanese constitution, but it modified power of the emperor. It made the great power of the Chinese emperor ever more unrestricted than that of the Mikado.

The proposed national assembly was convened in 1910, but it was made a body more or less of the nominated member of the emperor. Yet it assumed a role of opposition against the Government and demanded a parliament. It tried to impeach the Grand Councillors and pressed the Government for a responsible Cabinet. But it was a time when there was no more any Tz'u-hsi or Kung-hsu. Their death in August 1908 was followed the accession of Hsuan t'ung and the regency of Tsai-feng. Tsai-feng began by concentrating all power in the royal family. So, the constitutionalists were to labour in ambiguity. But with the outbreak of rebellion in the Yangtse provinces, and the spread of the revolution in 1911 the Ching court was obliged to yield. But it was too late, and finally it had to go for ever.

The reform movement in China was thus a phased movement hampered by certain forces at work. Of them the most important was the obscurantist Ching court. Its rulers founded their rule on the Cupola of Confucianism, and administered the country with a principle based on inequality of rights. It was in essence a citadel of medievalism and they were

absolutists of the feudal type. It was not therefore, **unnatural** that they would try to stop or at least scandalise the reform movement at any stage of its progress. Not only they but a vast majority of the people, particularly the scholar officials, were guided by the Confucian ethics, which had for them the opportunity to enter into the officialdom. Any Change of this system would entail loss to them and their successors.

Another reason for the belated development of the reform movement was the conflict between the Chinese and the Manchus. The Ching Court at all times tried to develop a ruling circle with Manchu majority. The Manchus were a minority in the Celestial empire, and yet they enjoyed privileges in the offices. This caused Chinese resentment, and harping on this racial tension, the empress dowager succeeded in deterring the progress of the reform movement. Loyalist Chinese like Yuan Shih-kai also assisted her in doing so.

The largest road block was the lack of education among the rank and file of the population. Their economic life was clouded in insecurity and yet they had a reverential view of the Celestial empire. Their distress was successfully channelised by the Manchu court against the foreigners. The reform movement did not found much favour among the people during its different phases. But with the increasing humiliation of their country, their feeling was gradually turned against the Manchus, and this led to the revolution.

Moreover, the progressive elements in China were divided from the beginning. Sun Yat-sen and Kang Yu-wei had different programmes of action, and gradually they stood at variance. Due to the existence of the revolutionary secret societies in China, reformism could not gain much ground in the Chinese interior. This lack of unity not only delayed the reformist actions but at times contradicted them. In consequence any fundamental change in the Chinese body politics was delayed until 1911. The Manchu rule ended in 1911, and with it the

reform movement, which had fostered to preserve it, lost its utility.

7. Discuss the underlying causes of the Chinese Revolution of 1911.

Or, What led to the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1911 ?

The initial explosion in China in October, 1911 was caused by the railroad-nationalisation and the consequent foreign loans. The Chinese contractors and merchants relating to the railways were dismissed. They raised a storm of protest and organised railway protection clubs in Szechwan, Kwangtung, Hunan, Hupai and other provinces. It spread like a wild-fire and the provincial authorities blessed it by their spectacular action. The Revolutionary party took up the queue and disturbances broke out at Wuchang. Soon other provinces joined the revolution. A military Government was established at Wuchang and its Governor Li-Yuen-hung was compelled to assume its leadership. The Manchu court first tried to pacify by drawing up a new set of constitutional principles but seeing the spectacular success of the revolutionaries it recalled Yuan Shih-k'ai. Meanwhile, a provisional revolutionary Government had been established at Nanking. Personally ambitious, Yuan Shih-k'ai began a course of strange negotiations between the revolutionaries and the Manchus. At his machinations, the last emperor signed his abdication in favour of a republic on February 12, 1912 only never to regain his throne again.

But the railroad-nationalisation only served as a spark. A feeling of resentment had been gathering against the Manchus inarticulately since their coming to power. The Chinese people had never reconciled to their rule, since they were considered foreigners or barbarians. Most of the later Ch'ing rulers were ineffectual, and their supporters, the Manchus and the Chinese loyalists, were hid-bound in their conservatism. Corruption, inefficiency and slackness rented the administration, and the Government failed to perform the

obligation of defending Country. The resultant hardship of the masses gave rise to such sporadic movements as the Taiping Rebellion, on the one hand. Foreign nations, not contented with only with China's humiliations snatched parts of the empire, crippled its economy by obtaining various concessions and threatened partition. By the close of the nineteenth century the Ch'ing dynasty lost its dignity, and it "could live in parasatic case off the country's substance."

Anti-dynastic movement had began to gather moment during 1850's of which the Taiping Rebellion was a portent. Secret Societies had been working in China to bring back a Chinese dynasty. Since the Ch'ing rulers had adopted the Six-Confucian Classics as the basis of their state, people had not hitherto responded to their movements. But from the second half of the nineteenth century economic distresses made life in China full of hardships. Price rise and unemployment was caused by an excessive growth of population, which the arable lands of China could not provide. Uninterrupted rise in opium trade after the 1842 caused a drain of specie and devalued the coinage. Famine and draught frequently hit upon the agrarian economy. Foreign wars, increasing foreign debts, growth of railways and industries further increased the poverty and distress of the people. With this accumulated anger, they were ready to support to any one who would promise to better their lot.

Political groups with definite ideologies had developed in China during the later years of the nineteenth century, and gave shape to this inchoate movement. Sun yat-sen had propounded the nucleus of a revolution, by making his mind to overthrow the Ch'ing dynasty. He formed a revolutionary party, the T'ung Meng Hui in 1905 on the basis of nationalism, democracy and socialism or people's livelihood. But the party which gained the ground during the two decades before the revolution was that of the reformists. They roused the Chinese students and scholar-officials, but they were gradually depreciated by the Manchu Court's giving the reforms in one

land, seizing them on the other. Upon the repeated failures of the reformists or the Constitutional Party, the Revolutionary Party gathered strength, and in course of time, the former lost its political identity to the latter.

The revolutionary ideals of Sun were also widely propagated in China. He raised money from the Cantonese merchants to finance the movement. He made costly adventures to the Chinese parts to attend secret meetings of his followers. Several news-papers were started in alien lands, mostly in Japan, and they were smuggled into China and circulated secretly. Manifestoes and pamphlets containing the revolutionary Philosophy and the programme of future China had stirred the Chinese students not only in the foreign lands but also in the Chinese Universities. The revolutionary object of overthrowing the Manchus was growing favourable to groups and societies in China ; and they became of its adherents. A new army was also organised and trained. Abortive attempts towards a revolution were made in 1906, 1907 and 1910. They transformed the movement against the railroad concession in 1911 into a revolution.

So, the Chinese revolution and the consequent decline and downfall of the Manchu dynasty was immediately precipitated by the reaction against the railroad-nationalisation. But their seeds were deeply embeded in the anti-Manchu sentiment of the Chinese people. They began to think ill of Ch'ing rule, since it could neither protect the empire nor govern it properly. Their resentment was furthered by economic insecurity of their life. The revolutionary philosophy of Sun Yat-sen had already begun to organise the inchoate anti-Manchu movement ; and by 1911 they were ready with an army and organisation. China had already been a powder magazine, and any spark could start the explosion. That spark came from the railroad-nationalisation.

8. Why the nationalists could not take over power and establish a true republic at the fall of the Manchu dynasty ?

In the jar of 1911, the Chinese people replaced the

confucial monarchy by a republic. It was effected by the radical revolutionists, but the real power of the republic ultimately went into the hands of the realistic Yuan Shih-Kai' faction. It sounds like a paradox, but it may be analysed by the fact that China assumed all the paraphernalia of republican Government but Yuan wielded the military power, to which the nationalists were to yield.

When the revolution spread in the provinces and military Government was established at Wuchang under Li Yuan-lung's leadership the Ch'ing Government re-appointed Yuan Shih-Kai. He had organised the strongest army but had been dismissed by Tsai-feng on pretence of leg break. After a good deal of bargaining Tuan accepted the offer with the complete control of all the armed forces and not to be interfered from the court. Meanwhile the revolutionaries had organised a provisional republic at Nanking with Sun Yat-sen as the president. Yuan deliberately moved towards the south and recovered Hankow and Hanyang only to play the revolutionaries and the Manchus against one another. But none of them was strong enough to defeat the other. So while the Manchu dynasty had already surrendered to Yuan's mercy, the revolutionists now desired to enter into a compromise with him by offering the presidency. At his machinations negotiations for a compromise between the rivals was opened.

At Shanghai the negotiations between the representatives of the provisional Government and the Ching court began on December 17, 1911. At Yuan's suggestion the court appointed one of her henchmen, who had progressive connections to negotiate the peace. Yuan himself abstained from doing any thing and secretly made his deal clear with the revolutionaries. At his direction, the court representative agreed that the Manchus would have to go and a republic succeed. A group of generals of the imperial army sent a memorial at his persuasion to the court urging adoption of the republican Government. Threatened by this, the Manchu emperor had nothing to do but abdicate, and he did it on February 12, 1912.

The republic was proclaimed, but Sun insisted Yuan to come to Nanking in order to take over the presidency. But the latter manufactured a mutiny and a night looting in Peking, when the republican delegates had come from Nanking to invite him to assume their presidency. Yuan was conscious of his position and avoided his march to Nanking. In these circumstances Sun had to agree to Yuan's demands. Yuan was elected on march 12, 1912 as the provisional president of the republic, and its headquarter was transferred from Nanking to Peking.

Yuan Shih-k'ai was ambitious and scheming, and he manipulated things to suit his aim to rise on the helm of affairs in China. The nationalists surrendered their leadership to him mainly because of their own weaknesses. Not only arrogant, each of them also thought that he had made a great contribution to defeat the imperial army. Again there were many opportunist politicians among them who had no sound purpose nor any firm revolutionary principles or opinions. Sun Yat-sen knew this, and that was why he entered into an agreement with Yuan Shih-k'ai. He drafted a provisional Constitution, and democratised the administration in order to check unrestricted power of the president. Yuans swore to obey the constitution ; but following the logic that power goes to him who exercises him he grabbed it soon.

In this way the revolution was mired in a compromise between the revolutionists and the Peking war lords. China was jockeyed to an untrodden path : but it was found that the former was interested in radical action, while the latter in immediate results. But the compromise did not at any rate attenuate the sharpness of the conflict between the progressives and the conservatives. That was why china was transformed to a republic was comparatively peaceful, but her republican career was stormy and chaotic. Her transition was only "deceptive".

CHAPTER XXV

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY : KUOMINTANG VERSUS PEIYANG MILITARY CLIQUE

1. Trace the development of political parties in China during the emergence of the republic.

Different political groups had been at work for years together in China before the revolution of 1911. Of them the most prominent were the revolutionists, the constitutionalists, and the Peiyang warlords and officials. The T'ung-meng Hui was a secret revolutionary society ; the only open political party was the Comrades Association for petition for a parliament. Most of the members of the national assembly, 1910, who were elected from the provinces belonged to the latter. From 1911, this party was known as the Friends of the Constitutions. Other members of the national assembly of 1910 were appointed by the regent and they organised the Society for the Realisation of Constitutional Government. A small party known as the 1911, was also emerged. Three open political parties acted within the sphere of constitutional monarchism, and they disappeared with the collapse of the monarchy.

In China the political groups, which had been actively at work during the revolution, were two : the T'ung-meng Hui and the Friends of the Constitution. But with the establishment of provisional government of the republic, the former became an open party ; and the latter was dissolved due to the end of monarchy. In the new context, they continued to function as two political camps representing the revolutionists

and the constitution. At the same time various parties emerged out of their split. From the Tung-meng Hui were organised the Union of the Chinese Republic and the people's Society. The Friends of the Constitution was re-shuffled into a Society for Discussing the Reconstruction of the Republic, Republican Unification Party and the Citizens, Harmonious Progressive Society.

These divisions did not, however, exist for a long time ; and soon their reunification started. The ex-T'ung-meng Hui parties were at first united under the Unification Party and then formed the Republican party on the *Kung-ho Tang*. The Republican Party, a champion of national rights, opposed the T'ung-meng Hui, campaigning for people's rights or democracy, in the provisional parliament. It supported Yuan Shih-K'ai, and was frequently in control of parliament under the protection of the latter's military officers and politicians. To the members of the T'ung-meng-Hui it was a "slave party."

The revolutionary force under the T'ung-meng Hui were known to the republicans as the "mob party". Under the leaderships of Sung Chin-jen their reorganisation began. The Kuomintang or the National people's Party was thus formed in August 1912, when the T'ung-meng Hui, the United Republican Party—which had emerged from the ex-T'ung-meng Hui members, and other smaller parties were combined together. The Kuomintang soon became the largest political party ; since the revolutionaries were still active in the provinces. It was opposed in the parliament by three parties ; the Republican Party, the Unified Republican Party of Ts'ai and the Democratic Party of Liang Ch'i-ch'as.

The development of political parties in China following the revolution of 1911 had certain characteristics. A man can accept the membership in several political parties at the same time. Principles of the different parties did not differ very much in degree and they were used as trademarks or slogans. Even within the largest party there were factions favouring

concentration of power or decentralisation. Besides the Political Parties were a monopoly of the intelligentsia ; and the rank and file of the people did not find any interest in them. Various other parties also emerged during the crisis, when Yuan Shih-K'ai attempted to become emperor. Amidst these Party feuds, all the political affairs were left for the handling of one man—Yuan Shih-K'ai. He had his army at his backing ; and he violated the constitution by assuming all powers in his own hands.

During the early years of the republic the Kuomintang held a superior position in the national assembly. But its superior led to its failure. Its military clique having trying to overcome Yuan by force, itself was defeated and disbanded. Its opposition parties, the Republican, the Unificacion, and the Democratic, were on the other hand, combined into the Progressive Party. In his fight against the Kuomintang Yuan Shih-k'ai had the wholehearted support of this party. The members of the Progressive Party co-operated with Yuan in the hope that by means of the constitution his enlightened despotism would save China. But soon they were disillusioned, and saw in utter dismay that the political stage was monopolised by the Peiyang warlords and their leader, Yuan was progressing from despotism to monarchism. The Progressive Party then threw its mantle in support of the Kuomintang.

2. Examine the fate of the Chinese republic under Yuan Shih-k'ai

The inauguration of the Chinese Republic was completed in 1912 only with a slight jar, but its beginnings were made inauspicious by the compromise between opposite forces, under Sun Yat-sen, the revolutionists and the Peiyang warlords and officials headed by Yuan Shih-k'ai. The revolutionists resolved really to increase the strength, dignity and status of their country through the adoption of a republican form of Government. But the provisional president, Yuan Shih-kai, a man with some knowledge of western military skill and

method of administration had personal ambitions with which the new system did not comport. Having firm control over the army he resolved to manipulate and intrigue in order to circumvent the republic. It was somewhat paradoxical that at this turning point of Chinese history she was forced to swing backward. Upon this untried road of a republic, the real struggle deepened and led to the ultimate failure of Yuan's ambitions.

Immediately after the proclamation of the republic, political forces in China began to group into open parties. The conservative forces organised the Republican, Unification and Democratic parties. The revolutionary Tung-meng Hui and other like minded groups formed the famous Kuomintang in August 1912. The former consistently lent support to Yuan Shih-k'ai; while the latter not only opposed him but at the same time held a majority in the national assembly. Although the provisional constitution had largely restricted the authority of the president, Yuan was bent on assuming full control of the Government with the threat of the army. The Kuomintang, while determined to keep the constitution, was now a split party. Yuan succeeded in having the resignation of Premier Tang'i an influential member of the Kuomintang. Yuan put up a cabinet of his own men, by using the threat of the Russo-Japanese Alliance and Britain's decision to take free action in Tibet. His soldiers and police utterly dominated the republic. The only change introduced was that, governors-general were now to be called *tutus*.

In the first election, held in 1913, the Kuomintang gained a majority in the parliament. Its leader, Sung Chao-jen hoped to launch a vigorous struggle against the president within the framework of Constitutional Government. But at the secret instigations of Yuan, he was murdered. Thereupon, the president secretly endeavoured to float a large loan to finance the army and bribe his opponents. With a financial consortium, composed of the representatives of Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany and Japan, he signed a contract for

a loan of 25,000,000, against the security of sale tax. Considering the demands of the consortium unreasonable, American Government ordered its own banks to withdraw from it and encouraged them to make investments in China at low rates of interest. The reaction in Chinese politics against this loan-storm was spontaneous. Without further hesitation for parliamentary maneuvers, the Kuomintang decided to remove Yuan by force. There was an open uprising in the southern provinces in the summer of 1913. Yuan Shih-kai, who had already broken his relations with it on the eve of the loan-storm now had the fresh lever and suppressed the rebellion ruthlessly.

In the meantime, the other three parties, being jealous of the superior position of the Kuomintang were combined into the Progressive. During the anti-Yuan agitations, the new party organised the so-called "first-class cabinet" with Hsiung Hsi-ling as premier. The new cabinet was willing to cosign Yuan-Shih-kai's orders in order to drive out the Kuomintang members and to dissolve the cabinet. Taking advantage of this feud, Yuan on his part manipulated his election as the president and adopted only those parts of the Constitution which had to do with it. Next he dissolved the parliament and the cabinet. In the constitutional conference of January 1914, it was resolved at his persuasion that the responsible cabinet be discarded and replaced by the so-called presidential system and that the duties of the council of state be almost the same as those of the Grand Council of the Manchu dynasty. Senators were to be appointed by the president, while the term of office of the president was to be ten years, with no limitation on the number of terms.

✓ During 1913 and 14 there was a rumour that "republicanism does not suit the national condition, as people have seen from the rebellions and troubles during these past two years. Unless there is a great change of policy, it is impossible to save the nation." It was rumoured by Yuan's eldest son. Towards the end of 1915, an American scholar, Professor Frank I Goodnow, in a theoretical discussion, concluded that a

constitutional monarchy might be better than a republic for China. Yuan took up his queue, and his henchmen formed the Peace Planning Society and propagated for the resumption of the monarchical system. Yuan openly rejected the idea and refused to accept the crown, but secretly he urged upon his followers to send telegrams requesting him to assume the throne. He also attempted to utilise the international situation for his purpose. With the outbreak of war in Europe, Japan was the sole remaining power in the Eastern Hemisphere. Japan at this time sent to China a charter of twenty one demands. Yuan had a double play of it. While he used it to strengthen the monarchical movement secretly he tried to enlist Japan's support in favour of his ascension by promising to fulfil all the demands. However, it was decided that Yuan was to be enthroned on January 1, 1916.

But Yuan had some miscalculations in this monarchical play. His government was very much unpopular in the provinces due to corruption and sculdeggery. His pivot of strength, the Peiyang war-lords were divided among themselves on their own ambitions. The Progressive party opposed the idea of a monarchical revival, and joined the opposition. In the meantime, Yuan failed with Japan in diplomacy. The Kuomintang was now very much well organised and began by organising the National Protection Army. Anti-Yuan agitation began in Yunnan and soon it spread to Kwangsi and other southern provinces. Against the vigorous resistance, Yuan did not dare to use force. Yuan abandoned the idea of monarchy and resumed the republic. It was a great humiliation, which affected Yuan's health and he died on June 6, 1916.

With Yuan's death the curtain on his drama fell. How he piloted the republic is amply reported by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, the philosopher and monarchist, who had detached himself from Yuan. He wrote: "Yuan held a sharp knife in his right hand and plenty of money in his left, gathering a few of the meanest and most shameless politicians to work for him

as puppets..” He compared the Chinese monarchy with a sacred idol and wrote: “But suppose some insane should pull it down, tread it under foot, and throw it into a dirty pond and suppose someone should discover it and carry it back to its original sacred abode, you will find the charm has gone from it.” The statement has rightly amplified the anti-Yuan agitation following his idea of reviving the monarchical system.

The monarchical high drama of Yuan Shih-k'ai ended with his death. But it had certain lasting results. The national re-unification of China, effected by the proclamation of the republic, was broken. The abandonment of monarchism was followed by the formation of independent governments in north and south China. Moreover, with the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai, there was a dissension in the Peiyang military clique, and smaller war lords now built up military bases in the provinces.

Q. 3. Briefly analyse the internal developments in China during the decade following the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai until the Kuomintang take over.

Yuan Shih-k'ai's death on June 6, 1916, was followed by a period of political squabbles and dissensions in the Peiyang military clique. North and south of China were divided on the restoration of the constitution and the republic was slowly degenerated into “quasi-military satrapies.” There were civil wars, and talks of federal government etc., but the political condition of the country was steadily driving from bad to worse. Finally in 1923, the presidency was subjected to sale. But this sham show of the war lords at least helped to arouse a some sort of public opinion.

Yuan Shih k'ai's demise was followed by Vice President Li Yuan-hung's becoming the president. It was based on the laws set forth in the old constitution of 1913; but it was recognised by the north on the basis of the revised presidential election laws of 1914, which were prepared under Yuan Shih k'ai's directions. The leaders of the anti-Yuan agitation in

south China continued in their insistence ; on the restoration of the parliament and the protection of the provisional government. In fact the military government of the south was now strengthened by the support of the navy. The northerners under Tuan Ch'i jui were obliged to yield, and Li's position as the president was finally affirmed. The Military Council of the southerners was dissolved before the formal convention on the parliament, and a Cabinet was formed with Tuan Ch'i-jui as the premier.

China was thus unified for the second time. But it was merely a lull before the renewal of domestic storm. The restoration of parliament was followed by a split in the Kuomintang-Progressive joint movement. Some leaders of the Progressive Party now tried at random to co-operate with Tuan Ch'i-jui and maintained that there should be no longer any political parties. In fact, the political parties were confused after the restoration of the parliament. The Progressive Party was divided into the Constitution Discussion Society and the Constitution Research Association and re-united in the Research Clique. There were actually four groups in the Kuomintang of which the moderate wing, organised in Japan as a Society for the Discussion of Constitutional Government. However, the provincial military governors were given the title of tuchun and Tuan-Ch'i-jui intrigued to foment jealousies between the provincial authorities. Representatives of the provinces within the influence of the Peiyang clique met at the Hsuehow Conferences and drafted terms for an inter-provincial alliance.

But despite the initial successes, the dispute over the Constitution, the struggle between the president's office and the cabinet, the threatening power of the tuchus, and the controversy over China's participation in the war against Germany—all stirred a strong drive within the Peiyang military clique to defeat the parliament. Tuan's underhand dealings with Japan made him unpopular and president Li took this opportunity to get rid of him. But the reaction

against it was vehement and finally Li dissolved the parliament for the second time on June 13, 1917.

The parliament was dissolved upon the advice of Chang Hsun, a non-Peiyang military man, on whose support Li relied. But Chang had his own plans and on July 1, 1917, he astonished the nation by announcing the restoration of the Manchu emperor. This restoration had already been championed by K'ang Yu-wei. But Chang made a farce of it by bringing the poor boy P'u-i to the throne and assuming the premiership for himself. Li was too powerless to resist it; but all the provincial leaders sent telegrams unanimously condemning this act of Chang. The Peiyang clique had its troops stationed in the vicinity of Peking and they started marching toward the capital. Within a few days the pig-tailed army of Chang was defeated, and the boy emperor was sent back to his courtyard to pick up his toys again. The comedy of restoration, however, brought Tuan Ch'i-j'ui once again to the prime ministry. He compromised his return by allowing the presidency to go to Feng kuo-Chang.

China's participation in the European war and the reorganisation of the parliament were the two outstanding problems before Tuan's second government. His policy has been described by historians as "a declaration of war abroad without fighting and a fight at home without declaration of war". China declared war against Germany and Austria, but disputes arose over the reorganisation of the parliament. The Research Clique advocated a thorough parliamentary reorganisation, and the reorganised parliament of north China finally came under the control of the militarists of Anhwei and Fukien or An-fu militarists. The south wanted a restoration of the old constitution, and remonstrated against these maneuvers. The southern leaders repudiated Peking, and Sun Yat-sen organised the Constitution Protection Movement. A military Government was established at Canton with Sun as its president; and the relations between Peking and the southern province were finally broken.

War broke out between North and South China in October 1918 at Hunan and soon it spread into Szechwan. The secret struggle between Feng and Tuan was only accelerated by the beginning of war. In the wake of the failure of the northern army at Szechwan, Feng dismissed Tuan from the office of the premier. But it did not mean that Tuan clique lacked potential political power. Feng's peace policy met similar ends, and he appointed Tuan as the commander-in-chief. The latter fully utilised his control over the tuchus of the northern provinces; and staged a return to his old office. He strengthened the An-fu clique by employing secret Nishihara loan from Japan, and organised the the so-called New Parliament, dominated by the An-fu Club. His real sources of strength were the European War Participation Army and the New Parliament; but public opinion now ran against him for selling out the country in order to stamp out his enemies in China. The New Government, however, elected, on October 10. Hsu Shih-ch'ang as the president.

Thus there were wranglings in the North between Feng and Tuan. The South also did not fare better. There the Military Government was crippled from the start. There were the Political Study Group representing the extreme right wing, the Association of Friends of the people under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen representing the extreme left, and the Good Friends Association, the moderate party. While Sun refused to recognise the Peking government as legal the other two parties only denied Tuan as premier. Therefore, in the reorganisation of the Military Government in April, 1918, Sun-Yat-sen was dropped.

In the meantime, the European War came to an end in November 1917; and the new international situation pressed upon China for peace. Accordingly a peace conference between the North and South of China began at Shanghai in 1919; and ended abruptly when Japan's succession to Germany's rights in Shantung became all too clear. The secret agreement with Japan was signed by Tuan's government; and there

was a widespread agitation against Tuan and his followers. The failure of the peace conference however, led to further deterioration of the relations between northerners and the southerners.

Over the constitutional disputes, the Peiyang military clique was split up into Chihli and Anhwei factions. Tuan had his control over the Anhwei faction; but he was consistently opposed by the other. During the summer and early autumn of 1920, the two factions entered into a war, and Tuan's clique was overthrown and his army crushed. In the South, also at this time, the Military Government was dissolved; and the Extraordinary Parliament was moved to Yunnan. Trial of strength ensued between the Political Study Group and the Constitutional Protection Army. There was war throughout the South and North of China in 1920.

The constitutional protection movement, renewed immediately after the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai, was in this way led to a civil war. The hope for a national unification was abandoned; and both North and South China became arenas for competing war lords, while none of them had the strength to re-unify the nation. The movement for self-government in the province under a Federal Government was renewed in the 1920's. The object was two-fold: to permit self-government to the provinces with the authority to make their own constitutions and to manage domestic affairs, and to evolve a new constitution by provincial representatives to end the war between the North and the South. Powerful militarists, however, preferred a confederation where they could retain independence and control of territory. Between 1920 and 1924 only in Hunan the federal system of government was adopted.

The movement for federal government did not ease dogged warfare between the warlords. In 1921, the Anhwei and Chihli factions entered into a trial of strength over the rescue of Hupeh in 1921. The latter won the victory which brought Ts'ao Kun and Wu P'ei-fu into prominence. In 1922, a war broke out between the Fengtien and Chihli factions, and the

Fengtien leaders Chang Tso-lin and Li Shih-i were disgraced for their attitude in the Shantung controversy. Victorious Wu P'ei-fu then waged an ideological battle against Chang Tso-lin by restoring the "Orthodox" constitution and parliament of 1912 with Li Yuan-Hung as the president. But ambitious Ts'ao-k'un bribed his way to the presidency in 1923 ; and coerced Li to leave the capital. Before this Premier Ch'ang Ts'o-lin had tendered his resignation.

South China did not fare better than the North. Hostilities began between Dr Sun Yat-sen and General Ch'en Hsiung-ming. It coincided with the Fengtien-Chihli War in the North. Chen betrayed Sun and checked his northern expedition. Both Chen and Sun entered into underhand intrigue with Fengtien and Chihli factions respectively. Failure of the Fengtien led to Sun's failure in Canton. From abroad Sun challenged the Chihli restoration. He had his return to Canton in 1923 and reorganised the military government.

Such was the fate of the federal government movement of the 1920's. In the words of Li Chien-nung. "Those who opposed the federal system believed that only their military power could unify the country, while those who supported it merely took it as a shield to justify their occupation of various territories." The statement is justified by the constitution, proclaimed on October 10, 1923, which showed favour towards a federal government, but which in reality was only a means to cover the guilt of the parliament. Until the Kuomintang take over, national unification was far, far away.

In this way political and administrative crises deepened in China, and darkened the republic. But it was not a failure of the republic as an institution. Only a generation of unscrupulous and ambitious war lords and politicians failed in their experiment with an institution, which had no roots in Chinese history. But they did one thing good for China by following the logic : "When a cat upsets a jar, the dogs get a good meal." They roused the public opinion which at times

had very effective influence in Chinese politics. These years of melee among the war lords marked the beginning of students movements in modern China.

Q. 4. In what way did the World War I affect China ?

Within three years of China's career as a republic the European War put her, nay the whole Far East, in a flux. The Chinese government under Yuan Shih-k'ai realised the gravity of the war and declared neutrality. China made her stand clear to the belligerents and asked them to refrain from hostilities in her territories and waters including the foreign lease holds within her domains. She remained a weak neutral power for three years, and declared war on Germany and her allies in 1917. She also represented her case in the Paris Peace Conference. These vicissitudes and shiftings in Chinese policy stemmed out partly from her domestic conflicts and partly dictated by the international situation. But all these developments had a cumulative effect upon her internal political developments.

The outbreak of the war in the summer of 1914 engaged Europe in an internecine strife and America in the maintenance of the freedom of her seas. They had little time to pay attention to their interests in China. Japan was left free to satiate her imperialist ambitions in Eastern Asia. Under the convenient cloak of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, negotiated in 1902 and renewed in 1911. Japan sent an ultimatum to Germany on August 15, 1914, demanding the withdrawal of armed vessels from the eastern waters and the turning over of the leased territory of Kiaochoo to Japan, and not to China, "with a view to eventual restoration to China". Hearing no reply, Japan declared war on Germany on August 23 and prepared to drive the Germans out of Tsingtao and its neighbourhood territories.

The Japanese had an easy victory in November, for the Germans had no adequate troops for resistance. Not contented with this, they extended their occupation beyond the bounds of the German lease hold. Great Britain had sent token forces

and the United States was informed that "Japan had no territorial ambitions". The Chinese Government protested against the violation of neutrality as well as against the harsh treatment of the Chinese. It also deined a war-zone following the precedent of the Russo Japanese war. Japan's reply was sharp and in a tone of injnred feeling. She accused China for her lack of confidence on her friendship and good faith. But how sincere was this pledge of friendship, was soon proved by Japan's Twenty-one Demands in China.

The Japanes minister in Peking, Eki Hioki, presented to President Yuan Shih-k'ai in a confidential audience, a series of demands on January 18, 1915. Revolutionary in scope and contents, these demands were kept in absolute secrecy until they were baked by the Japanese government itself. The Twenty-one Demands were made in five groups, the purport of which was to make China a Japanese protectorate. In the first, China was constrained to agree to arrangement made by Japan with Japan for the German leaseholds and the province of Shantung after the war. In the second the Japanese demanded among other things the permit to own land and trade in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mangolia. A joint Sino-Japanese control over the Hancyhping iron and steel works was stipulated in the third. In the fourth group, it was demanded from China that she would not cede or lease any harbour along her coasts to any power. What was more China would have compelled to accept Japanese polietical, military and financial advisers for the whole country and to set up an arsenal as well to put its policy under joint Sino Japanese supevision.

President Yuan Shih-K'ai was then hatching a plot for his ascention on the Chinese throne. He was ready to slice out the interests of the republic, should Japan assured him on the throne. But he would be profitable to Japan if he would win but if he would fail, it would strengthen Chinese ill-feeling. But when the secret deal between Yuan and the Japanese minister in Peking was made public the whole of China was aroused.

Japan then used threats and blandishments and issued an ultimatum in May to move troops in Manchuria. China was thus forced to yield and a treaty was signed. In this treaty, the Chinese Government accepted the first four groups of the Twenty-one Demands, and the fifth was "reserved for further discussion". Henceforward, Japanese influence would be exercised in Manchuria, Shantung and Fukien.

Having laid the foundation, in the treaty of 1915, Japan now proceeded to build on it her protectorate over China. She now took to the oblique approach of rendering support to one of the warring factions in China. Secret deal began with the An-fu clique, which held considerable civil and military strength in China, and the mechanism was found on the Japanese Nishihara loans. China's communications and national resources were gradually mortgaged to Japan. By 1917, Japan's interests in China were recognised by many of the big powers. With the renewal of unrestricted German submarine attacks Great Britain, France and Russia secretly assured Japan to support her claims on Shantung at the peace table; in order to secure her assistance. Japan was further emboldened by Ishii-Lansing agreement of 1917, in which America also recognised her special interests in China.

In the meantime, the Chinese government resolved to break neutrality and join in the European war against Germany. The decision was made partly at the pursuation of the United States and partly the prime minister Tuan Chi-jui, who planned to use it to control the domestic situation. The advocates of war also imitated Cavour's joining the Crimean war to raise Italy's prestige. Its immediate onsequences were favourable for the Chinese government. Boxer indemnities due to Austria and Germany were cancelled, and other payments suspended for five years. The Allies agreed to revise the tariff system, and China regained control over the German and Austrian interests in the treaty ports. But what would be China's position in the peace conference had been already decided in the secret assurances of the Allied

powers to Japan with regard to the German leasehold in Shantung.

At the end of the World War I China sent her delegates to the Paris Peace Conference. Her delegates ably presented her case to the conference by demanding that "immediately or as soon as circumstances would permit, existing limitations on China's political, jurisdictional, and administrative freedom of action should be removed." More concretely, China demanded not only the retrocession of the German leasehold of Shantung, but also abrogation of Sino-Japanese treaties signed in 1915. But Japan refused to talk on Twenty-one Demands treaties on the ground that they were accomplished facts. With regard to Shantung, the Japanese delegates agreed to talk with China alone, since it was a matter concerning these two nations. Finally, Japan agreed, at the pressure of the United States to retrocede all political rights to China over the former German territory while she retained for herself the economic rights there. Regarding other demands, China regained Tientsin and Hankow, secured possession of the public properties of the German government in China and relieved of the Boxer indemnities payable to Germany.

The actual war and her entry into it did not mean much for China. She declared war but she did not fight. But the international disbalance of power caused by its outbreak, left Japan free to pound upon China. Chinese public opinion was shocked and remonstrated against Japan's authority in Shantung. In the Washington Conference Japan's hold on the German leaseholds were restricted. But she regained control over Shantung in 1923, only when she agreed to compensate it for the former German railway there. The war party in China was, however, disappointed, since the Versailles Settlement not only did not improve the prestige of their nation in the Italian way, but subjected it to further humiliations.

5. Discuss the background and process of the Kuomintang reorganisation before its assumption of political control in China.

The Background Beginnings of change in the thought process of the Chinese may be traced back to China's repeated failures before the western armies around the middle of nineteenth century. But there were attempts to alter by bits and pieces of the Confucian model. This revisionism of the early Chinese leaders was crystalised on the racial tension between the Chinese and the Manchus. In fact, before the 1911 revolution, Chinese social thought including even that of the Tung-meng Hui contained only a narrow nationalism, or racialism and the overthrow of monarchy did not contribute much towards this. More comfortably did the people begin to make a choice between a strong presidential system and a responsible cabinet system, between bicameral and unicameral legislatures. These were political researches and they had very little to do with the actual social conditions. China, thus plunged into a ceaseless battle for power decumulation ; and politics was taken without the society.

During the second half of the second decade of the present century two things stimulated the Chinese intelligentsia. First, as early as 1915 they felt the need of a simple language to communicate political discussions to the whole nation. A literary revolution was thus sponsored by the Chinese magazines, and the spoken-language style or *pai-hua* was made an effective means of propaganda. Secondly and coincidentally, the overthrow of the despotic tsardom by the Bolshevik revolutionaries in Russia, and the defeat of the powerful emperor William II in Germany shook the Chinese thinking circles. The intelligentsia in China now began a new cultural movement, and did no longer able to discard Sun Yat-sen's principle of people's livelihood as merely a Utopian hope. There was disagreement among leaders regarding the way of China's salvation. But they argued in support of various

'isms' including socialism, out of which heralded a great change in social thinking.

China also ceased to remain passive, complacent only with paper discussion of social problems. The government's failure to recover Shantung in the Paris Peace Conference exploded into student and merchant strikes on May 4, 1919. The May Fourth Movement began in Peking, and soon spread like a wildfire to Shanghai and to the whole nation. It was a protest, directed against the war lords, policy of selling out of national interests and against the unequal treaties. Immediately the pro-Japanese traitors were removed, and from this movement had started the organisation of the students' unions in all the leading provincial cities. At Peking was organised the National Students Union which was proved to be more effective than the Kuomintang. Later on, many members of the student unions joined in the Kuomintang and the Communist Party as their cadres.

Again, attempts to promote socialism in China had begun as early as 1912. The Russian Revolution attropined the people to organise active socialist organisations. They had been badly affected by the pressure of the militarists and imperialists and their squandary of even the school funds. Opportunities of education was minimised ; and there was no scope of employment. The idea of Russian Communism was gaining ground, and radical leaders started to arouse class consciousness of the people. In 1919 was organised China's Youth Organisation for Socialism ; and in the next year the Secretariat of the Labourers' Union. In 1921 the Chinese Communist Party was organied and held its first national congress at Sanghai. Between 1920 and 1923 workers in railways, mines, ports and mills were all led to a series of strikes and students organised agitations and parades in support of them. These were meant to inject a rebellious spirit to fight against warlords and imperialists.

Moreover, due to the new attitude of the revolutionary government of Russia, the Chinese intellectuals devoloped a

friendly and sympathetic attitude towards Soviet Russia. The Moscow government not only denounced all unequal treaties signed between the Tsarist government and China, but at the same time sent the Ignatius Yourin mission in August 1920. Although the warlords did not support a denunciation of imperialism from Russia, professors and students were delighted at this. A representative of Soviet Russia, Adolf Joffe, was very enthusiastically welcomed in August, 1922. Many of the Chinese social thinkers combined their desire to unify the people with the Marxist principles ; and the Communist Party raised the slogans, "Down with War Lords" and "Down with Imperialism." In this background the Kuomintang was not only organised but took many Communists as its members.

The process : The Kuomintang was reorganised in three stages. In its first phase, the party adopted a definite name. In the second, it prepared itself to accept Communist members and to ally with Russia in 1923. Finally, this policy was fulfilled in 1924.

In 1913, Yuan Shi-k'ai dissolved the Kuomintang ; but in the next year it was reorganised into the Chinese Revolutionary Party or *Chung-hua Ko-ming Tang* in Tokyo. It was an underground organisation, but after Yuan's death, its members returned to the parliament. At its headquarters at Shanghai, Sun Yat-sen, between 1918 and 1919, wrote two books to effect psychological change and material rehabilitation of the Chinese people. These books were *Sun Wen's Political Theory* and his *Industrialisation Plan* and they were combined under the title *Plans for the National Reconstruction*. Finally it was unified and formally adopted the party name, *Chung-kuo Kuo-min-tang*, on October 10, 1919. But at this time Sun and his party had no mandatory political platform in China.

It was also during his forced retirement at Shanghai that Sun felt the necessity of one party to monopolise the government during the revolutionary period. It was also considered for the party members to obey their leader *tsung-li* absolutely,

He elaborated his programme in his *Revolutionary Strategy* and divided his revolution in three stages—military conquest, political tutelage, and constitutional government. The Bolshevic Revolution in Russia reinforced his conception of party dictatorship, to which his followers were not very loyal. Sun then allowed the Chinese Communists to join the Kuomintang, and was so impressed with the practice of Communism in Russia, that he hoped for an alliance with Russia.

The draft plan for the Kuomintang was prepared in late 1922 and it was announced in January, 1923. In this manifesto, the Three Principles of the People were redefined and broadened. Nationalism meant for the elimination of inequalities among all races and nations; and not confined in a narrow anti-Manchism. The principle of people's rights was enhanced from "establishment of a republic" to "democracy with referendum". People's livelihood included both 'equal distribution of land' and "control of capital". The blue print was taken from Bolshevic Party Organisation, and Communists were included as individual members than as a group. There were talks of an alliance with Russia, and Sun Yat-sen was bent on it. Soviet Russia sent Michael Borodin to support the Kuomintang and he was invited to advise the provisional Central Executive Committee.

On January 20, 1924, a National Congress of the Kuomintang was held at Canton and six members, three elected and three selected by Dr. Sun, from each of the provinces participated in it. In his inaugural address Sun analysed the party history, and announced that the party would be placed above the nation "to use the power of the political party to reconstruct the nation". A presidium of five members was formed; and the Congress was congratulated by the Soviet ambassador Karakhan.

The Kuomintang Organisation of 1924 was as follows :—

National Party Congress

Central Executive Committee, Central Supervisory Committee

Central Party Headquarters (*Tang-pu*)

Provincial Tang-pu	Special District Tang-pu
Special Municipal Tang-pu	Special Tang-pu
Hsien Tang-pu	District Tang-pu

County Party Headquarters (*Ch'u tang-pu*)

Branch Party Headquarters (*Ch'u fen-pu*)

In this reorganised Kuomintang all power converged in the National Party Congress, and actually to its President. Sun Yat-Sen had already established the Whampoa Military Academy to train the revolutionaries.

Conclusion : The idea of Kuomintang reorganisation was thus originally of Sun Yat-Sen, but later it was influenced by the success of the Bolshevich Revolution in Russia. The literary revolution helped its ideas spreading and the Whampoa Academy trained its soldiers. The draft of the reorganisation was solely retraced from the blueprint of the Bolshevich Party and Sun Yat-Sen expanded his three principles accordingly. While aiming at the general welfare of the people, the reorganised Kuomintang brought about a cultural and political rebirth of China. It attempted to fill the void in the realm of Chinese social thinking.

Q. 6. Discuss the re-unification of China under the Kuomintang.

The basic concept of the Kuomintang under Sun Yat-Sen was that one day the Chinese Revolution would march in arms from its home in Canton northwards to rid the land of the warlords and their foreign masters. Accordingly the party was reshaped in 1924 as "an organised and aggressive party", on the basic ideology embodied in Sun's Three Principles of the People. In the north too, the people were wearied by the years of pointless civil strife and of exactions, and internal dis-sensions of the Peyang warlords. They were ready to lend support to any one who would promise them peace and well-being. Sun Yat-Sen himself took the offensive ; but he had not lived to see his dreams fulfilled. Yet the re-unification of China remained as the fundamental ambition

of the Nationalists and Communists alike. Under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek they resumed the northern expeditions in July 1928 ; and a National Government in China in August, 1925. But the Chinese re-unification under the Nationalists was achieved not without internal dissensions and squabbings.

The *Declaration by the First National Congress of the Kuomintang*, 1924 did not immediately led to the extension of Sun Yat-Sen's military government beyond Canton. On the contrary its own position was at stake due to the agitation of the Canton merchants, provoked and supported by the British. At this time, the Whampoa Military Academy was formally inaugurated ; and Sun led an abortive northern expedition. Convulsive struggles soon ensued between the Merchants' Association and the Kuomintang, and on the pretext to undo the *coup d'etat* of the former, the latter forfeited the weapons of their militia. In the meantime, the unpopular government of Ts'ao Kun fell from power in the north, and Tuan Chi-Jui assumed full control over the affairs under the designation of "chief executive". Dr. Sun maintained close relations with Tuan and his associates ; but finally he broke with them in December 1924, over the policy towards imperialism. He died on March 12, 1924.

The Executive Government in the north under Tuan Ch'i-Jui did not fare better than the earlier ones. Tuan knew very well that the allegiance to him of the warlords along the Yangtze valley was a measure of exigency ; and he was to depend on Chang Tso-Lin's Fengtien Army and Feng Yu-Hsiang's Nationalist Army. But there had already been going on an underhand struggle between the two armies ; and both of them were eager to occupy the area around the Peking-Hankow Railway. They expanded their respective spheres of influence ; and the contending warlords of Honan and South-East China took full advantage of their struggle. By the end of 1925 all the warlords were virtually divided in two armed camps ; and in the subsequent war completely disintegrated the Executive Government. Chang Tso-Lin emerged as the

puppet master of the Peking regime. He also arrived at an understanding with his arch-enemy of two years before, Wu Pei-fu.

Within the Kuomintang Sun's death was followed by personal struggle among leaders for supremacy. But neither the Communists nor their opponents were strong enough to attempt an actual *coup*. All of them were of eager to perform the historic mission of northern expedition. But they differed in opinion with regard to the suitable time. While the Chinese Communists and the Russian observer considered any move at once as premature, the Nationalist left were in favour of launching an expedition without further delay. The president of the Whampoa Military Academy, Chiang Kai-shek held a third and more accurate view. He held that the league and covenant which bound the northern warlords together were no more than their previous pacts of mutual support and loyalty. To him the only real worry was the possible Japanese or western intervention in order to prop up the counter-revolutionary government. Finally the Canton government endorsed the opinion of Chiang Kai-shek and conferred on him plenary authority as commander of the Northern Expedition in June 1926.

Chiang Kai-shek organised the expedition in July in three directions. A column of the expeditionary army was sent toward the north, the seat of Wei P'ei-fu's power in the Wuhan cities. Peasants in the area rallied round the invaders and by October Wu's headquarters of Hankow fell and he fled northwards to the temporary safety of Hunan. The progress of the other two columns was considerably less spectacular. The eastern column did not reach Foochow till December while the central force led by Chiang himself entered Nanchang on 8 November. Now it was felt necessary that for the successful operation of troops it was necessary to remove the central administration from Canton to a convenient place. The phenomenal success of the northern column encouraged the Communists and revived self-confidence among

Nationalist leftwing. Obviously Shantung was their choice, while the Commander-in-Chief desired to have his headquarters at Nanchang. The Communist allies ignored his demand and deliberately transferred it to the province of Hankow. The Wuhan Government was formally inaugurated on the New Year's day 1927.

The inauguration of the Wuhan regime was a direct affront to Chiang's dictatorial powers ; and it told upon the Nationalist Communist alliance heavily. He gathered around him leaders of the powerful secret societies and representatives of the banking world, and inflicted a heavy blow upon the Communists by making a forced entry into Nanking. The return of Wang Ching-wei caused a temporary headache, but Chiang succeeded in striking the blow by surrounding and disarming the Worker's General Union. A *coup* was also effected in Canton. These and other incidents led to split in the Nationalist-Communist Alliance. The Comintern Executive in 1926 upheld the thesis that the Chinese Communists must strive to develop the Kuomintang by supporting the left wing while at the same time demoralising the forces of reaction by arming the peasants. M. N. Royan Indian, played an important role in arriving at the decision but he disclosed the news to Wang Ching-wei, a left wing member of the Kuomintang, instead of to the Chinese Communists. This caused a tremor among the leftists, who finally cut off their relations with the Communists. This led to the purge of the Communists out of the Party.

The immediate goal of the Nationalists to overthrow the warlord regime was yet to be fulfilled. Chiang resumed his march to the north leaving the Hankow government to be engrossed by its domestic problems. But before proceeding much, he retired to his native home in order to re-unify the left and right wings of the Kuomintang. The holidays were especially rewarding for after a brief sojourn he was off to Japan where romance was waiting for him in the person of Miss Meiling Soong. He was baptised and married her at

Sanghai. During his absence the Wuhan government was amalgamated with its rival to form a new government at Nanking. But this did not ease factionalism within the Kuomintang; and Wang Ching-wei actually fostered to establish a Canton commune. Its suppression was a bloody affair. Chiang returned from his honeymoon on January 7, 1928 and resumed supreme command of the revolutionary armies.

The northern expedition was again put in motion in April 1928. This time the disclosure of the *Tanaka Memorial* helped to divide Chang Tso-lin from his Japanese masters. The subsequent Japanese invasion eased the work of the Kuomintang forces. Chang Tso-lin was murdered and his son Chang Hsueh-liang joined the Nationalists. By July the Nationalists fairly accomplished their first task, viz., political re-unification of China save for Manchuria. In August they turned their attention to organise the period of tutelage after the plans of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen.

CHAPTER XXVI

SUN YAT-SEN

Q. 1. Explain Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People" and estimate his contributions to the growth of Chinese nationalism.

The Three Principles of the People : The Three Principles of the People had been the basic ideas of Sun Yat-sen since they were formulated in 1905. But they were subsequently modified and expressed in the *Sun Min Chu I* in the context of the post-war developments. Even after his death they remained the basic manifesto of the Chinese Nationalists.

The first of the Three Principles was *Min-tsu* or People's Nationhood. Originally when it was first conceived in 1905 as a part of the programme of the T'ung-meng-hui, Nationalism connoted only liberation of the Chinese people from the alien Manchu rule. It was plainly anti-Manchuism. It was achieved in 1911, but events since then had demonstrated that the end of Manchu rule did not automatically make the Chinese people a nation. The idea was now confronted with a new bugbear, foreign imperialism, against which the Chinese people needed to cement themselves together into a strong modern State. It was thus widened in scope, and embodied the idea of a unity embracing all groups of people, major and minor. It sounded like a federalism ; but Sun Yat-sen revised it only towards anti-imperialism.

The second was *Min-ch'uan*, translated as People's Authority or Democracy. Sun proclaimed this principle by attacking

the constitutional monarchists as counterparts of 'absolutism'. More positively it would help to establish a republic after the expulsion of the dynasty. Vaguely it would be achieved in three stages ; armed revolution, military government, and then after six years a national constitutional government. In 1924 these three stages denoted that the Kuomintang revolution was to be followed by Kuomintang tutelage, during which period the party would handle the affairs until the people irrespective of wealth or class, would be allowed to elect the organs of the State. These organs would include offices to fulfil the traditional Chinese functions of Examination and Censorship, besides a Legislature, an Executive and a Judiciary of the western type. Sun Yat-sen probably derived his views from western republicanism, the Swiss doctrine of initiative, referendum, election, recall, Soviet democratic centralism and Chinese ideas of examination and control.

The last of the Three Principles was called *Ming sheng* or People's Livelihood. Sun borrowed this doctrine from an American, Henry George and expressed in it a number of theories, which he had come to pass. In essence it connoted the "equalization of land-ownership." Mr. Alervy rightly explained, "It did not envisage the general nationalization of land in its redistribution, but the restriction of unearned profits by private owners whose land,... had vastly increased by reason of its situation and development of industries and communications through the labour of the community." It was thus a vague doctrine, which failed to solve the problem of peasantry. In 1924, it was implied that its goal was equalisation of land ownership according to value and that the landless peasants would be given land by the State. The State would enact labour laws to protect the workers, and large industrial enterprises would be put under public control. With this doctrine Sun Yat-sen proceeded to fight capitalism and Marxism at the same time.

These were, in short, the Three Principles of the People ;

enunciated and elaborated by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. After his death his *Sun Min Chu I* became the Bible of the Nationalists.

Contribution to Chinese nationalism: Sun Yat-Sen had promulgated the doctrine of nationalism among the Chinese, when it had been rather a passive factor. Even when he had first propounded it 1905, he restricted it only to anti-Manchuism. Nationalism in its present details was known to only those Chinese, who had gone abroad to pursue studies. But their number was almost microscopic in relation to the Chinese population.

Chinese nationalism which had been already rooted in its society had a stir immediately after the end of the World War I. Before that the Europeans had brought in their nationalism with their tools and textiles, trinkets and guns. The western communities, residing in China, had already demonstrated before the Chinese the blessings of industrialism, democracy and nationalism. People in China became aware of the strength of an Asian power in Russia's defeat at the hands of Japan. There had been dissatisfaction among the people but the diplomatic discomfiture of the Chinese delegates at the Paris Peace Conference over Shantung melted the rock. On the Fourth of May 1919, students demonstrated their resentment in a general strike which resulted in a general boycott of Japanese goods. Nationalism no longer remained a passive affair ; it was publicly demonstrated.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 and the end of tsardom in Russia attracted very much the Chinese nationalism. Communism entered into China ; and the Chinese Communist Party was formed in 1922. The most ardent among the Chinese Nationalists were also attracted by the Bolshevik successes. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen also admired the Bolshevik successes ; and began to cultivate good and friendly relations with Soviet Russia. Negotiation began between him and the Soviet advisers headed by Borodin ; and Communists were allowed to join the Nationalist Party as individual members.

Sun Yat-Sen re-organised the party after the blueprint of the Russian Communist Party.

The objects of Sun Yat-sen was a national unification through armed revolution. His experience in the years following 1911, attropined him to change his early conceptions of nationalism. Henceforward, he used it in a broader sense, covering all the Chinese irrespective of Manchus, Chinese, Mongols etc. He also amplified his objectives namely, democracy and People's Livelihood. But to achieve these aims he borrowed a scheme of organisation and a technique of propaganda. He set things for a successful nationalist revolution.

The doctrine of nationalism was actually thesried in the Chinese context by Dr. Sun Yet-Sen. His movements might have been at times adventurous. But it was he, who for the first time felt the need to weed out the foreigners as a basis for positive national growth. He exposed both the positive and negative aspects of Chinese nationalism. Indeed, he was to Chinese nationalism, what Thomas Jefferson was to democracy, and Mazzini was to Italian unification.

Q. 2. Examine the development of political ideals and politics under Sun Yet-Sen.

The life and works of Sun Yet-Sen coincided with that period of Chinese history when the country was set to labour a lot to get rid of the existing political and administrative patterns. He took active part in changes, that followed, and championed the cause of revolutionism and republicanism. Although he could not do much for his cause during the turn of the century, he succeeded in overthrowing the Manchus in 1911, and thus achieved his primary goal. But this did not make the country at once a real republic. Yuan Shih-kai and other war-lords held the stage for more than a decade, during which period gnu laboured in ambiguity. But he orried on a ceaseless battle against these war-lords both materially and ideologically until he reorganised the Kuomintang, the party which he started as his political platform. Yet he ceased to live before his

dreams were fulfilled. For more than a quarter of a century he trained the Chinese people with his ideals and policies and after his death he was regarded as the Father of the Chinese nation. Therefore, a study of the development of political ideals and policies under Sun Yat-sen was not only important, but at the same an interesting one.

Born in a peasant family of a coastal village forty miles away of Canton in 1866 Sun Yat-Sen emigrated to Hawaii to join his elder brother at the age of twelve. He joined a mission school and latter was converted to Protestant Christianity. In the subsequent years he was qualified as a doctor and for a time practised medicine at Macas. He had thus a complete cycle of western education, and had the idea of overthrowing the Manchus from the beginning. He returned to China in 1894 and soon he founded a republican secret society from a group of compatriots in Hawaii. He contrived to use the countrys humiliations in the Treaty of Shimonosheki to organise a *coup d'etat*. But the plot failed; a price was put on his head and he left China in a British vessel not to return again before 1911.

✓ During his exile Sun Yat-Sen travelled extensively in Europe and America, and these travels only deepened his anti-dynastic convictions. He was opposed to the programme of reforms by royal decrees inaugurated by K'ang Yu-wei. Japan at this time became an abode of Chinese students who were attracted by western knowledge and technique, and many Cantonese merchants settled there. The latter financed Sun's trips abroad while among the former he began to propagate, his anti-dynastic ideologies. By 1905 several secret societies were organised in Tokyo with the representatives from both Central China and the Shanghai area. In that summer Sun Yat-Sen persuaded these secret societies to combine into one grand association, and he thus succeeded in organising the *Tung-meng hui* or the General League, whose political programme was to be expounded in its own newspaper.

This programme of the *T'ung meng-hui* was based on the

Three People's Principles outlined by Sun Yet-Sen in 1905. The first of these principles was Nationality, which contained a promise to liberate the Chinese race from the alien Manchus. The second concerned with the 'People's Authority'. It indicated the establishment of a republic after the expulsion of the dynasty by means of an armed revolution. The last one was that of People's Livelihood, which essentially meant for the 'equalization of land-ownership'; Sun borrowed this doctrine from Henry George, an American, and it envisaged not a general nationalisation of land in its redistribution but a restriction of unearned profits by private owners. With these principles at the base the T'ung-meng-hui conformed closely to the pattern, as the circumstances rendered it necessary. Their ideas were combined with that of the Nihilist migrants from Russia and these two traditions came together, sporadic anti-dynastic movements began in China. As a result there were several abortive uprisings in 1906, 1907 and 1910, which enjoyed full approval of Sun Yat-Sen.

Meanwhile, the Chinese saw in utter awe that Russia and Japan fought in their own land. Although the Russo-Japanese war tilted the balance in Sun's favour; but he had at this time followers lesser in number than the constitutionalists. The Empress Dowager now felt the need of doing something to restore the royal prestige, and clung to the idea of constitutional monarchy. Everything was done to make a mockery of it when in 1908 the Emperor's authority was declared sacrosanct. Even the limited right of the people to freedom of speech, assembly and property—were to be enjoyed not before 1917. However, both the emperor and the empress Dowager died in August, 1908; and a lad prince Ch'un ascended the throne with his uncle as the Regent. The regency not only dismissed Yuan Sh'ih-kai but at the same time gradually concentrated all powers in the hands of the royal princes. The reformers were disillusioned and the merchants disgruntled at the nationalisation of railways. The T'ung-meng-hui was ready and the revolution broke out in October, 1911.

The revolutionaries established a Government at Wuchang and subsequently they set free many of the provinces. Later they organised a parallel Government at Nanking and elected Sun Yat-Sen its president provisional. The emperor recalled the services of the dismissed General, Yuan Sh'ih-kai, who had connections with the revolutionaries underneath. This was rather a splendid situation for ambitious Yuan, who had the reserve authority for bargaining. The revolutionaries were in need of money and after prolonged negotiations, they entered into an agreement with Yuan Sh'ih-Kai. Meanwhile the emperor abdicated at Yuan's instance. Sun Yat-Sen resigned the presidency in favour of Yuan Sh'ih-Kai and the seat of revolutionary government was transferred to Peking at the machination of the latter. A Constitution was promulgated to check the authority of the President.

In the general euphoria of westernisation people welcomed Yuan Sh'ih Ku as 'the Washington of the Chinese Republic.' But it did not take much time to bring their disillusion. With the army at his command, Yuan moved the murder of premier Sung Chiao-Jen and trampled over all democratic principles. Sun Yat Sen requested him to retire, and himself escaped to Japan. Yuan thus revived dictatorship and made a plea to move towards the throne in 1915. He financed his bid by Japanese loans and agreed to the latter's Twenty-one Demands in return for their assistance. But it was too much for the people to bear and they threatened a rebellion. In the face of collective opposition of the people, he abandoned the idea of becoming the emperor. It was his cruellest misfortune, and he was exposed to the world as a buffoon. Between rage and frustration, he broke out completely and died on June 6, 1916.

The pitiful end of Yuan Sh'ih-Kai was a counterfeit victory of the nationalist revolutionaries. His death was followed by a comedy of attempted Manchu restoration. There was chaos everywhere, and Peking witnessed a great melee of the war-lords. The north and south of China were divided ; and

Sun Yat-Sen established a new military Government at Canton in August, 1917. From there he continued to invade the north until he himself was unseated from the Canton Government. Meanwhile, China joined the Allies in the first world war at the insistence of T'uan Ch'i-jui, who again was displaced by his Chihli rivals. Sun returned to Canton in 1920 and formed a new military government there. The factional disputes of the war-lords in north were intensified in the meantime and China lost in the bargaining at Paris Peace Conference.

The most significant event during the war years was the Russian Revolution and the success of the Bolsheviks attracted the Chinese students and intellectuals. The students were inspired to organise the demonstrations on the Fourth of May, 1919 as mark of protest against the failure of the Chinese Government at Varsailles. Labourers in different places took resort to strikes and the Chinese Communist Party was formed in 1922. Sun Yat-Sen admired Soviet Government and Moscow on its part turned to him to erect a national Government.' There were prolonged negotiations between Sun and the Russian advisers, led by Borodin. Communists joined the Kuomintang as individuals, and an alliance between the Communists and the nationalists war thus forged. Sun Yat-Sen proceeded to remodel the Kuomintang, with the Soviet party model in his mind.

The blue print of the Kuomintang reorganisation was drafted on the Russian model and Sun became its president for life. It was made a policy-making body. In its first Congress held in January 1924, was issued a Manifesto to the effect that the Revolution recognised as its enemies the warlords and the imperialist powers associated with them. The Three Principles of the People were published in a revised version, Sun added with nationalism the removal of foreign imperialism, and People's rights would thus deprive all counter-revolutionaries of their rights. The principle of People's Livelihood was amplified with the addition that landless peasants would be given land, by the State. Their realisation depended upon

military victory and for this Whampoa Military Academy was started.

With the reorganisation of the Kuomintang, Sun Yat-Sen resumed his northern expedition. This time he joined the victors of T'uan Ch'i-jui to take advantage of warlord factionalism. But soon he broke with them on the question of the treatment of the imperialists. He refused to join the Ministry of All the Talents, and he died in March 1925.

Thus throughout his career Sun Yat-Sen advocated national integration on republican principles; and it could be achieved by revolutionary upheavals. He taught the Chinese people of the evils of both monarchism and foreign imperialism and devoted his life to demonstrate his ideas. But he died before he could work as the midwife of the nationalist republic. In the words of McAlavy "his doctrine of the Three Principles was to become the Bible of the Nationalists and to ensure that in death his influence far exceeded what it had been during his life. It was a fair estimate of the developments of ideal and policies under Sun Yat-Sen.

CHAPTER XXV

THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT

1. Make an assessment of the works of the National Government between 1921 and 1941.

Armed seizure of power from the war-lords was followed by assumption of political power by the Kuomintang in July 1928. A national government emerged, and according to Sun Yat-Sen's plans, the country was now to undergo a period of Tutelege, during which the affairs of the State would be handled by the Kuomintang or the Nationalist Party. Accordingly, a plenary session of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee was convened in August to formulate the administrative structure. In October, the first Organic Law was promulgated containing provisions for a party dictatorship. The five Yuan [department] principles of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen to exercise functions of examination and control, as well as of legislative, executive and judicial powers was carefully adhered to. A State Council was formed, and the presidents and vice-presidents the five Yuans were chosen by the party's standing committee. Chiang Kai-shek became Chairman and Head of the State. A Central Political Council was made up of the State Council and the Party's central Executive to ensure control of the government by the party. Nanking became the seat of the National Government.

The task before national government was to bring into being the revolutionary principle of sun yat-sen—namely nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood. Their successful

implementation depended upon the Kuomintang leadership, nature of its opposition and obstruction from outside, especially from Japan. But within the Kuomintang there were three contesting factions headed by Hu Han-min, Wang-Ching-Wei and Chiang Kai-shek. Of them the first two later became leaders of the Right and Left Wings respectively, while Chiang held a position of eminence by dint of his control over the army. Again, there were conflicts between the Nationalists and the Communists, in which the former was bent on driving out the latter. Moreover taking advantage of these internal wranglings, Japan seized Manchuria, fought with the Nationalist at Shanghai and manufactured the Republic of Manchukuo.

In spite of all these, the National Government fostered to accomplish much of the things in China. In a series of law, criminal, civil and administrative, promulgated from 1928 onwards, the National Government abolished concubinage, recognised only monogamous unions etc. Outwardly these laws were most impressive, but their social impact was of the slightest. In the field of communications, the National Government did something undoubtedly. Certainly it did not introduce railways in China for the first time; but, it constructed a few link lines. It increased the motor roads and introduced civil aviation. A Chinese National Airways Corporation was established in 1930, with forty-five per cent of its shares held by America. In the same year Germany was contracted for the creation of Eurasian Airways. Power industries were enlarged. The Government also provided relief for the flood and drought stricken peoples and built dykes along the banks of the Yangtse.

The most outstanding problem before the National Government was financial, [which it inherited from the past. It was expected that it would quicken the tempo of economic modernisation and establish certain essential foundations of economic growth. To meet needs of the time, the National Government undertook fiscal reforms. Industrial taxation was centralised ;

tariff policy brought under national control, and the annual national budget introduced. Again, in the realm of currency it faced the international depression by abandoning the silver standard. It was replaced by paper currency, and notes were to be issued by three government-controlled banks. Silver was nationalised to check its flight abroad.

In matters relating to the foreigners, the National Government achieved certain things. Although the unequal treaties with the foreigners of the 1840 were not altogether abrogated until the end of the Pacific War, many of the foreign leas-holds were transferred to its authority. In a series of agreements of 1923 with America and the leading European Powers, China resumed her tariff autonomy. Japan too agreed to abolish the *likin*, an irksome fetter on Chinese commerce, which had been raised since the Taiping War. Foreign Powers were also persuaded to agree to gradually transfer their right to extra-territoriality. Moreover, in the municipal administration of international settlement of Shanghai, five seats were allotted to the Chinese. But with regard to the problem of Manchuria, the Nanking Government seemed to have placed it in the lap of the League of Nations.

But these were the brighter side of the picture. On its darker sides, these reforms failed to achieve the main objective namely to establish the country's economy on a solid foundation. These were undoubtedly very notable reforms; but they did not automatically break the barriers of economic stagnation. The National Government did not undertake any fundamental institutional reforms affecting the very roots of stagnation. Nor did it encourage rural reconstruction. There were seldom enforcement of the land laws protecting the peasants. On the contrary Chiang Kai-shek and his associates tried to get a financial empire for themselves. The four families came to control the banks, authorised to issue the new currency of 1935.

They found a highway to great fortunes and in course of time became the financial wizards of the country.

Again, these reforms when they came were at times marred by Chiang Kai-shek's autocratic desires. His sole source of strength was the Whampoa Military Academy; and he built up an elite corps of young officers, the C. C. Clique known after his agents Ch'en Li-fu and Ch'en Ku-fu. Its purpose was to secure unconditional obedience to orders of Chiang as Supreme Leader of the Party and the Government. It also advocated a return to ancient Confucian morality. Another group, known as the *Blue Shirt Society* also came into existence whose primary aim was to suppress all opponents of the State, the Party and the Leader. It was more overtly of fascist type. Chiang Kai-shek thus carved out a personal dictatorship in the name of the Kuomintang and in doing so he not only relied on the army, but at the same time strictly censored the press, films and the radio.

Moreover, under the National Government bureaucratic power grew more rapidly than democratic processes. There were the local police, the secret police, the educational programmes and other devices to control political growth. Leaders were frustrated of it, and formed a number of minor parties. The "Democratic League" was organised in 1941 to oppose one party rule. The period of political tutelage which was to continue till 1935, was not changed until 1941. Besides the Nanking government tended to justify its authoritarian principles by taking resort to Confucian principles. In these circumstances the National Government was largely unsuccessful in advancing towards Sun Yat-sen's goal of Democracy, leaving aside his Three People's Principles in general. It also failed to achieve political unity of China, on the contrary a large part of it was bartered away to Japan in 1931. It is argued that the "Chinese government decided that the war against the Communists must be given priority over resistance to foreign invasion". Even allowing such necessities, the Chinese government also failed to fight Communists politically by achieving a singleness of thought and purpose.

Q. 2. Analyse the circumstances leading to the Manchurian crisis of 1931. Comment on the League's handling of the question.

Circumstances leading to the Manchurian crises :

Manchuria, before the foundation of the National Government, had been under Chinese sovereignty ; but it had assumed increasing importance to Russia and Japan. As a strategic base of East Asian politics it had had its importance since 1895 , and the creation of the Chinese Eastern Railway had increased the economic importance of its natural wealth. Rich in agriculture, Manchuria had timber lands and such minerals as coal, iron and gold. Russia and Japan had extended their capital and managerial investments ; and increased their interests in the region. Particularly Japan's "special position" in Manchuria was established in the treaties of 1895 and 1915 and she did not let them go in the Washington Conference.

But the government of Manchuria under Chang Tso-lin, although friendly to Japan, did not like to permit Japan's "special position" to go unchallenged. After his death, his son Chang Hsueh-liang rallied round the Nationalist Government and became the Commander-in-Chief and head of the administration of Manchuria, Jehol and part of Inner Mongolia. It was a warning to Tokyo that from now on Manchuria was no longer administered by marionettes. The changed situation became evident by the fact that henceforward all matters arising between the north-eastern provinces and any foreign power had now to be referred to the Chinese Foreign Office at Nanking. But the most important development was the influx of Chinese immigration in Manchuria and its population by 1930 became overwhelmingly Chinese. What was more, young Chang diverted traffic to other harbours, served by independent railway links, in order to minimise the importance of Dairen, Port Arthur and the South Manchurian Railway, which were designed to ensure Japanese control.

Thus the National Government in Manchuria under Chang Hsueh-liang had from the beginning a very strained relation

with Japan. But actual hostilities had a prelude in the Russo-Chinese crisis of 1929. Soviet-Russia had denounced imperialism in China, but in the agreement of 1924 with Chang Tso-lin reserved the control over the Chinese Eastern Railway, which provided the shortest route to Vladivostok. Sino-Russian relations had grown progressively worse after 1927, when the Kuomintang had purged the Communists out of the party. Since then, the Russians began to use the Eastern Railway as a base for Communist propaganda. Chang, backed by Chiang Kai-shek at first protested, and then in May-July 1929, surrounded the Soviet Consulate in Harbin and compulsorily took over the railway. Moscow on its part severed diplomatic relations, and then led an armed attack in November against the frontier town of Manchuli, and then against Harbin. This armed intervention was against the provisions of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, but Soviet Russia defended it on pretence of self-defence. The Chinese government was thus compelled to come to terms, and in December it acknowledged the Russian *status quo* on the railway.

There had been no love lost between Moscow and Tokyo on the Manchurian tinder-box. But on this occasion, the Japanese looked on with complacency that the Kellogg-Briand Pact was an ineffective preventive of war and the National Government was incapable of exerting power in the Three Eastern Provinces. So they proceeded to defend their "life-line" in Manchuria. The National Government was also not willing to relinquish its "first line of defence" and the "granary of China". Situations in 1931 seemed ripe for Japan to try again. The very existence of the government of Nanking was torn asunder by dissension. The floods in the Yangtze valley distracted the country. America and the major European Powers, specially Great Britain, were preoccupied with difficulties at home resulting from economic depression. Moreover, in Japan itself ultra-nationalism growing out of the development of industrial capitalism mounted high, and some issue was necessary which would rally public opinion behind the army

in its struggle with the party politicians. Action in Manchuria appeared to be just the thing upon which most army officers could agree.

In fact what was necessary for Japan was a suitable incident in order to take the offensive. Such incidents were not rare ; and two of them in rapid succession helped to set the stage for the actual drama. In July 1931, there were clashes between the Chinese and the Korean settlers, who had settled as Japanese citizens in the province of Kirin. Secondly, on 18 September 1931 a bomb exploded on the track of the South Manchurian Railway and it was engineered by {the Japanese civilians and militarists. The Kwangtung army under Captain Nakamura suddenly became aware of its imperial mission, and they seized the opportunity to find solution to unsolved political problems.

The Japanese quickly occupied Chang-chun and Kirin, and the Chinese forces stood helpless in the face of the Japanese Air Force. Hostilities spread from Manchuria to Shanghai towards the end of January 1932. In the meantime, the Japanese came to an understanding with the last emperor of China, Pu Yi, and by October 1932, they manufactured the Republic of Manchukuo with Pu Yi at its head. Then they proceeded to Jehol in the midst of which China had no other way out but to acknowledge on May 31, 1933, Japan's special position in North China, and the loss of Manchuria. Western Powers were also not displeased to see a formidable Japanese military base being created on the Russian frontier.

The League's handling of the situation :

Various machineries like the League of Nations, the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Nine Power Treaty, had been constructed for the maintenance of peace, following the liberal traditions after the World War I. But none of these machineries were helpful to restore peace in Manchuria or to prevent Japan from aggression. Japan's attack on Manchuria was brought to the notice of the League of Nations under Article XI of the Covenant as early as September 21, 1931. Her attempts to invoke

the power to impose on Japan failed. Instead on October, 24, an order was issued, the purport of which was that the Kwangtung army should withdraw to the South Manchurian Railway zone. But Japan ignored it and defended her attack on grounds of self-defence. Finally on December 10 the League Assembly voted to send a Commission under Lord Lytton to investigate the issue.

Meanwhile, the League opened dialogue with the United States to know the latter's opinion with regard to the application of the Kellogg-Briand Pact. China also urged upon the United States to take steps under the Pact to uphold peace in the Far East. The latter agreed to consult informally with the League on possible moves. She also made her own representation in Tokyo. In January 1932, Secretary of States, Henry L. Stimson proclaimed the refusal of his government to recognise any change brought about by force ; and hinted that both the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Nine-Power Open Door Treaty were at stake. He expected support from Britain and France ; but neither country associated itself with this move.

When the hostilities spread into Shanghai, China invoked Articles X and XV of the Covenant, under which the League was to assess responsibility and eventually to apply sanctions. Accordingly a League Committee consisting of the local consular representatives of the League members was formed at Shanghai. The United States also made a general appeal to the Powers to associate themselves with the doctrine of non-recognition. On the recommendation of the Consular Committee, Japan and China made peace for the time being. But America and Europe failed to arrive at an agreed formula of arms reduction in the Disarmament Conference of 1932. Japan seized the opportunity and resumed fighting. She promoted and encouraged the organisation of local self-governing bodies in Manchuria, and on March 9, 1933, made Pu Yi the regent of the new State of Manchukuo .

It was at this time that the Lytton Commission made its report on October 2, 1931. In the report Manchuria was

presented as a complex product of historical development. It was considered by a special Committee of nineteen League members in February 1933. The Committee recommended non-recognition of Manchukuo, a Manchurian Government compatible with Chinese sovereignty and an invitation to China and Japan to undertake direct negotiations under the good offices of the League Commission. Contrarily, Japan invaded Jehol ; and her remorseless continuance of aggression at last provoked a condemnation at Geneva. The Japanese delegation, headed by Matsuoka Yosuke, walked out of the Assembly, and in March 1933, Japan strode out of the League in drudgeon.

Thus the League of Nations handled the affairs in Manchuria only by appointing the leisurely Lytton Commission. Even the limited measures of the League were not effective on Japan ; for the latter virtually snapped her fingers towards the former. Again, not even the mildest of the sanctions did the League apply on Japan. The political undertone behind it was that the powerful members of the League particularly, did not like to undertake the burden of a war. Indeed, Japan's flouting of the decisions of the League, not only proved the powerlessness of the League, but at the same time emboldened others to proceed on their imperial designs. Japan cautiously approached in building her Far Eastern Empire ; and thus signalled at the beginning of the Second World War. League's failure to check Japanese aggression also affected collective security of the European States. By 1931, it was clearly proved that the League of Nations was reduced to a powerless debating society.

Q. 3. Critically examine the Sino-Japanese relations between 1931 and 1941.

The Sino-Japanese relation during the decade 1931 to 1941 was one of hostilities. Conflict began on the rich and fertile region of Manchuria as a part of Japan's 'mission' on the mainland. The National Government adopted rather a policy of appeasement ; but not without stubborn resistance. The

matter was also brought to the notice of the League of Nations. But in the end, Japan conquered Manchuria and established there the puppet republic of Manchukuo in 1932. Since then politics carried both China and Japan ever closer to a broader conflict. The birth of Manchukuo prevented Japanese penetration in to Inner Mongolia and the creation of a subervient China. These were extremely irritating to the Japanese army, and in 1937 the Japanese Government, having a predominance of military leaders sought to solve the problem through armed force. In China also in the meantime the Nationalists and the Communists made a united front to repel the Japanese aggression. Hostilities ensued between China and Japan in 1937 and continued until their final merger with the world conflagration that began with the German invasion of Poland in 1941.

At the very beginning of the period under review China and Japan came to clashes over Manchuria. The area was vast, fertile and rich in timber and mineral resources. Strategically it was important as a base in East Asian politics. Russia and Japan had long been casting covetous eyes in Manchuria, and invested their capital and managery to exploit its natural resources. Japan assumed a "special position" in the area by dint of the South Manchurian Railways and control over the ports of Darien and Port Arthur. She had secured the privileges in the treaties of 1895 and 1915, and did not let them go in the Washington Conference.

The rapid increase of Japanese influence in Manchuria was not taken at ease by the Chinese authorities in Manchuria. Chang Hsueh-liang, son of Chang Tso-lin and ruler of Manchuria, entered into a compromise with the National Government, and decided to restrict the Japanese intrusion in the provinces of Manchuria, Jehol and Inner Mongolia. There was a large scale immigration of the Chinese people into the region ; and Chang Hsueh-liang built independent railways to divert the traffic of goods to other harbours. It was a rudeshook to the Japanese enterprises, because it reduced the import-

ance of the S. M. R. and the Japanese ports. Japan was then rent by a struggle for power between the military leaders and politicians. The Kwangtung army made the Manchurian affairs an issue at a time when the Government of Nanking was torn asunder by dissension, and the floods in the Yangtze valley distracted the country. America and the European Powers, having preoccupied with the economic depression, were not in a position to protest.

Japan was thus ready to strike upon Manchuria on a suitable pretext ; and it was made on September 18, 1931 over the explosion of a bomb upon the track of the South Manchurian Railway. The Kwangtung army under Captain Nakamura occupied Mukden on September 19. Two days later China appealed to the League of Nations ; but Japan promptly denied that she was pursuing territorial ambitions. However, the League appointed a Commission of Enquiry in January 1932, under the chairmanship of Lord Lytton ; but by then the creation of the 'independent' State of Manchukuo had already made any investigation abortive. The Lytton Commission, however, submitted its reports containing the military conspiracy and condemning the Japanese aggression. Japan was irritated at these, and she herself only recognised Manchukuo. As soon as the matter came to debate at Geneva in February 1933, she altogether withdrew from the League.

China's moves in the League of Nations yielded only fruitless Western sympathy. Japan resumed aggression in the northern provinces of China early in 1933 on the pretext of adding Jehol to Manchukuo. A truce was enforced on China in May ; and in June the Chinese troops were obliged to withdraw from Hopei and Chahar. Chinese politicians were also trapped to accept "autonomy" of the northern provinces under the patronage of Japan. The resumed Japanese hostilities were also the work of the army, but they were small-scale and intermittent. In April 1934, the Foreign Ministry of Japan announced that the Sino-Japanese relations were in no sense a concern of the League of Nations or the Powers. Eighteen months later it

proposed a general settlement on the basis of Chinese recognition of Manchukuo, suppression of anti-Japanese activities in China, and an anti-Communist Sino-Japanese alliance.

But things did not go as smoothly as it was expected. The stubbornness of the Chinese resistance in the resulting negotiations convinced the Japanese leaders that instead of piecemeal method they were to adopt a definite plan to pursue Japan's 'mission' on the mainland. This attitude became more widespread when Chiang-Kai-shek made a united front with the Communists at the end of 1936 to resist the Japanese aggression. Again a sense of frustration among the younger army officers in Japan also led to a mutiny in Tokyo in February, 1936. The Japanese leaders now began to think of an adventurous Chinese policy which would ease the political tensions at home and bring economic profits from abroad. So the prospects of a major clash with China had much increased in Japan by 1937.

The expected clash commenced with an incident at Marco Polo Bridge near Peking on the night of July 7, 1937. Firing broke out between Chinese and Japanese troops and fighting soon spread into other areas. This time the Chinese resistance was unusually strong. The Japanese not only lacked any responsible authority to effect a local settlement, but they also did not want any such settlement. The army-men were at the helm of affairs in Japan, and they conspired to bring the "China Affair" into being. However, the Japanese increased their scale of operations continually and their troops occupied Tientsin and Peking by early August. Soon Shanghai in the south became again a theatre of warfare, and the aggressors thrashed up the river Yangtze to Chiang's capital, Nanking. The city fell in mid-December, and an orgy of loot, plunder, rape, arson and worst sort of atrocities commenced.

The National Government was thus forced to withdraw and eventually to Chungking; and it also showed some signs of willingness to bargain. But, proud of their recent victory, the Japanese were now attempted at subversion from within

China along with army operations. Frequently they had tried in the past to acquire help of Chinese local leaders ; but never did they succeed before the defection of Wang Ching-wei from the Kuomintang. They established a Peking Provisional Government in December, 1937 to administer the northern provinces. In March 1938, they brought into being a *Reformed Government of the Chinese Republic* with Wang as its head—a puppet government—to play a similar role in the Yangtze valley.

Wang Ching-wei's defection inflicted a mortal blow upon the Nationalists in China. But Chiang, as the head of the government refused to yield to the price of peace, the Japanese had imposed. The Communists took the lead in the resistance movement. But the Nationalist-Communist alliance began to show signs of crack soon and eventually it was broken. This further blow was meted at a time when the Japanese had blockaded the whole of China's coastline. The Chinese cities were heavily bombarded and attempts were made to consolidate Japan's territorial gains. During 1938, north China was linked up with the Yangtze valley, and all the wealthiest and most populous parts of China except Szechwan came under Japanese control. Japan then announced the plans for a "New Order" and began to exert pressure upon non-Japanese foreign enterprises in China by February 1939.

The renewed hostilities between China and Japan had an effect upon international relations. Japan was deadly afraid of her isolation in which withdrawal from the League had left her. She readily entered into the Anti-Comintern Pact in November 1936, with Germany and Italy. It was used not only as an insurance against Russian moves, but also to increase the pressure on China for surrender. Japan then attempted a separate treaty with Germany, and the negotiations failed due to the latter's refusal to enter into an exclusively anti-Russian treaty, and the former's to an alliance of more general scope. But its possibilities did not come to a formal

end until a Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact was announced in August 1939. The existing Anti-Comintern Pact was transformed into a military alliance in September 1940. Considering the weight of the Russian problem Japan entered into a neutrality pact with Russia in April 1941.

. Meanwhile, the World War II broke out in Europe in 1939 Japan announced her reluctance to join the War and moved southward to settle the "China Affair" by force. It was a threat to the British possessions in South East Asia. America, and particularly, President Roosevelt knew that Britain was ready to resist the Axis powers both in Europe and Asia. He strained the doctrine of neutrality to its limits in order to help the British. A U. S.-Japanese hob-nobing went on until the Japanese bombarded American ships at Pearl Harbour. It provided America to send assistance to Britain and China. The Sino-Japanese hostilities now became a part of the general hostilities.

Q. 4. Analyse the problems and policies of the National Government from 1941 until its ruin in 1949.

The beginning of global hostilities by the end of 1941 seemed to foreshadow the ultimate triumph of the National Government in China. From the war, China also acquired an enormous international stature. America and Britain finally abandoned the 'unequal treaties' in October 1942, and concluded new agreements with China on a footing of parity. Chiang joined with Roosevelt and Churchill in the Cairo Conference in November 1943, where the allies declared that Japan would be forced to return all the territories she had acquired since 1895. She would return Manchuria and Formosa to China and give independence to Korea. What was more, China was officially given the rank of a great power, and appointed one of the five permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations, which came into being in 1945. But in the Yalta Conference, Dairen was leased to Russia as a naval base, and the two chief railways were to be operated by

Sino-Soviet Company recognising the 'pre-eminent interests' of Russia.

That was the brighter side of the medal. On its darker side, China's new allies, Britain and America, were unable to give her immediate aid. China's fortune was at this time bogged in isolation, and the National Government pretended its independence from the fugitive capital at Chungking. Besides all her war-time problems, the deterioration of her economy was a pressing one. Productive capacity fell short, and removal and establishment of industries were not sufficient. The country could not produce heavy and modern weapons. There was an economic dislocation arising out of inflation. Again there was widespread peasant unrest, and it gathered increasing momentum after the horrors of 1937. The National Government paid little regard to peasant sensibilities, and appeared as a devouring tyrant. Moreover, the country lacked an efficient leadership to realise the Three People's Principles, enunciated by Sun Yet-sen. Chiang Kai-shek failed to keep up the tempo of political unification, and lacked absolute control even over the army.

From 1941 onwards the National Government was beset with growing political rivalry between the Kuomintang and Communists. Their united front for defence against Japanese aggression broke down in 1941. This crippled China's limited resources to resist Japan and paved the way for renewed civil war. The outbreak of the Pacific War and the growing wealth of the so-called four families added strength to the Communists. They organised the peasantry, recruited troops and established 'liberated areas' wherever possible. Progressive deterioration of the economy drove teachers, small merchants and students alike towards Mao Tse-tung's north-west China where life was hard but had a purpose. The Communists consolidated their strength in the so-called 'border region', expanded the membership, and they were indoctrinated in Mao Tse-tung's *New Democracy*. It caused

an alarm to the Nationalists, but it did not immediately lead to open confrontation.

There were efforts on the part of the Western Powers to bolster the National Government during the war years. The United States extended financial aid, a \$500,000,000 in 1942. General Joseph Stilwell of the American military was made Chief-of-Staff, and he opened air transport from India to Chungking in the China-Burma-India theatre. Prior to Pearl Harbour General Chennault's "Flying Tigers" undertook to protect the Burma Road. On the political and diplomatic front, the renunciation of the unequal treaties, China's entry into the Cairo Conference etc. were a part of bolstering up China. In spite of all these, China's war efforts deteriorated and morale broke down. The news incited President Roosevelt to advise Chiang to form a combined war council. Due to bitter relations between Chiang and Stilwell, the President's personal representative, General Hurley recommended the recall of Stilwell, and he was replaced by General Wedemeyer. Hurley in 1945 engaged himself to mediate between the Nationalists and Communists and to clarify relations between China and Soviet Union.

The Japanese surrender and the end of the war intensified the conflict between the Kuomintang and Communists in a broader international perspective. Within China the National Government declined as a vital force, while the Communist Party was reorganised and strengthened. After the Japanese surrender, the Nationalists had to perform three things: to take over and bring its administration over the territories occupied by the Japanese armies, to arrive at a settlement with the Communists, and to revive the country's war-torn economy. The first thing they performed with American assistance; but to the second they were opposed in the country-side both by the Communists and the peasantry. With regard to the third, Nationalists spectacularly failed. In spite of outside aids the inflation remained unchecked, and there was no effective use of available revenue and production.

In spite of all these, American ambassador continued his attempts to bring the Nationalists and Communists together and to bring about economic, administrative and democratic reforms. These efforts were revived by President Truman's personal representative in China, General Marshall in 1945. At his persuasion, the Political Consultative Conference was convened in January 1946, between the Communists and Nationalists to arrive at a military truce, a political and constitutional agreement and an agreement on the reorganisation and control of military forces. The effort, met with intricate complexities and ultimately failed.

Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists then attempted their own solutions to the outstanding problems. Following the principles of the PCC agreements, they made an effort towards constitutionalism towards the close of 1947. A National Assembly was convened with no Communists attended. The non-Kuomintang Group, the Democratic League was disbanded and large special powers were retained by Chiang as its president. The National Assembly, therefore, became a monopoly of Chiang and his associates. Besides, to cope with the growing military needs the currency was increased, adding further to inflation. As a result, private entrepreneurs were affected seriously, and they withdrew their support from the Nationalists.

The Nationalists having thus armed entered into a civil war with the Communists. It is needless to say, that there was a good slip between their problems and policies. Their endeavour was foredoomed to failure. It lasted from 1947 to 1949 when the Communists emerged victorious. Chiang and his associates, having defeated at China, left for Formosa in the American vessels. They, however, maintain till to-day a legal quibble and fiction of Nationalist China there.

Q. 5. What in your opinion is the place of the Chiang Kai-shek in the history of Modern China ? Could he realise the national objectives laid down by Sun Yat-sen ?

Or, Discuss the successes and failures of Chiang Kai-shek in

internal and external policy during the second quarter of the twentieth century.

It is a very difficult job to determine the place of Chiang Kai-shek in the history of China. Was he a despot or an urban constitutionalist, or simply an army commander devoid of any qualities of statesmanship? Opinions differed among historians. It was more so, because he rose to prominence at the crest of a tide of nationalism but he ended his days in China giving it to Communist control. Communists had to fight a life and death struggle with him, and naturally they have labelled him as a gigantic monster. On the other hand, the British and Americans had many deals with him, and they estimated him as a man with "some qualities of political as well as military leadership and of ethical nature." However, a clear picture of his position may be available from a study of his achievements and failures.

Chiang Kai-shek started his career as an army cadet, and his abilities in that position drew on him the attention of Sun Yat-sen. Sun sent him to Moscow to study the military sciences there. In 1924 he became the founder chairman of the Whampoa Military Academy. He thus became one of the key figures in the Kuomintang, re-organised in 1924. Sun's death in 1925 and the subsequent conflict among his followers for leadership opened for him a bright career. The Kuomintang was then divided into right and left wings each having the same goal, i.e., unification of China under the Kuomintang, but each of them prescribed different means. Within the Kuomintang there were the Communists at this time and the north of China was then rent by squabbles among the warlords. Chiang Kai-shek appeared with his own programme of action in which he estimated that even more than the warlord the attitudes of the foreigners were to be considered basically. In the pointless disputes among the Kuomintang leaders, his scheme of action appeared promising and he was invested as the Commander-in-Chief of the expeditionary army.

The task before Chiang as the leader of the Kuomintang was to fulfil the unfinished scheme of Sun Yat-sen. It was not easy as well, because the party was then divided into two distinct groups. He marched his army in the northern expedition under three columns and won the much coveted win in 1928. Meanwhile, he purged Communists out of the party. For the first time in the history of Chinese nationalism, Chiang brought the whole of China under the banner of the Nationalists at least in appearance. Indeed, the Nanking Government claimed sovereignty over the vast territory in north China which had been hitherto the venue of contest for the rivalling warlords. He thus completed the first stage of the nationalist revolution, i.e., military victory, as inunciated by Sun Yat-sen, and started the second, i.e., political utelege under one party by introducing the five year system in the organic Law of 1928.

From 1931 onwards the National Government under Chiang Kai-shek faced the Communist challenge from within and the the Japanese aggression from outside the country. In that year Japan invaded Manchuria and hostilities ensued between the two countries.- Chiang while offered a stubborn resistance left the matter to the ultimate decision of the League of Nations. More earnestly did he engage himself in the suppression of the Communists, and allowed the Japanese to establish a base in the Chinese mainland in the creation of the puppet regime at Manchukuo. In doing so, he allowed the Communists to become patriots in the eyes of the nation.

Otherwise he made a good start. Finances were put in order, currency reformed and the budget balanced. Railways and highways were constructed and repaired. Nanking was made the heart of the emerging state. A new code was promulgated in 1921 and the unequal treaties "were abolished theoretically". Matters relating to extra-territoriality and foreign settlements were considered. These were measures required for the exigencies of the time. But here also all was not well with the new wave. His personal ambitions ran higher than

all these. He organised the *C. C. Clique* and the *Blue Shirt Society*, and put a rigid censor on press, radios and films. In his financial measures Four Families found a highway to great fortune.

The Japanese aggression continued beyond Manchukuo, and against the Japanese menace Chiang was obliged to form a united front with the Communists. The Japanese undertook their expedition with renewed vigour in 1937, and against this Chiang, although offered a stubborn resistance had to surrender Peking, Tientsin and even Nanking, and the National Government had to proceed to the refuge capital at Chungking. Nor was he able to keep pace with the Communists. One of his early associates, Wang Ching-wei, defected from his camp and helped the Japanese to set up the *Reformed Government of the Chinese Republic* at Nanking in 1938. Final break down of the Nationalist Communist Alliance came in 1940. Fortunately, Chiang was saved by the outbreak of global hostilities in 1941; and America and Great Britain came to his assistance.

But matters in China did not stand in his favour during the war and after it. The Communists had already established a very vast "liberated areas" and peasants were with them. Chiang's economic measures led to inflation. Coupled with the military expenses the currency was debased. As the laws of economy was at work he alienated the private entrepreneurs. Efforts were made to effect a political settlement with the Communists. In stead Chiang organised a parliamentary government with his party as the only participant, and he as its supreme head. Matters came to a head in 1947 when civil war ensued between the Nationalists and Communists. It ended in 1949, when Chiang and the remaining nationalists were banished to Formosa.

Chiang Kai-shek was thus victorious only in his earlier years of power. Since then his record was one of successive failures in the hands of Japan and the Communists. One significant aspect of his career was that yet he continued his

rule for more than two decades in China proper. His success against the warlords was spectacular, and brought the nationalist cause to a victory. But there after, the Generalissimo was guided by his personal ambitions for power, and managed the affairs of the State accordingly. But in all his attempts in this direction, particularly in repelling the Communists, his were a remarkable failure. He had his source of strength in the army, and in pursuit of his desire for a personal dictatorship he himself was reduced to a spent bullet.

A clearer picture may be had of Chiang's place in history by an analysis of his efforts to put into effect the national objectives enunciated by Sun Yat-sen. There is no denying the fact that he won the military victory and established a Political Tutelage of the country under the Kuomintang. But with regard to the third stage, i.e., establishment of democratic rule, he only made a puppet show of it in 1947. Democracy was the second of the Dr. Sun's Three People's Principles. Again, with regard to the third principle, i.e., People's Livelihood, he did absolutely nothing. On the contrary, he exploited the country's economy towards the Four Families of his and his relatives.

It has already been noted that Chiang had his outstanding ambitions, and he aimed at his personal dictatorship. But it was not compatible with the ideas and teachings of Sun Yat-sen. In order to achieve his designs, he revised the doctrines of Sun Yat-sen by advocating 'the ancient Confucian morality on the plea of fighting Communism. His political ideas are embodied in his *China's Destiny* where he presented a programme closely parallel to the reform philosophy of Meiji Japan. A reading of the book led one to think, that he was a disciple of nineteenth century European nationalism. However, he could become neither a "political philosopher and utopist" like Sun Yat-sen, nor a rigid doctrinaire and capable military leader like Mao Tse-tung. In the annals of China, he is remembered as a political, military, and ethical demagogue.

CHAPTER XXVIII

INTO COMMUNISM AND AFTER

1. Give a brief survey of the origion and growth of the Communist Party in China till 1949.

The Chinese Communist party may be said to have opened its career as an impact of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917. In fact, the October Revolution aroused the liveliest interest among the Chinese intellectuals who started by investigating the Bolshevik doctrine—Marxism and its Leninist addition. The earliest converts to the new gospel were the members of the staff of the Peking University and especially Li Ta-chao, the librarian and his assistant, Mao Tse-tung of Hunan. Various magazines opened new columns by writing on the need for a straightforward battle between reaction and progress. The old order of thing was bitterly attacked. The rising bourgeoisie scented odium at these; but they were welcomed by the urban proletariat. However, the university teachers and students began to address public meetings to express their dissatisfaction with the state of the country. At Versailles, when the Chinese diplomats failed to bring Shantung for China, students gave a call for strike. Accordingly on May 4, 1919 students demonstrated before the foreign legations, which opened a new chapter in Chinese history. It was a decisive victory for the cultural anti-traditionalists.

Meanwhile, Soviet Russia was not idle to Cultivate good relations with China. In 1918, it abandoned all privileges extorted from China by Tsarist regimes in the past. After

its foundation in March 1919, the members of the Comintern began to make contact with the Chinese Marxist students. Gregory Vointinsky was sent early in 1920 to supervise the organisation of the Chinese Communist Party. A nucleus of Communist sympathisers was formed at Sanghai in May, and similar groups were organised at Peking and Hunan. The movement gained ground so encouragingly that the Communist Party of China held its First General Meeting at Sanghai in July, 1921. It had at this time twelve representatives and over fifty members. Ch'en Tu-hsiu was elected Secretary General, and before its Second General Meeting next year the Chinese Communists organised more than hundred strikes. In the second meeting the number of delegates increased ten times and it was resolved to join the Communist International. In a Manifesto, it was decided that the fundamental task of the party was to promote a democratic revolution, side by side with workers, peasants and petit-bourgeois, against imperialism and feudalism. Thereafter, the Party had a set back, and yet in June 1923 when the Third General Meeting was convened, the number of delegates increased to 432 persons. In this third meeting held at Canton it was agreed that individual members of the party should be free to join the Kuomintang to fulfil its dedicated cause,

Moscow at this time seemed to have a favourite opinion about Sun Yat-sen and Sun also admired the victory of the Bolsheviks in Russia and the Soviet government. His disgraceful failure to erect a 'national government' at Canton led him to seek allies elsewhere. Russia at this time sent an emissary, Adolf Joffe. Sun and Joffe had periodic conversation in the French concession of Sanghai from where they issued a joint statement to the effect that Moscow appreciated that Chinese condition did not require a Soviet system. A team of Soviet advisers, headed by Michael Borodin, arrived in October 1923. Borodin emphasised on the need for revitalisation of the Kuomintang or the Nationalist Party. Accordingly it was reorganised after the model of the Russian Communist Party,

and Chinese Communists were entitled to join it as individuals. In a Manifesto the warlords and the imperialists associated with them were targeted, and unity of the workers and peasants was supported. Sun Yat-sen revised the connotation of the Three People's Principles. The Whampoa Military Academy was formed, and its chairman, Chiang Kai-shek had a Russian training. A period of collaboration between the Nationalists and Communists seemed to have ushered in.

Sun Yat-sen died in March 1925. His death was followed by a conflict of opinion among the rightist and leftist leaders of the Kuomintang with regard to the Northern Expedition, out of which Chiang Kai-shek assumed the leadership. He led his army in three columns, and the northern expedition was unexpectedly successful. It was under the command of Mao Tse-tung who supplemented his efforts by rallying the peasants of the invading area. On the occasion of transferring the headquarters from Nanking, opinions differed. While the left wing preferred Hankow as the seat of authority, Chiang made Nanchang his seat of authority. The former, most of whom were Communists organised the autonomous Wuhan regime at Hankow. But Chiang soon inflicted a serious blow upon it. The Nationalist Communist split was thus accelerated and the total separation of the two parties was proclaimed on July 28, 1927. After the Nationalist victory, the 'Communist Party was made an illegal organisation.

During the period between 1927 and 1937, the history of the Chinese Communist Party was rather obscure. Chiang Kai-shek was, at this time, bent on exterminating the Communists. He hunted down the Communists leaving the Manchurian crisis in the lap of the League of Nations. This again helped the Communists to become patriots, dedicated to the cause of saving the country from imperialist demons. They made use of every step that Chiang had taken like the financial monopoly of the Four Families for their propaganda. Chu Teh organised the Chinese Red Army in August, 1927; and a 'Chinese 'Soviet' was established at Kwangtung by the end of

that year. But then a catastrophe befell on the Communist movement on the occasion of the 'harvest uprising'; and Mao Tse-tung and his comrades were forced to take refuge in the mountain called Chingkanghan. The remnant of Chu Teh's troops joined him in the spring of 1928. In fact after the purge of the Communists from the Kuomintang, the Chu-Mao combination made Chinkangshan their base, from there they spread their bases into Hunan, Kiangsi and the neighbouring areas. Chu was the Commander-in-Chief and Mao the political commissar of the Communists.

It was also the time during which period Mao Tse-tung rose to the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. In 1927 its headquarter was shifted to Sanghai, from where it could more easily maintain contact with Russia and the urban proletariats. From there, the leaders applauded the revolutionary ardour of the peasants, aroused by Mao Tse-tung. In 1928, Li Li-san became the new leader at Sanghai and in the next year the revolutionary movements at Changsha fell. The failure of the urban proletariat there served to re-inforce Mao Tse-tung in his rural predilections. Under his spectacular leadership the Red Army entered Kiangsi and in November 1931 the creation of the Chinese Soviet Republic of Kiangsi was formally announced. But from November 1930, the Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek waged an offensive against it. Although Mao's theory of guerilla warfare initially proved successful, the Kaing-i Soviet was finally annihilated in 1933. By guiding the historic Long March ostensibly against Japan, but really from Kiangsi to Shensi, Mao Tse-tung emerged as the undoubted leader of the Chinese Communist Party.

In the meanwhile, the Japanese had conquered Manchuria and established the puppet regime of Manchukuo. Making it their base, they fostered to invade Jehol and the whole of north China. Mao-Tse-tung and his companions while still on their march, issued on August 1, 1935 an Appeal to the Nation in the name of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Soviet Government to form a Government of National Defence.

This call for a united front against Japan was to include patriots of all political parties, even the Kuomintang and the Blue Shirts. Russia approved the venture and the left wing of the Kuomintang led by Madame Sun Yat-sen adhered to it. But Chiang and his personal adherents were then bent on exterminating the Communists by adopting a policy of appeasement with Japan. But the anti-Japanese virus propagated by the Communists affected the soldiers of their army. Towards the end of 1936 the Kuomintang army at Sian rose in a mutiny, and Chiang survived due to the timely intervention of Chou En-Lai, a Communist. The following negotiations marked a double triumph for the Communists, for not only the civil war had come to an end, but Chiang had been preserved to lead a full scale war with Japan.

Chiang Kai-shek considered it a great humiliation, but he could do nothing in the face of renewed Japanese aggression. But the Nationalist-Communist Alliance broke down in 1939, when Chiang erected a *Cordon sanitaire* around Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Government in the name of fighting Japanese. In 1939, Mao Tse-tung published his gospel of *The New Democracy* from Yen-an. During the war years the Communists were indoctrinated with this New Democracy; and began by starting to organise peasants. Towards the close of the Pacific War in 1945, the Communist *Liberation Daily* announced that they succeeded in setting up nineteen separate 'liberated areas' which contained between them upwards of a hundred million inhabitants. Indeed, during the war years the Communist Party was strengthened both in size and revolutionary spirit.

However, at the end of the War things in China stood very different. Chiang Kai-shek's National Government reached nadir of its popularity. Inflation and consequent shortage of peoples livelihood and morality shifted public opinion towards the Communists. Neither America could bring Chiang to his good sense nor his trick of a parliamentary regime was effective. Meanwhile, the Russian occupation of Manchuria offered him an opportunity to launch an attack upon the Communists.

He launched an attack against the Russians in 1946 ; and the Russian withdrew leaving huge quantity of arms and ammunitions for use of the Communists. Fighting broke out between Chiang and the Communists and latter emerged victorious after two years of untiring battle in 1949. With this victory, the Communist achieved its objective of a proletarian revolution. It was a climax and end of a chapter in history.

2. What do you mean by the 'liberation' of China ?
Analyse the setting of the Communist patterns there.

The 'Liberation' :

The communist victory in 1949 was a unique feature in the political traditions and in Chinese civilisation. This is called the 'liberation'. But historians differed regarding the connotation of 'liberation'. Communist historians emphasised it as the establishment of dictatorship of the proletariat in course of a class struggle. While others stipulated that it was the action of "the old cyclical theory of Chinese history by which dynasties rose in virtue and fell in decay and by which there was never a new play, simply a new set of actors." Whatever might be the amplifications of 'liberation' it had both negative and positive aspects.

On the negative side, the victory of the communists first of all, brought an end to the war. After half a century's protracted disunity the country was brought under one banner in name and in details. It meant the removal of the pitiful roadblock to industrial development. Anarchy was put to a stop ; and scope of arbitrary power abolished. These were the remaining evils of warlordism ; so by inference the warlord traditions were replaced by a new ones. But it did not mean introduction of socialism at once.

Positively, the functions of the government were broadened and carried further than those of the previous administration. The monopoly of force was asserted both in theory and practice in remoulding and uniting the people. The victory of the Communists meant the inauguration of a regime which had successful trial in China's North West. Having a revolutio-

nary heritage, teaching of an ideology and of knowledge of the working of a Communist State, the new leadership had to clear vision of their aims and means for achieving them.

The Setting of communist Patterns :

'Liberation' did not at once lead to communisation of the administrative set up in China. The victors began by convening in September 1949 the Chinese People's Conference at Peking, and drafted there the common programme of general principles, the organic law of the central people's government and organic law of the Chinese People's Consultative Conference. Then they proceeded to proclaim the existence of the Chinese People's Republic on October 1, 1949. In theory the authority of the regime was derived from the People's Consultative Council, which was a broad coalition of Communists and a number of "democratic" parties holding seats in the People's Consultative Conference. In practice the new system acted under Communist leadership, and the principal organ of rule was a Government Council chosen by the People's Consultative Council and led by Mao Tse-tung as Chairman and Head of State. The Supreme Court, the Central Administrative and Military Councils and the supervisory Procurator Generals office were steamed out of this parent body. The responsibilities of the Central Government were parcelled out among six Committees of the administrative zones. To assist their rule the Communists also set up mass organisations. This system worked until 1954, when a new constitution was promulgated centralising the whole administration.

The provisional administrative structure underwent a total re-cast in the constitution promulgated in September 1954. In it the People's Consultative Conference was replaced by the National People's Congress. It was the supreme organ of State having power to amend the constitution, enact legislation, elect and remove the highest officials, and pass on important matters laid before them. But it was a mammoth body of more than 1,000 members and as such it met too infrequently to become a genuine legislature. A standing

Committee of 50 members exercised its authority in between the sessions. Among other changes, the State Council which replaced the Government Administrative Council was to function like a Cabinet under a premier. The Government Council was abolished and its responsibilities were distributed between the Standing Committee of the Congress and the State Council. A National Defence Council was organised, and new institution, the Supreme State Conference, was established to coordinate the work of various Government branches at the top level. The Government still maintained the principle of a unified state operating as a coalition, but actually the guidance came from the Politbureau of the Communist Party.

Economically the Communist ideology provided guidance for a rapid development of China. As early as 1950, efforts were made to 'release agriculture feudal shackles and thus pave the way for industrialisation' Decrees were passed to define the class status and land was equally distributed among the populace. People's Tribunals were organised to see the enforcement of the Agrarian Law. As a direct road to socialism, the first five year plan was to set at work during the period 1953—7. Against rapid industrialisation, there were internal barriers to progress and external enemies scheming to destroy the communist state. Besides both capital and personnel for material transportation of China was lacking. Soviet Russia extended a brotherly co-operation for all these. During the first five year plan, China had a remarkable growth of industries, particularly heavy industries. Steel production increased by 225 percent, coal 200 percent and altogether 4,084 kilometers of new railways were constructed. But in agriculture, there was no much progress, although land was collectivised and machines, irrigation and chemical fertilizers were used.

The "Great Leap Forward" was launched in 1958 to a crash programme of intensive exploitation of the manpower. An essential framework of the "Great Leap" was the organisation of the Commune in the country side. Some 26,000 of them

were created in that year, and they mobilised all the available labour. Production brigades were formed and family was de-emphasised as a unit. In fact "the commune provided the machinery for controlling the individual's economic activity, working conditions, place of residence, etc. This regimentation of the Chinese life resulted in 100 per cent increases of agricultural production. Similar "leaps" were also introduced in big enterprises. This increased momentum resulted in increases in industrial production, the establishment of new plants, expansion of transportation facilities, modernisation of some aspects of agriculture and consolidation of the regime's hold on the populace. All these were temporary, and Chu En-lai inaugurated his programme embodying "Ten Tasks for the Adjustment of the Economy in 1962." But all these had a cumulative effect on China, which helped it to emerge as a nuclear power by 1964.

Another aspect of the introduction of the Communist patterns was education. It became a major tool for introducing the new society. Technical and middle schools were established on a massive scale. It was also a medium to indoctrinate the youths to Marxist opinion. Besides schools, the Communists tried intensively to reshape Chinese thinking through the media of literature, press, film, stage, radio etc. Trained members of the party went to the countryside to the "Three—Antis and Five Antis movements" to expose "corruption, waste and bureaucracy" and tax evasion, bribery, cheating in government contracts, theft of economic intelligence and stealing of national property." In 1956, the party decided to "let hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend." But it was abandoned due to its bad effects.

The Communist attempt at reshaping the masses marked it out of most of the Chinese traditions. The new regime was anti-religious and desired to eradicate superstition. Taoism was treated severely; the Confucian political theory, the old family system and aspects of inherited science and techno-

logy were seriously attacked. In the Marriage Law of 1950 women were allowed to enjoy full equality with men in marriage, divorce and ownership of property. Pre-Communist culture was thus viewed with suspicion, and new ones was set to function in tone with the Communist patterns.

3. Evaluate Communist China's relations with the world powers.

The emergence of a Communist State in China was accorded with mixed reception by the world. While Russia welcomed it and extended all sorts of co-operation to China, America and its associate states did not recognise it and kept it beyond the United Nations. A large number of developing states in Asia accorded recognition, but did not take any active steps to make it a member of the world community of nations. In its early career, Communist China also categorised the nations of the world into three blocs—the Communist bloc, the 'imperialist' powers, and the 'unliberated' ex-colonial countries of Asia and Africa. Obviously, China leaned towards the Communist block from where she could wage war against the imperialists' and precipitate revolutionary efforts in the 'unliberated countries' to help them for 'liberation'.

In June 1949, Mao Tse-tung announced that China must "lean to one side," i.e. obviously towards the anti-imperialist front and the Soviet Union. Mao went to Moscow and a Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance was signed in February 1950. The treaty envisaged that imperialist aggression by Japan or any country allied to her viz. the United States should be checked. Russia returned the South Manchurian Railways and Port Arthur, and contributed the capital and the technicians for China's economic developments. The Chinese Communists also looked to the Soviet Union for models and every kind of political and economic institutions. A period of close Sino-Soviet collaboration began.

As has been already stated, the specific aims of Chinese foreign policy was to extirminate imperialism, and to liberate

'unliberated countries'. In Communist ideology capitalism is explained as the highest stage of imperialism. So, by inversion, it may be said that from the beginning Communist China entered into a hostile relations with the capitalist countries, who on their turn, also did not welcome the People's Republic of China. The venue of their hostilities was the 'unliberated areas', where the capitalist states had 'special interests'. In its mission for 'liberation' the Chinese policy involved aid to "People's Liberation Armies" seeking the overthrow of the existing governments in South East Asia.

The new tactics was first applied in 1950 on the outbreak of the Korean War, when China intervened in support of North Korea. The same was applied in Indonesia, and later in the Indo-Chinese states. But against that the United States undertook counter measures. U. S. military and economic aid to Taiwan was increased in order to meet Communist aggression, with 'massive relation.' To 'contain' Communism the South-East Asian Treaty Organisation, (SEATO) was established. China seemed to have a pause, and for the time being abandoned her efforts to overthrow "bourgeois nationalist" governments in Asia. As a diplomatic measure ; she agreed to a Korean truce and participated in an international Conference at Geneva. China also joined in the deliberations of the Bandung Conference (1955) with twenty-eight Asian and African states, and pledged to the *Panch Sil* doctrine of the Indian Premier Pandit Nehru. Sino-Indian friendship reached its height at this time.

But all these developments did not mean the normalisation of Sino-American relations. On the contrary it worsened in 1958, on the occasion of a bombardment on Taiwan. Early next year a rift developed in Sino-Indian relations, when China employed troops in Tibet and in the illdefined Indo-Tibetan border. Another more important issue was now brewing in an embryonic form,—the breach in Sino-Soviet cordiality. Stalin's death was followed by the leadership of Bulganin, Khrushchev and Mikoyan in the Russian Communist

Party and the U.S.S.R. On their arrival at Peking on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the People's Government, Mao Tse-tung stated that Russo-Chinese companies and the Soviet occupation of Manchuria were infringements of Chinese sovereignty. Accordingly Russia returned these to China and the issue at state was settled amicably.

But Sino-Soviet relations assumed serious proportions in 1958 on the diverging interception of Communist doctrine. The Russian insistence on "peaceful co-existence" was attacked by the Chinese, who stated that the Russians ceased to be Communists when they no longer made revolutions. The Russians, on the other hand, contended that "peaceful co-existence" was an aid to revolution, because by easing the outside tension it increased friction within capitalist countries. Nevertheless, the Sino-Russian tension was gradually sharpened, and in 1960 it assumed open accusation to each other. However, the breach of relations between them was completed in 1962; and in that year China also lost Indian friendship on the occasion of Sino-Indian border dispute.

From 1962 onwards, China trekked almost a solitary road only with Albania. Henceforward, the Communist bloc was divided into two; and China desperately engaged herself to increase her military prestige to provide a psychological appeal among the emerging nations. It was a bid on China's part to regain diplomatic initiative in Asia. However, China has to sustain dual challenge: Soviet leadership of the Communist movement and the West's cultural, political and economic dominance.

Q. 4. Examine the crisis in Korea and Taiwan.

Korea :

Japan had seized the territory of Korea in 1895 and since then it had been under Japanese occupation. But at the end of the Pacific War, it was wrested from Tokyo. At the Cairo Conference (1943) the allies agreed that the country would be given independence. But as a temporary expediency it was decided that Korea would be divided into two zones at

the 38th parallel; and in order to manage the surrender and repatriation of the Japanese, the American and Russian troops would occupy the southern and northern halves respectively. But Soviet-American war-time understanding had been deteriorating; and at the end of 1949 there were in effect two Koreas; the 'people's' regime of the North and the Republic of Korea in the South. The North was industrialised and helped by the Russians, while in the South elections were held by the United Nations and agriculture was the basic economy. Russia and the United States withdrew their troops except groups of military advisers.

The Communist regime in the North was led by Kim Il-song while the southern government was dominated by representatives of wealthier classes with express anti-Communist views. President Syngman Rhee and his associates in the Republic of Korea were continuously making bellicose gestures towards the North. As a result, clashes between the two States were very frequent, and the danger was accentuated on the border. In January 1950, President Truman in a declaration stated, "The United States will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict with China", with regard to Formosa. This also in a certain sense did not exclude Korea. Having assured of it the North launched a massive invasion across the border in June 1950.

The ensuing war between the North and the South might have been due to the latter's bellicose gestures. It might also be part of realising the Communist programme, supported by Russia. Nevertheless, the Southern resistance was broken almost at once. But the episode evoked vigorous and speedy American counter measures. President Truman ordered without hesitation his land and air forces to intervene. The United Nations supported the move, and boycotted the meetings of the Security Council. North Korea was declared the aggressor; and a United Nations Command was sent to Korea. President Truman at the same time attempted to neutralise Formosa. The Chinese Communists, on their part,

noticed that the American intervention was made to prevent the People's Government in the North from assuming control over an integral portion of its national territory. They suspected that America had begun an aggressive war against them by encouraging the South for attacking the North. It was confirmed, by General Mac Arthur's advance towards the Yalu River, which separates Manchuria from Korea. Therefore, the Chinese troops also began to pour across the Yalu in October 1950.

The combined North Korean and Chinese troops drove the United Nations forces beyond the 38th Parallel, and the line of battle remained there for the next two years. China was condemned as an aggressor by the U.N. But General Mac Arthur's insistence on carrying the war to China itself by air-raids over Manchuria caused a panic among America's allies. In that case Russia might intervene, and out of that fear General Mac Arthur was recalled in April, 1951. In July 1953, an armistice was signed in which the existing battle line was taken as the boundary between the zones.

Ostensibly the war was fought between China and the United Nations, but actually it was between China and America since the United Nations Force was overwhelmingly American in composition. China was elevated to the status of a Great Power, which inflicted a serious blow on America's prestige. China's foreign trade with non-Communist countries had fallen low due to her involvement in Korea ; and she had now to depend increasingly upon Russia and Eastern Europe. But she now became the predominant patron of North Korea by defying the military power of the United States. China was also put on the alert against the Americans in Formosa who were plotting to bring back the Kuomintang to power.

Taiwan : Like Korea, the island of Formosa on Taiwan as the Chinese call it, had been a Japanese colony, which the Cairo Declaration had promised should be returned to China. Towards the close of the Pacific War, Nationalist troops under Chiang Kai-shek had occupied the area pending the signature

of a formal treaty. The island was largely populated by the Chinese who had enjoyed a better standard of living than their countrymen on the mainland. They treated the Nationalists not only as carpet-baggers of the most odious kind, but also as foreigners, since they spoke the Fukense dialect. In consequence there was an uprising in 1947 which the Nationalist garrison crushed with atrocious severity and American sympathy. After the inauguration of the People's Republic in China, Chiang and his associates made the island their abode and they were solidly established in the island with a cream of his troops.

Since then, Taiwan had become an independent regime, and there was a general belief that the Communists would strike at any moment. The earthly remains of the Nationalist Government of China was fed and nourished by American aid and methods. The international scandal following the brutal massacre in 1947 alienated American sympathy for the time being. On January 5, 1950, President Truman was obliged to state: "The United States will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in civil conflict with China. The United States will not provide military aid or advice to Chinese forces on Formosa.

This statement of the President of America did not at once mean that his state cut off diplomatic and political relations at the same time. In fact, things stood at the very opposite. Economic aid to Taiwan increased a year after. American technical advisers were sent to make the country look like an industrialised and solvent State. The United States supported the single party rule, ingrained in corruption and skulduggery, in order to make it a parallel, if not rival, State of Communist China. Its strategic importance increased very much after America's humiliation in Korea. In fact, the island of Formosa became a venue of another dramatic chapter in the Cold War between the Communist Bloc and the United States.

PART FIVE

JAPAN

CHAPTER XXX

JAPAN BEFORE THE ADVANCE OF THE WEST

1. Narrate the historical developments of the Japanese people until the triumph of the Tokugawa.

The Japanese were the second most numerous people in the Far East, and their history bore a special character due to the insular position of their land. At various times they maintained their indigenous individuality by avoiding the main stream of the continental life; in other times, they enriched it by importing the currents of life from Asiatic people. That they fostered a spirit of isolationism arose due to their opportunity to accept or reject the importations in comparative seclusion.

When China rose to its zenith of civilisation with the advent of Confucius in the fifth century B. C. the history of Japan could hardly be traced. The Japanese islands were then inhabited by barbarous tribes of predominantly Mongoloid origin. These people entered Japan either through Korea or from the southern coasts of China and Malay through Formosa and the Ryukyu islands. These people were, however, preceded by the Ainu, "a people of proto-white stock but of neolithic culture inferior to the new invaders from Korea." By the beginning of the Christian era, these Mongoloid horsemen brought with them a superior civilisation built of bronze and iron. In Central Japan they shortly established the State of Yamato and made the sword, the precious stones and the round bronze mirror, which they brought with them, the historic symbols of sovereignty. Although, originally Yamato

was one among many clan states, in course of time it assumed sovereign rights of Japan and made it hereditary. These early inhabitants of Japan ascribed divinity to the wonders of nature or *Kami* and later developed some concepts of ancestor worship. This religion was known as Shinto or "the way of gods", which was, in essence, appreciation of nature.

In the successive centuries, the Yamato, which was originally a clan State, pushed its frontiers deep into the Inland Sea. The clan claimed a somewhat overlordship over the whole of Central and Western Japan, which did not mean the destruction of all other clans enjoying autonomy. In other words it meant the assumption of priority by the priest-chief of Yamato among other clan chiefs. Since they were the worshippers of the Sun Goddess, it became the supreme deity of the Japanese Shinto. These early Japanese had indirect contact with China and from the sixth century they began consciously to adopt aspects of Chinese civilisation. Buddhism was introduced, and pro-Chinese and pro-Buddhist faction peopled the Court of the Yamato. Crown Prince Shotoku Taishi himself was one of this faction. He issued a code of morals superior to any political philosophy and decreed *Taikwa* or Great Reform embodying the image of T'ang China. The Chinese political theory that political power always resided with the ruler was formally adopted as the ruling principle but at the same time he retained his original character as chief priest. How far these adoptions of Shotoku Taishi were workable were questionable; but he himself assumed a dual role to play. "He was the Shinto high priest of Japan's divine origins as well as an absolute secular ruler such as the Chinese had long had." That was why, he was often called the father of Japanese civilisation.

Adoptions from the Chinese civilisation were epitomised in the ancient city of Nara. The city bore striking evidence of Chinese influence and modelled after Ch'anghan, the capital of T'ang China. It was the first city of the Japanese people and became the first permanent capital. There were

Buddhist temples in the city, and Buddhism, in this period, acquired tremendous influence as the new state religion. In respect of literature and poetry Nara was a great age. There were such pseudo-histories like *Kojiki* or *Records of Ancient Matters* and *Nihon Shoki* or *Chronicles of Japan*, and anthology of verse like the *Manyoshu*. Politically the period marked the growth of tax-free estates which in consequence weakened the authority of the court. National government began to wither away and some powerful local family such as the Fujiwara clan came to the fore in the Nara period.

In the eighth century the capital was moved from Nara to Heiankyo, known today as Kyoto. It was manoeuvred by Emperor Kammu to escape the political control of a powerful Church ; and it was to remain the capital until the Restoration of 1868. For four centuries since the change of capital, the Japanese revealed that they were not contented with adaptations and imitations, they could also assimilate and innovate according to the needs of time. Thus in the Heian period (794—1185), they worked out a Japanese Buddhism by reconciling it with Shinto. The new capital exhibited the early maturing of Japanese artistic expression. Belles lettres became masterpieces of classical Japanese literature, and an anthology of poems *Kokinshu*, was completed in 905. Ladies also took part in intellectual works ; and Lady Murasaki wrote the *Genji Monogatari*. An adequate system for writing the mother tongue was evolved, and the political and social institutions were Japanised. Although it was meant to preserve the Central Government, it became an empty pretence. The Fujiwaras gained complete control over the court and the capital by marrying the royal princesses. They administered the royal estates as regents (*Sessho*) or as civil dictators (*Kampaku*). Towards the end of the Heian era they also lost control of Kyoto ; and the feudal barons (*buke*) and their retainers (*bushi*) gained supremacy. Conflicts ensued between the frontier warrior faction of Taira and Minamoto, and the old civil government

collapsed. In the naval battle of Dan-no-ura of 1185 Minamoto Yoritomo emerged victorious.

Minamoto Yoritomo transferred his seat of government to Kamakura, and allowed the emperor, the Fujiwara and the court nobility to carry on the civil government. He was invested with the title Shogun (generalissimo) which became hereditary. His seat of government was known significantly as the *Bakufu* or "tent government." His authority embodied complete military control in some areas and a rather shadowy suzerainty over others. The Shogunate took over the *de facto* authority in Japan, while the emperor continued to exercise *de jure* functions. It was a system of military dictatorship based on a principle of dual government in which "an emperor reigned a Shogun ruled." Yoritomo's death in 1205 was followed by the regency of his widow's family, the Hojo, which repelled the successive Mongol invasions. The regency continued till it was destroyed by Ashikaga Takuji in 1333.

The Ashikaga Shogunate (1336—1573) did not introduce anything politically. They set up their capital at Kyoto, and from there they exercised effective political control over the barons and the military caste. Indeed, the rise of military caste was a phenomenon in the Kamakura and Ashikaga periods. The warrior class dominated the older aristocrats of Kyoto, and developed Zen Buddhism as a doctrine. It produced a Zen culture, with Zen priests as the leading artists. The Ashikaga period was also important for the development of trade and industry and formation of merchants' guilds. Particularly there were spectacular developments in the realm of foreign trade. But the central authority, whether of emperor or Shogun, began to collapse and in the domains the powerful feudal lords, the daimyo, made a miniature state, and ruled as an independent sovereign. Each daimyo tended to build up his military strength at the expense of his neighbours. By this process, only a few daimyos overlorded Japan. They continued in their domains until Hideyoshi Toyotomi reunited Japan in the capacity of *Kampaku* (regent or civil dictator).

He also attempted an invasion of Korea. His death in 1592 followed by the usurpation of power by Tokugawa Jyeyasu, who was able to make his rule hereditary in 1603.

2. Analyse Japan's experiences under the rule of the Tokugawa Shogunate, 1603-1867.

While Europe had rounded up the world and set its course towards geographical discovery and expansion in the seventeenth century the Japanese rulers decided to shut out the outside world. In fact the Tokugawa Shogunate in Japan fostered to develop a hundred percent Japanism in an age of insolationism. For two centuries from 1603 they maintained this system of *sakoku* or 'the closed world' but finally abandoned it in the face of the growth of a money economy and the increasing encroachment of an industrialised and expanding West.

Early in the seventeenth century, Tokugawa Jyeyasu completed his victory over his rivals in the civil war and inherited the legacy of a dual government. At Kyoto, the emperor, surrounded by the civilian aristocracy the *kuge*, continued to perform priestly affairs and such functions, which were required to maintain his *de jure* authority. He became a Tokugawa pensioner and was expected to live on his own. On the other hand the Takugawas inherited in the *Bakufu* and as Shagun made Edo, or modern Tokyo, their capital. In both his capacities, as imperial deputy and as feudal lord, the Shogun was the *de facto* ruler of Japan. The Tokugawa Shoguns fostered to create a political and social system, which would preserve the newly won power to the family. For the sake of certainty and stability they considered absolutism more useful than feudalism. So, they attempted a kind of government by paradox, which involved a reconciliation between feudalism and the effective centralised authority in the Shogunate.

In the seventeenth century the Samurais or the knights and men-at-arms of the Japanese chivalry, still dominated the political society. They comprised a military caste and Shogun was only one of them. The Tokugawa Shoguns dreaded usurpation by

other Samurais. Therefore they organised the central, administration so as to enable the weak incumbents to continue in the office. Theoretically, the Shogun was an autocrat, but the Tokugawa Shoguns elaborated the administrative machinery by developing the Councillors of State (*Raju*), the Junior Council and Governors of Kyoto and Osaka. The *daimyo* or the Vassals in Chief whose lands were valued at or above 10,000 *Koku* (50,000 bushels) of rice a year adorned these offices. They were assisted by a number of lower officers like the Edo magistrates, finance commissioners and the censors.

In consequence, the whole system became slow and cumbersome involving a pattern of checks and balances. Monopolisation of the high offices and the growth of vested interests were allowed to maintain Tokugawa power. Accordingly, feudal lords were classified into *Sanke*, *Sankyo* and *Kamen* in terms of their relationship to the Tokugawa and employed in the high offices. The Fudai (dependent) lords were taken as the Shogun's senior advisers while *Tozama* ('out side') lords were permanently excluded from office. What was more the *daimyo* was required to maintain a residence at Edo and he was to leave his wife and family there as hostages when he returned to his own fief. "This system, known as *Sankin-kotai* ('alternate attendance'), was fundamental to the whole mechanism of control". The whole system was therefore, a form of government by council, and it was extended even to the rural level.

The machinery of government in Tokugawa Japan was thus designed not to make any positive contribution to governing the country. Its only aim was to protect the regime and the Tokugawa did it through social principles and agencies. They encouraged a rigid crystallisation of the social orders or classes in which the *Kuge* was the first in rank and then the Samurai of different status. They composed the privileged class. Below them were the village headmen, farmers, landless peasants, craftsmen and the *eta* and *hinin*. In an overwhelmingly agricultural society, merchants came last, because they were

regarded as necessary evil or something parasitic and corrupting.

In a society where each person knew his place, the ruling philosophy of the Tokugawa was of a kind calculated to keep him in it. The Confucian ideas were admirably suited to this purpose and the Tokugawa effected an alliance between feudal authority and Confucian scholarship. The official schools expounded the duties of loyalty and service, and the social and religious concept of obligation (*ho-on*) re-inforced the attitude. This brought about a marriage between the strands from Buddhism and Confucianism, which gave religious sanction to loyalty and filial piety. These ideas and an older tradition formed [a part of *bushido*, the code of warrior class in the capacity of bureaucrat or soldier. *Bushido* thus embodied ideals of behaviour which the ruling class prescribed for itself, and it was readily by the rest of the society, specially by those who sought social recognition.

The Tokugawa success in restoring and preserving law and order after centuries of civil war made the Samurai all the more important as an administrator. Questions of personal and family status soon replaced battle as a lubricant of social mobility. Since a Samurai had to spend half of a year at Edo, he gradually addicted himself to the luxuries of city-life. Since he derived his income in rice, he had to go to the merchant and financier for cash money to pay for the goods and entertainment. The system of money economy was thus slowly introduced. Since it was easier to acquire expensive tastes than to lose them, the Samurai fell into indebtedness. The merchant was the money-lender; and so Samurai debt was merchant wealth. Domestic commerce grew, and merchants emerged as specialists in a wide range of different occupations. The urban element was for the first time introduced in Japanese history and its size significantly increased due to the immigration of impoverished farmers from villages to the towns in pursuit of a better fortune.

This growth of urbanism contributed a new element in

Japanese culture. It created in the words of G. B. Samson a world "of fugitive pleasures of theatres and restaurants, wrestling-booths and houses of assignation, with their permanent population of actors, dancers, singers, story-tellers, jesters, courtesans, bath-girls and itinerant purveyors, among whom mingled the profligate sons of rich merchants, dissolute Samurai and naughty apprentices." Art and literature of this period was largely concerned with this world.

What was more shocking was that some of the farmers, were enjoying some of the same luxuries. Increased taxation broke the classic pattern of the Tokugawa village. Many of the small farmers left their farms, while the well-to-do of them increased their land under cultivation. Ancillary crops were produced, and some of the latter engaged themselves in commerce. So there was the emergence of a class of rural entrepreneurs and began to live like Samurai of middle rank or better.

Iyeyasu thus developed an administrative machine, which would protect the Tokugawa Shogunate from the folly of his mediocrat or worse descendants. The society was freezed and it had every sign of self-preservation. It was a static system based on political conservation and rigid class structure on rule and precedent, place and precedent. But the emergence of a money economy proved all the more potentially subversive to the existing system. Wealth fell into the hands of groups which had had no prestige or power. As a consequence the finances of Shogun and *daimyo* went from bad to worse. Forced loans were levied from the merchants, and which made their position vulnerable and insecure. Local entrepreneurs although themselves were not safe, posed a great danger to the Samurai. Immediate difficulties arose from the financial chaos which had overtaken both central and domain governments. What was more, the West began its attempts to penetrate into Japan in the nineteenth century. Therefore, although the attempt to forestall change was remarkably successful,

it lost its meaning and purpose after the expiry of two hundred years.

Q. 3. Examine the economic problems of Japan and their attempted solutions under Tokugawa Shogunate.

The development of a money economy in Japan under the late Tokugawa Shogunate made money a prime concern to its feudal ruling class both high and low. Factors causing the change were largely outside their own control. Their concentration in castle towns stimulated trade and commerce. They developed expensive habits and temptations during the long years of peace. In consequence a cash expenditure rose faster than a rice revenue. Both the Bakufu and individual Samurai suffered by the same process and succumbed to the same pressure. They fell in heavy debts and once in debt none of them found it easy to recover and specially the Samurai recognised the need for reform for their own survival. Many of them demanded a return to the past, while a few of them planned to come to terms with the new trends and use them to bolster traditional authority. Although reforms had begun by the eighteenth century it was only during the time of Tokugawa Jeyoshi (1837—1853) that economic policies with considerable bearings were initiated at Edo and several of the great domains.

The finances of the Tokugawa government depended almost wholly on rice. But it was subject to variations because its collection depended on the harvest and on the efficiency to be expected from officials. Again, there was a limit to the amount which farmers could be made to pay. So, the imposition of supplementary taxes, and the taxation on the basis of periodic averages without inspecting the crop provoked the cultivator to revolt or to abandon his land. To meet the daily increasing expenses the Bakufu had, therefore, to turn to sources of revenue in cash. There were certain taxes from the beginning of the Tokugawa rule, but the amount derived from them was paltry. Another was its mastery over gold and silver mines ; but the deposits of the precious metals had

been exhausted. The only profitable ways of raising funds were the debasement of the coinage and a levy on merchants associations. But, as Beasley has pointed out, such actions of the "governments in its search for solvency were of a kind to increase the upward spiral of commodity prices." It was an element of contradiction into feudal rule ; yet these measure were taken to restore government finances on the one hand, and to solve the problem of Samurai impoverishment on the other.

Earlier attempts to solve the financial problem were made by Tokugawa Yoshimune (1716-1745) and his grandson, Matsudaira Sadanobu (1786-1793). Their measures included "a cancellation of Samurai debts, encouragement of military training and an insistence on Confucian orthodoxy in the official schools, together with a whole quiver of rules about dress, food, hair styles, gifts as similar matters". But their's were a temporary expedient. They proved singularly incapable to the worsening economic situation of the first three decades of the nineteenth century, which was caused by a considerable increase in the level of commercial activity in Japan. Officials resorted to desperate expedients to tide over the chaos, but they made peasant outbreaks wider from Hiroshima to Niigata. These made economic reforms emergent, and this time a *fudai* lord, Mizonu Tadakuni took the initiative. His were also not strikingly original, for his main recourse was to recoinage and forced loans. He also passed laws to revert the drift of rural population to the towns. For Samurai debts, Mizuno instituted a reduction of interest rates, a system of debt redemption and controls over prices. Artificial as these measures, they dislocated the trade and increased problems rather than solved the outstanding problems. His reforms met with the same fate as that of his predecessors. His career as a politician ended in 1843, and it was also a stop to attempts at Bakufu reform.

Financial situation in the domains was even worse. Most of them were in financial straits long before the end of the

seventeenth centuries, and the *daimiyo* were indebted to Osaka merchants. The system of *sankin-kotai* required the lord to spend half of a year in Edo, and he had to spend half of his revenue to upkeep a permanent establishment in the capital. This was the root cause of their indebtedness ; and like the Bakufu they were also forced to try new ways of raising money. Since prospects of taxing the merchants in those castle towns were much less, they had to borrow from them. Despite the reduction of interests and debt redemption their distress continued to increase. One device for raising their funds was monopoly trading in 'export' goods through a group of merchants or through their own officers. It led definitely to an increase in their 'real' income. But in other words, it meant that a peasant was forced to take a low price, and, therefore, the domain's agents were among the most frequent targets of peasant violence. Yet monopoly arrangements of different kinds rapidly increased between 1800 and 1830, and a few of the domains increased their lot by means of economies in expenditure and improvements in administration. Important among them were Satsuma, Chosu and Tosa.

At Satsuma reforms were undertaken by Zusho Hiromichi. He reduced waste in the collection of dues and in the shipment of rice to Osaka. Yield of main crops was improved, and trade with the Ryukyu islands encouraged. Control over the production of sugar at Oshima was tightened, its producers were paid with credit notes. Proceeds from the sale of sugar rose from 136,000 *ryo* in 1830 to 235,000 *ryo* a decade later although the quantities of production remained the same. It afforded Zusho to undertake an expensive programme of military reforms. The high proportion of Samurai in the population of Satsuma and Chosu checked the reaction. For the economy, Chosu, unlike Satsuma, lacked any single commercial crop. But it exploited the western approaches to the Inland Sea, the most important of the commercial routes. Its reformers, Mori Yoshichika and Murata Seifu also started in the usual manner with exhortations to frugality. Tosa

recoverd her financial stability by means of her rich fishing ground and valuable paper industry.

Reforms carried out in Jeyoshi's era achieved greater success in a number of domains than the Tokugawa in overcoming financial crisis. It weakened the Bakufu as compared to the feudal lords who were the potential rivals of the Tokugawa. This meant a shift in the balance of the economic power which ultimately led to the Bakufu's fall. Particularly the *daimyo* of Satsuma and Chosu utilised the strength of political factors by using the 'men of ability' among the lesser Samurai. But this change did not assume political pattern in different areas or a coherent national movement. E. H. Norman has rightly remarked that it was designed "to shake off the dead hand of conservatism and lethargy so characteristic of latter Tokugawa rule.....without precipitating any cataclysmic changes."

CHAPTER XXXI

THE COLLAPSE OF ISOLATION AND THE END OF THE SHOGUNATE

1. Analyse Japan's relations with the Western Powers before the arrival of Commodore Perry.

Japan's relations with the West : Japan shut out her doors to the outside world during the reign of the third Tokugawa ruler, Jemitsu, in the seventeenth century. This policy of national seclusion stemmed out from the belief that Christianity was an instrument of foreign ambitions and so it was to be stamped out. Only a few Dutch and Chinese merchants were allowed to carry on trade at Nagasaki under close supervision. Even trade came into disfavour with the passage of time. Jemitsu decreed this ban in 1638, and by constant repetition it became hallowed as ancestral law. But the enforcement of the law depended on other countries, willingness to accept the ban and Japan's ability to resist any attempts to infringe it. The position changed gradually to Japan's disadvantage in both respects. Advances in European science and technology, and a new wave of European expansion, linked with the growth of industry and a search for markets, made it impossible for Japan to defend herself in the nineteenth century. British and U. S. trade relations with China and Russian settlements on the Sea of Okhotsk ensured from the south and north that she would not be left alone for ever.

Sporadic attempts to remove the barrier of Japan's isolation started towards the end of the eighteenth century. From 1697 onwards, Russia sent a number of exploratory voyages.

to the Kuriles and Hokkaido, but it was not until 1792 that official attempts were made to communicate with Japan under the pretext of returning a group of shipwrecked seamen. This mission of Adam Laxman succeeded in receiving a permit for one Russian ship to visit Nagasaki for the purpose of opening talks on trade questions. This permit was not used until the formation of the Russian-American company in 1799 when a shareholder in the company Nikolai Rezanov secured imperial sanction for a further voyage. But Rezanov was not permitted to go to Edo; and the Russian proposals were rejected. Furious as he was, he returned to Okhotsk and led a series of raids on Japanese settlements in the north in 1806-7. In 1811, however Vasilii Golovnin landed on one of the Kurile islands; but this time he was taken as a prisoner and released a few years later. Henceforward, Russo-Japanese relations were reduced to scattered contact in the islands, and remained so for a generation or more.

The British followed the Russians and made several attempts in the first half of the nineteenth century. As early as 1791, a British ship the *Phæton* entered Nagasaki harbour under Dutch colours; but the Dutch factors of Deshima opposed such moves, so long as the British did not hand back Java to them. Thereafter in 1818 an unsuccessful private voyage was made to Edo Bay and in 1837 an Anglo-American joint venture was made to gain access to Japan in the guise of returning the Japanese castaways. British Foreign Office did not like the idea and the privately financed expedition by the ship *Morrison* was forced to return to the China coast. Japan was not yet willing to resume intercourse with the world which lay beyond its frontiers.

But the defeat of China at the hands of the British in the Opium War brought about a tremendous change in the international politics of the region. In the subsequent treaties of 1842-3 Britain occupied Canton and opened additional Chinese ports to foreign trade. Other western powers followed the footsteps of Great Britain and the era of their half-hearted

attempts for entry into the Eastern Asia came to an end. Mercantile opinion at home also forced the European powers to put an end to Japanese isolation. Although Japan knew what the Opium War had brought about in China they were not yet impressed by the western might, nor to shake off the ancestral laws. The Dutch who had a semblance of relations through the trading post at Deshima, apprised the Japanese Government of the dangerous implications of what was going on in Europe after the Industrial Revolution and urged to open trade with Holland. But it was flatly rejected. But Britain had commercial interests in the Pacific and Russian strategic. They would have certainly rejected the Japanese answer. But their actions were delayed by other considerations.

But the United States had both commercial and strategic interests in the Pacific and this combination of purpose drove her to force a way into the Japanese waters. The official attempt to do so began in 1843, when Commodore James Biddle was sent to Japan at the request of Aaron Palwer to investigate the possibilities of agreement. The mission was roundly a failure. Three years later, U.S. ship *Preble* also failed the efforts to establish a consul in Japan or to acquire a coaling station there. But in the 1840's America's position with respect to the Pacific was quickly changing. Her Pacific coast line expanded due to British recongnition of US rights in the Oregon territory and acquisition of California from Mexico. There were talks of a trans-continental railway and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company was formed to take part in trade with Asia. In all these Japan became a factor of real importance. American efforts to open Japan therefore become more determined and it was announced in 1852 that a new expedition would go to Japan under the command of Commodore M. C. Perry.

Q. 2. Examine how Japan entered into treaty relations with the Western Powers.

Or, Analyse how Commodore Perry and Townsend Harris

opened Japan to the Western Powers.

Ever since the seventeenth century Japan had closed her doors to the outside world and hallowed it as an ancestral law. But industrialisation, and the consequent growth of economic imperialism in the West made it impossible for her to resist any demands the Western Powers might make for its removal. Sporadic British and Russian attempts were made to break Japan's isolation throughout the first half of the nineteenth century but it was the United States that successfully forced open the barriers of Japanese seclusion. It was because American interest in the Pacific was both commercial and strategic, particularly after 1846 when she came to possess a long Pacific coastline after the British recognition of US rights in the Oregon territory and the acquisition of California from Mexico. Her actions were precipitated by the talks of a Trans-Continental Railway and formation of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company for Asian trade. Japan lay directly on the route from San Francisco to Shanghai and this very fact made it important to the Americans. In 1852, Commodore Mathew Calbraith Perry was commissioned to break Japanese isolation.

Commodore Perry with his squadron arrived at Uraga on July 8, 1853. He carried with him a letter from President Fillmore, together with a number of presents, which he intended to deliver to the Japanese ruler in proper manner and without going to Nagasaki. Arrival of Perry and the obvious strength of his squadron caused great consternation in the Shogun's capital. As a stopgap, Japanese officials accepted the letters and Perry sailed away to the China coast only to return after a year for an answer. But Perry's demands provoked widespread discussion of defence policy in Japan, and opinions differed. Abe Masahiro, who had to work out a policy in this respect consulted Tokugawa Nariaki and officials and feudal lords. Two contradictory opinions emerged. On the one hand, Nariaki advocated the so-called "expulsion policy" of the Mito scholars and urged to unite the country by sounding a call to arms. On the other hand, a fudai lord Li Naosuke urged the Bakufu to

build up Japan's strength by engaging in overseas trade and creating a modern navy and to raise it to equal terms with the West. So, while Nariaki favoured 'war at home, peace abroad' Li the opposite. But the majority of officials favoured a kind of temporary expedient, and it was decreed on December, 1853. This admitted the inadequacy of Japanese defence, and decided to follow a policy of peace and procrastination on Perry's return.

However, Perry returned, this time with eight ships in February 1854. It became clear that the kind of answer the Bakufu envisaged would not satisfy him. The Japanese negotiators were forced to give way step by step until nothing but the question of trade was left to their hold. A treaty was signed on March 31, 1854 at Kanagawa in Edo Bay. By this treaty Shimoda and Hakodote were opened as ports of call, the shipwrecked sailors were assured of good treatment and return to their own country, and America obtained the right to appoint consuls in Japan at a later date. The Bakufu did the best of a bad job; and Perry, although did not secure any specific permission for trade, laid the foundation on which others could build.

The representatives of Britain and Russia at this time had the attitude of Perry and were in a position to negotiate. Since these two countries were preoccupied in the Crimean War none of them was interested primarily in trade. Sir John Bowring, Britain's diplomatic representative at Hong Kong, was discouraged by the terms of agreement with Perry. But Admiral Stirling, commanding the China squadron, arrived at Nagasaki in an attempt to persuade Japan not to give shelter to the Russian warship. He failed in his objective because the Japanese officials were completely ignorant of international code. The latter in despair offered him the same terms as had been won by Perry, and the Treaty of Nagasaki was signed in October, 1854. Soon afterwards, Rear-Admiral Putiatin of the Russian squadron secured a convention in February, 1855, which included the standard pattern; with the addition of a

frontier agreement dividing the Kurile islands between Russia and Japan at a point between Uruppu and Etorafu.

Merchant opinion in America, Europe and on the China coast did not favour the treaties signed by Perry, Stirling and Putiatin. The commercial interests pressed to secure trading rights in Japan on the lines of those already obtained in China. But Russia, Britain and France were occupied with the Crimean War until 1856, and after that fresh disputes arose in China leading finally to the Arrow War. After the Crimean War Russia was busy in consolidating her position along the Siberian frontier and the Amur River. In their absence the Dutch minister at Deshima, Donker Curtius, not only informed the Bakufu of the international developments, but actually used the Arrow War as a prop to secure a commercial treaty. The first American Consul at Shimoda also agreed in the same vein, and succeeded.

Twinsend Harris arrived as the American Consul at Shimoda in August 1856. He received at first a cavalier treatment from the Japanese officials, but by June 1857, he succeeded in securing a further convention settling details like the use of currency etc. But his primary object was to obtain a full commercial treaty and for this purpose in October 1856, he informed the Governor of Shimoda regarding the letter of the U.S. President addressed to the Shogun, and sent a Dutch translation of America's treaty with Sumatra along with it. Like Curtius he was also prepared to threaten the Shogun's Government of the threat of Britain's wrath even before the Arrow War broke out. This was a warning to the Japanese officials, and they were now to look at the foreign affairs in realistic terms.

In Japan, an opinion favouring the permission of trade in some form to the Western powers grew among a group of substantial and influential officials. They did it either to avert danger or as a means of strengthening Japan. Accordingly a commission was appointed to investigate the steps that might be taken. This was given new urgency by reports of the war in China early in 1857. From the report of senior

officials it was made clear that any attempt "to cling to tradition, making difficulties over the merest trifles and so eventually proving the foreigners to anger, would be impolitic in the extreme." So, what was needed was haste and a new approach, and Hotta, who succeeded Abe Mashiro, in the foreign office, emphasised on 'the working out of a policy in advance'. The question now was not whether to permit trade but how to regulate. On this issue officials divided in their opinions. One group of officers considered it both inevitable and desirable, while more senior among them did not think it desirable. But reconciliation of views was achieved in the model of a treaty signed with the Dutch in August, 1857. It permitted the Dutch trade to an unlimited amount at Nagasaki and Hakodote, to be carried on by private merchants under official supervision and on payment of a considerable duty. Another treaty was signed with Russia on similar terms in October 1857, when Putiatin at the head of a squadron reappeared.

Happily the Bakufu made these two treaties the basis of its policy ; but unhappily they did not please the former merchant, Townsend Harris. To get his end Harris reiterated Britain's wrath and advised Hotta to conclude a treaty with America on equal terms. He demanded three changes in the terms of the Dutch and Russian treaties ; appointment of a resident American minister in Edo , trade without official interference, and an increase in the number of open ports. Hotta before taking a final decision consulted the feudal opinion. The replies to this revealed that most lords were now in favour of ending seclusion, but did not know of a policy to take its place. But Hotta had already made up his mind, and on January 6, 1858, agreed in substance on Harris's proposals. Negotiations started and it took several weeks to settle the details. By February, 23 the treaty was ready for signature, It was delayed by a loud chorus of disapproval from the feudal lords. Hotta tried to manage the affairs by securing imperial sanction for his policy. The task was not.

easy, but the news that Britain and France had made a peace settlement in China and were planning to send an expedition to Japan made his way clear. The Bakufu sent the necessary order, and regularised its relations with the imperial court.

Japan was thus obliged to sign the treaty of Kanagawa with America on July 29, 1858. Among other things, the treaty provided that an American minister was to reside at Edo; that trade was to be free from official intervention; and that Japan was to open the ports of Nagasaki and Kanagawa in 1859, Niigata in 1860, Hyogo in 1863 in addition to Shimoda and Hakodate. Shortly Japan signed treaties with the Dutch on August 18, with the British on August 26, with the Russian on August 19, and with the French on October 7, on the terms set down in the Harris treaty. These treaties in all their intents and purposes put Japanese seclusion to a close.

The Bakufu ordered the signature on the Harris treaty; but the interminable wranglings, which preceded it, proved one thing that the Tokugawa Shogunate became weak. There was a powerful opposition against the pro-foreign policy of Hotta. He was obliged to take the necessary sanction from the emperor. The Bakufu itself had a divided counsel, and the emperor sided with the conservatives. These very facts added stimuli to the subsequent anti-Tokugawa movement and facilitated the ultimate collapse of the Shogunate.

Q. 3. Review the circumstances leading to the fall of the Tokugawa and the subsequent Meiji-Restoration in 1867-8.

The fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the subsequent Restoration of Emperor Meiji in 1867-8 was occasioned by the interplay of a series of currents and cross-currents during the preceding years in Japan. The Tokugawa had laid the bulwork of their foundation on a feudal base, in which there was an emperor who reigned, but left the ruling to his chief military commander, the Shogun. The Japanese emperor was theoretically the political and religious head and in Japan there was a kind of dual government. The system expected survival; but the whole of it began to crumble when in the

eighteenth century Western intervention¹ became a prime concern to the feudal lords. The Western attempts to open for trade delivered the first blow and the mediocre *Shaguns* only surrendered to their demands. There was a storm of reaction against these, and in the subsequent years it took the form of a movement. There were slogans 'like expel the barbarian', 'honour the emperor', and 'reform' which eventually turned to an anti-Takugawa movement. And the inevitable came in 1868 when the Shogun was obliged to surrender voluntarily.

In the Japanese traditions the emperor had a dual role; he was the Shinto high priest and an absolute secular ruler. In the latter's capacity he delegated his functions to his generalissimo, the *Shogun*, in the twelfth century. He remained the *de jure* head of the administration. By the time, when the Tokugawa had won the Shogunate after the civil war, the emperor was virtually reduced to a pensioner of the Bakufu. In course of time, the Shogun became an autocrat and Tokugawa Jeyasu inaugurated a system to protect the Shogunate from the rivalling feudal lords. Noteworthy among them were the *tozama* who had only submitted to Tokugawa control after the battle of Sekigahara in 1600. They were however, permanently excluded from office in the central Government, and therefore, in later years, became potential rivals of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

In the early years of rule, the Tokugawa gave a spell of peace, which made the samurai or warlords idle. This and the system of sankin-kotai ('alternate attendance') enticed them to develop expensive habits and temptations. In the eighteenth century money replaced the barter system, and it became of prime concern to the feudal rulers. In the system of money economy, prices rose faster than crops increased, and rice was the only source of their revenue. It put a tremendous pressure upon the feudal system and individual samurai soon fell in debt. The Tokugawa Government also slowly but inexorably succumbed to the same pressure, and attempted reforms, which ended in unmistakable failures. In the domains

while most of the *daimyos* failed likewise these Satsuma, Chosu Tosa and Hizen set their finances in order by taking part in monopoly trade and opening career to ables. This meant the potential rivals of the Tokugawa had greater success than the latter in overcoming financial crisis. It also confirmed the shift in the balance of economic power from the feudal lords to merchants. But it did not immediately lead to any anti-feudal or anti-Tokugawa movement.

Under the Tokugawa Shogunate Japan had closed her doors to the outside world since the 1640's. But development of Western interests in the Far East led some Japanese scholars to debate the political and economic implications of seclusion. They also took the foreign policy of Japan into their consideration especially when foreign visits to Japan increased during the early years of the nineteenth century. In this the Rangaku or Dutch scholars took the initiative. Among them Sakuma Ichō on Eastern politics, and Western science and Saitō recognised that military strength could not be achieved independently of political strength. Particularly Saitō Kōsō was a blend of the grim and the enlightened provided as which occurred by statesmen after 1868.

In this intellectual ferment of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the *Nihon Shoki*, held by one of the three secret Fukuwar branch libraries, played a leading role. The Japanese legends viz *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, had already been studied with revived interests. The Mito house had long been a centre of Confucian scholarship and for generations its official scholars had engaged in writing a chronicle of early history of Japan. In a supplementary work they criticised the Shogun's pretention for power. In 1797 one of them prescribed armaments and reform and for these the country's leaders much show such resolution as would unite the nation, raise morale and so make victory sure, while others added with these the provision of new weapons including western style ship; financial reform and promotion of men of ability. They raised the slogan 'expel the barbarians,' In

fact, the Mito scholars had arrived at some definite conclusions about foreign affairs by 1853. They believed that Japan could only attain national strength and international equality by achieving unity at home. For this, they demanded that the Bakufu must be uncompromising in negotiation, but at the same time raised doubts regarding the Bakufu's capacity for leadership. For this, some of them argued that success could never be complete until the emperor became once again a focus of national Government.

So, the intellectual movement was a kind of revivalist movement and emphasised on the past loyalties for unity. The emperor was the holder of the legal and traditional loyalties. This doctrine of imperial sovereignty had always been latent in Japanese history ; but in the eighteenth century, it had been widely used to resurrect the Shinto religion. In the Neo-Shinto ideas, it was emphasised that the Japanese emperor descended directly from the Sun Goddess , that his claim to temporal power rested on divine descent ; and that by these facts Japan was made superior to other lands. These ideas at least helped to turn men's minds towards the emperor as a means of healing political divisions. By inference they emphasised that the Shogun was not entirely a satisfactory focus of loyalty and hence the slogan 'honour the emperor'. Here loyalties were heirarchical. In this way, foreign policy became linked with domestic issues

The issue immediately at stake, was the reform in the declining military power of the Shogun. In this respect, the Bakufu, remained almost immovable and yielded to the demands of the Western Powers. On the other hand, Mito was not alone to use Western technology for anti-Western ends. The *daimyos* of western domains also improved their armaments and troops by violating the Bakufu's orders. The initiative fell into the hands of those, whose financial reforms had made such developments possible and whole leaders recognised the need. Nevertheless, the Shogun's military power was brought down to the level of his potential-enemies ; and his authority was diminished

in proportion. But these developments did not alone ensure its fall.

The treaty negotiations of 1853-8 and the diplomatic disputes in the years that followed revealed the Shogun's inability either to satisfy the Western demands or to silence domestic critics. During the signing of the early treaties opinion of the feudal lords were divided ; while some of them considered foreign trade both inevitable and desirable, the others took it as a temporary expediency. But the circulation of the summary of the proposals of Townsend Harris evoked a storm of criticism. By this time the critics of the central government far outnumbered its supporters and the conservative opinion gained wider popularity among the samurai, who were horrified at the concessions made in it. In the face of the chorus of disapproval, the Bakufu turned to the emperor for his sanction. But the emperor sided with the samurai. The news of Tientsin Treaties in China, however, alarmed the Bakufu, and it signed the treaty at its own risk. Its relations with the Imperial Court was regularised accordingly but this very insistence on the imperial sanction glaringly revealed the weakness of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

The position of the Shogun was becoming more and more difficult in the years following the Harris treaty. The Shogunate itself was torn under internal dissension following the childlessness of Tokugawa Iesada. The followers of Hitotsubashi Keiki formed a party within the Bakufu to oppose his opponent. By this time, the movements to 'expel the barbarians,' 'honour the emperor', and 'reform', became 'expressly anti Tokugawa and militant'. Antiforeignism of the samurai took a variety of ideas including patriotism. Their attack on foreign legations, and the murder of an Englishman by the *daimyo* of Satsuma made things hostile to the Shogun. The Emperor Meiji also issued an order to close the country to the foreigners. The *daimyo* of western domains took matters into their own hands accordingly. The Shogun tried at first a compromise, and then went out to punish the rebels. But all

his attempts were foiled by militarily superior western domains. There were pressures upon him from all concerned, and he resigned. The Emperor Meiji accepted the return of official administration in 1867; and finally abolished the office of Shogun by an imperial rescript next year.

The surrender of the Shogun to the throne did not, therefore immanate from his sense of loyalties to the emperor—the idea which had been advertised in some of the Japanese text books. It is clear from the above analysis, that he had no alternative but this. Anti-Tokugawa sentiment had been there in Japan since the change of the economic system. In the subsequent years, the Bakufu produced no statesman of imagination and courage which ultimately laid to its downfall and the eventual Restoration of the Emperor.

Q. 4. Examine the nature of the Japanese Restoration of 1867. Did it mark a sharp break with the past?

The movement which culminated in the Restoration of the Emperor Meiji in Japan in 1867 stemmed out from a combination of heterogeneous elements. There was no unanimity of interests among its adherents, who sought only to achieve their immediate objectives. There was one bond of unity among them: that was the Tokugawas must go. The *kuge*, or the nobles of the Imperial Court joined in the movement in the hope of winning back their own position and political interests. The *daimyos* of western domains hoped primarily to supplant the Tokugawa's by their own rule. The samurai aspired to rise from their inconspicuous position by seizing political power in the name of the titular emperor. Anti-foreign elements took the movement as a means to reverse the foreign policy of the Shogun and to go back to complete national isolation. The sentimental royalists desired the emperor's exaltation with former authorities. Ardent patriots among the Japanese wanted to save their country from further indignity in the hands of foreigners. More thoughtful among them sought solace in the abolition of dual government and concentration of all powers in a single hand.

The Meiji, Restoration stood for the restoration of power to the Emperor Meiji. But it was a misnomer; because the emperor was never in actual operation of political powers. It had been a practice with the Japanese emperor to delegate his secular authorities to some one else, generally the warlords. It meant dual government and the emperor was obliged to do so for he had to play a dual role of a secular ruler and a Shinto high priest. In the history of Japan, the *de facto* authority had been exercised by others while the emperor remained only as the *de jure* ruler. Due to the so-called Restoration the emperor did not come to exercise real power, nor did the area of his authority increased.

If it was not a restoration, etymologically, it was the substitution for the Tokugawa as the controlling power by a coalition of more powerful anti-Tokugawa western feudatories. The Shogunate was abolished; but this very fact did not mean any significant change. It was the Shogunate, which had been at the helm of affairs for about seven hundred years from the twelfth century. Before its institution the emperor had been a figurehead, and ministers acted in his name and on his behalf. The Japanese emperor reigned but did not rule. The events of 1867-8, therefore meant change of one set of *de facto* rulers and another while all of them came out from the class of feudal lords. Therefore as Professor Beasby has candidly remarked, the Restoration was "no more than another palace revolution".

Similarly, the Restoration did not "mark a sharp break with the past" as some historians has emphasised. With regard to the emperor's traditional powers and prerogatives there was no change. It is true that, Restoration brought an end to the exclusiveness of Bakufu rule. It is equally true that a heirarchy of new offices were created with such slogans as the division of power, departmental ministries etc. Around the Emperor's Court at Kyoto. But they did not automatically signify a change in the kind of ruling. Again, the Restoration did not stem out from any meaningful movement with unani-

mons opinion of its participants. Moreover, such changes like the Restoration of 1867 were not surprising in a country like Japan, where feudalism was the basic principle of the administrative set up.

The Restoration itself did not mark any change ; but it was to prove the beginning of far-reaching changes in Japan. It brought the middle and even lower samurai to enterprising careers. They were energetic and patriotic, and seized political power in their own hands. In course of time they formed an efficient bureaucracy and created a certain community of outlook, which persisted despite quarrels and factional strife. These gave a consistency and continuity to their actions for which the internal reconstruction of Japan was rendered possible during the next forty years.

CHAPTER XXXII

'NEW MEN AND NEW METHODS'

Q. 1. Examine the political and constitutional developments in Japan from the Restoration to the granting of the Constitution in 1889.

The Restoration of Emperor Meiji in 1868 was followed from the surrender of power by the Tokugawa Shogun, which was not voluntary. The Shogun hitherto had maintained a weak but practical unity in the Japanese administration. His surrender caused a virtual lacunae in the central government ; for the Imperial Court had hitherto had prestige, but had no power. One solution might have been the institution of a new line of Shogunate ; but this involved the risk of another civil war, for among the obvious contenders, the *daimyos* of Satsuma and Chosu none could establish a clear superiority over the other. So it was felt necessary to find a new institutional framework to make government effective. Circumstances made it clear that it should centre on the Imperial Court, other things namely the name and nature of political institutions etc remained to be decided.

The process started with an attempt for widening the alliance against the Tokugawa. For this it was necessary for the government to reward all the elements which had contributed to the Bakufu's downfall. A part of appointments were made and a hierarchical constitutional pattern was created to extend wider scope to the samurai. Delegates from all the domains were to act as consultative assembly. A public statement was made in the emperor's name on April 6,

1868, known as the Charter Oath, which promised that policy could be formulated only after wider consultation, and that 'base customs of the former times shall be abolished'. Since there was less need to maintain an appearance of universal support for the new regime after Edo's surrender, there arose a tendency towards concentration of power in fewer hands. When all fighting was over, the administration was so revised that the most part of authority passed into the hands of a small group of samurai from Sat, suma, Chosu, Tosa and Hizen. An oligarchy of these samurai was thus formed and Japan immediately after the Restoration started her career with new men and new methods.

The central government still depended on the domains for its military force and revenue, so there was no authority in Japan, which the oligarchy could wield. Before creating one it was necessary to weaken, or if possible to break feudal separation. In 1868, several steps were taken in this direction, and the four domains, Satsuma, Chosu, Hizen and Tosa, submitted a joint memorial putting their lands and people into emperor's disposal. The emperor accepted the surrender, and ordered all *daimyo*, who had not already done so, to follow their example. But the lands surrendered were not brought under imperial control, and *daimyos* were appointed governors in their own domains. It was a change in name only. But soon in 1871, it became real, when all lands were turned to imperial territory, and the domain armies were ordered to disband. Henceforward the central government was to be the legal possessor of military force. As a result, the *daimoy's* real income increased. But the measures directly affected the *samurai* and they threatened a rebellion. However, institutional focus of regional loyalties seemed to have been destroyed by the end of feudalism.

Having completed the centralisation of power, a reform was inaugurated notably by Okuma and Ito in the departments of finance and public work. But there were differences of opinion among the members of the oligarchy, which led di-

rectly to quarrel with regard to the handling of foreign affairs. Matters came to a head when Korea rebuffed the successive overtures from Japan's new government to open negotiations on the murder of two Japanese. Some members of the oligarchy decided to go to war, while others refused to do this on various reasons. Ultimately the latter's opinion prevailed and the Korean expedition was abandoned. As a mark of protest against this, influential members of the government resigned. Notable among them was Saigo who used the Samurai discontent and led the rebellion of Satsuma in 1876. The unity of the ruling group was, however, shaken by these incidents.

The Satsuma rebellion reinforced the tie between foreign policy and assassination, which had been earlier established. Abortive attempts were made on prominent public figures in 1878 and it became a feature in Japan for the following forty years. Such factional fights also affected the political parties. This atmosphere of violence was caused not entirely by the Korean question. The dissident statesmen also had an additional motive to abolish the monopoly of Satsuma and Chosu over the offices. They had a knowledge of Western political institutions, and they now led the movement towards parliamentary government. Continued existence of a variety of discontents added momentum to this movement. Sato and Itagaki formed a political organisation called the *Jiyuto* or Liberal Party, which stood for popular sovereignty. Another party, the *Kaishinte* demanded a limited constitutional regime on the British model. The press also became vocal, and secret societies grew up for agitation.

The conservative rulers of Japan, Ito, Yamagata and Iwakura were not slow to realise the change. While they promised a constitution, they took resort to repressive measures to put down liberalism. The press was censored and public discussion muzzled. The Peace Preservation Regulations were announced in 1887 to strengthen the hands of the police in suppressing secret societies, political associations

and parties. Advocates of parliamentary rules were their principal victims. These were not the only recourse of the government. The domain was renamed prefecture (*Ken*) and their number reduced. A system of officialdom was gradually built up, and its functions and authority were defined by regulations. Written rules were also made for bureaucratic practices, and regulations issued for the conduct of business in the chief ministries. A new peerage was established, and a Cabinet on European lines was created for controlling the administration. These measures were intended to bring a sense of responsibility, to the individual member of the government and the advisory and policy-making organs.

The peerage and the cabinet were the preliminaries to a constitutional government, and a Privy Council was also created in April, 1888. But these did not in any case interfere with the executive. Meanwhile, Ito had an extensive visit in Europe, and studied constitutions of different countries. The Bismarckian system of Prussia appeared to him the most impressive, and it would also fit his purpose. Accordingly the details of a Japanese Constitution was drafted under the supervision of men only of Ito's personal choosing. The document was laid before the Privy Council in May 1888; and promulgated on February 1, 1889, at a short private ceremony within the palace. Its object, as Ito has described, was to safeguard Japan against "the onslaught of extremely democratic ideas" that is to wear parliamentary cloak to check the movement for parliamentary government itself.

Q. 2. Analyse the distinguishing characteristics of the Japanese Constitution of 1889.

The Japanese Constitution was promulgated on February 11 and served as the foundation of the structure of Japanese government for the coming fifty years. So, a study of its characteristic features is not only important, but at the same time formidable. The Prussian Constitution was the ideal of its architect, Ito Hirobumi. But it was amended in

such a way as to include all the essentials of the previous political system of Japan. In other words, the Bismarckian structure proved to the makers of the Japanese Constitution as the convenient cloak to conceal essentials of oligarchic rule within the convenient cover of a parliamentary system. Therefore, it was a curious blending of Japanese political system with the Western ideas and institutions.

In the Preamble of the Constitution it was stated that the empire was 'to be reigned over and governed by a line of emperors unbroken for ages eternal', and "the emperor is "sacred and inviolable". The myth of the emperor's divinity was thus preserved, and his sovereign right was not deriv from the people. With all his former powers, position and prerogatives, he was rehabilitated in a system where there was a bicameral legislature, a cabinet, division of power between the executive, legislative and judiciary etc. These democratic institutions of the West were meant to meet the demands of the politically liberal section of the population and to impress the Western nations, so that they no longer think that the Japanese were inferior to them.

In fact, within the paraphernalia of democratic institutions, the emperor reserved all the vital powers, to be exercised in fact by his advisers. He was the commander-in-chief of the armed service, and enjoyed exclusive authority to declare war, to negotiate peace and make treaties. He could freely convoke, adjourn or prorogue the Assembly called in Japan as the Diet. Although he was to exercise the legislative power with the consent of the imperial Diet, he had extensive ordinance rights. What was more, the constitution was promulgated in the name of the emperor; and it was his gift to the nation. Moreover, only he had the right to interpret any of its provisions and to propose its amendments. Therefore, in the words of Leffer, "unlimited imperial powers were manipulated in his name by those who wielded actual control". namely the oligarchy.

The Constitution provided for an assembly the Diet. It

was to consist of two houses ; a House of Peers, composed of members of the royal family, a large portion of the feudal lords and a few commoners selected by the emperor ; and a House of representatives, popularly elected but within a limited franchise. Only with regard to financial matters, the Diet had certain powers ; and it was virtually denied of any legislative authority. The annual budget had to be submitted in the Diet. But it was laid down that should it fail to pass the budget, the government was entitled to carry out the budget of the previous year. Again some important items of regular expenditure was altogether excluded from the consideration of the Diet. Moreover, the emperor had not only the right to issue ordinances but he had also unrestricted power over all Acts passed by the Diet. "As Beasley has candidly put it, "parliamentary control went no farther than the right to deny new taxes,"

The Constitution provided for "Ministers of State", who later formed the Cabinet. They were to be chosen by the emperor and responsible to him alone. Their functions were defined in subsequent ordinances, which included supervision over the administrative organs and determination of government policies. But larger matters of State policy was to be supervised by the Privy Council, appointed by the emperor and served for life. An extra-constitutional body also developed, named the *Genro* (Council of Elders). It was composed of the leading men of the Restoration, and had a determining voice in all important matters, like war and peace, and the selection of cabinet ministers:

There was a kind of Bill of Rights in the Constitution, which included conventional guarantees with specific qualifications. "Within the limits of law" all Japanese subjects were guaranteed to have freedom of speech, writing, publication etc. Subject to the "limits not prejudicial to peace and order and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects", freedom of religious belief was guaranteed. But these guarantees were to be evicted in times of 'national emergency'. By inference

it might be deduced that these guarantees amount to what might be called denial of individual rights.

The Constitution did not provide any articles with regard to the permanent bureaucracy. It was from the outset an autonomous body, selected from among the conservative partisans of the Restoration government. This body acted on its own traditions and rule and on the whole an efficient administrative organ paying little heed to public opinion. The army and navy were also left as an independent sectors and the Constitution provided that "the emperor determines the organisation and peace standing of the army and navy" It might be derived that the highest officers in the army and navy were subordinate only to the emperor. They had access to the emperor and so unlike the civil authorities they could put pressure upon him. In a subsequent ordinance, it was provided that only an active general and admiral could become Ministers of War and Navy respectively. In effect, these two ministers controlled the Cabinet, and so determined the government policy.

The Meiji Constitution therefore imposed serious disabilities on any opposition. What it more directly meant was that it was a written regularisation of the oligarchic rule in Japan ; of course with slight transformations. It did not follow that these must prove enduring. In fact the Constitution did not greatly appeal to the political parties which upheld the principles of parliamentary rule. There was bound to be a struggle between them and the oligarchs who believed in Government that was transcendental or above sectional interests and therefore above party. But for the present as a preliminary, in December 1889, Yamagata Aritomo became Premier aided by Ito. The first elections for the Lower house were held in 1890, and the Diet was dissolved twice in course of four years, until it became a stage for trial between parties.

Q. 3. Discuss the internal reconstruction of Japan during the

last three decades of the nineteenth century. What factors helped the success of the reconstruction programme ?

Internal reconstruction.

The introduction of the Gregorian calendar in place of the lunar calendar on January 1, 1873 symbolised the Japanese Government's determination to turn away from the traditional and towards the modern or more specifically towards the West. In fact the Meiji leaders undertook to rebuild those aspects of Japanese life on which the building of a powerful and well respected State depended. By 1904, they revolutionised a society backward, largely feudal into one which was capable of winning a modern war. Indeed, it was this achievement which made the Japanese the envy of all Asia.

The reconstruction of Japan had started with the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the subsequent Restoration of Emperor Meiji in 1867-8. Since politics was the head and shoulder of all developments it came first in the regime's calculations. The earliest efforts of the Meiji leaders were thus directed towards increasing the Government's authority. These measures included among other things, the abolition of feudalism, new methods of taxation, improvement of communications etc. To the effect, the leaders of the regime developed the civil and military bureaucrats. The centralisation of power was virtually completed in the Constitution of 1889, which "was built upon a combination of the Restoration idea that the Emperor was the sole source of all power and the dispenser of all favours and the feudal idea that the real power was exercised for the Emperor by others, either agents or agencies,"

The end of feudalism was followed by the introduction of conscript army in 1873 to quell unrest at home and to defend Japan against a possible invasion from abroad. Already the feudal rulers had taken steps to westernise their troops and armaments. The Restoration Government began by reorganising the army administration on German lines. By 1894, the entire force was equipped with modern rifles and artillery,

mostly of Japanese manufacture. A Staff College was opened, and the army budget increased. There was greater specialisation of function and more improvement in training methods. The navy also expanded under the Navy Ministry; and larger vessels were bought from England. By 1894, the fleet included 28 modern ships, aggregating 57,000 tons against 17 ships, totalling 14000 tons of 1872. Dockyard facilities were improved, and training was made up-to-date. The Government was conscious of military considerations and by the end of the century it spent one-third of the national budget on the army and navy.

Besides politics and military, modernisation was also extended to law. A French lawyer was appointed adviser to the Ministry of Justice. A criminal code based on elements of Japanese feudal law and the Code Napoleon was prepared. A new commercial code was also devised under the supervision of Hermann Roesler. These codes of law excited bitter criticism among those who felt that the codes had departed too far from Japanese tradition. They embodied laws which were aimed at achieving a degree of social respectability in Western eyes. However, the government efforts at legal reforms were not entirely successful.

More successfully did the Government introduce much that was new in the sphere of education. The Government planned in 1872 to divide Japan into eight educational regions, each was to consist of a University and thirty-two secondary schools. Each secondary school was to include 210 primary schools and every child from the age of six was to receive sixteen months of compulsory education. The number of students, and schools and the period of compulsory education gradually increased. The Ministry of Education prescribed text books and exercised general supervision of the schools. Private establishments were brought under Government licence and inspection. Under its supervision the system imparted on the one hand a practical training based on a curriculum on Western lines, and a moral education based on Confucian ethics and an

emperor-centred nationalism on the other. The system was to prove an essential unifying force in the Japanese body politic in the twentieth century.

Since land was the chief source of revenue, reorganisation of the economy began with the farm. Students were sent abroad to study agriculture, and foreign experts invited. The government on its own initiative, used the experience and technology of the West. Cultivation was made intensive, and crops commercialised. There was a steady growth of tenancy with the removal of feudal control. As a result, *per capita* consumption increased with the growth of population. The rise in agricultural products increased the rural cash incomes, and thereby created a home market which was essential for industrial growth. Agricultural exports also paid for much of the imported industrial machinery and materials. The government made a capital of the agricultural taxes, and industrial labour came from large families of tenant-farmers. But agricultural taxation was raised very much to the detriment of the peasantry.

Japan's move towards industrialisation was thus facilitated by agriculture. The new government invited foreign technicians, sent students abroad and created the Ministry of Public Works. It improved the strategic industries by introducing modern transport. The Nippon Yusen Kaisha was organised to develop the coastal shipping. Railways were constructed, and from 130 miles in 1885, they expanded to over 1,500 mile a decade later. Both strategic and manufacturing industries were first reorganised under state initiative, and then handed over to private investment. Of the manufacturing industries, the Government paid much interests in silk-reeling and textile industries. There were subsequent developments in foreign trade. In consequence, Japan secured a favourable balance in international trade.

Thus, in the last three decades of the nineteenth century the Meiji Government devoted itself for the internal reconstruction of Japan in all important aspects. It provided leader-

ship, framework and stimuli in this first stage of Japan's modernisation. These were the years of preparation, and those of reward began soon after the war of 1894-5 with China. It was also the early stage of Japan's industrialisation, and here the Government encouraged the *Zaibatsu* to invest capital.

Factors helping their success : The idea of Japan's reconstruction was not new to the statesmen. For several years before the Restoration Japanese scholars had been studying the West. Long before the Restoration, the Tokugawa Council established a bureau of translation of foreign books. For their patronisation and out of natural curiosity the Japanese scholars developed interests in geography, politics, technology, economics and much else of the West. For this, by 1868, Japan had already a nucleus of men trained in Western skills at her disposal. Without their service at the early stage modernisation and reconstruction would have been impossible.

Critics might add a slight against Japan's oligarchic rule, But the political and administrative centralisation which it wielded around the emperor largely facilitated the country's modernisation. Again, the Restoration developed among the people a feeling of veneration ; and the oligarchs took its full advantage to make their bid a success. In fact, the Meiji Government had the qualities of leadership and its members ardently desired a strong rule and an effective military machine to save the country. These people were patriots as well as politicians. Their pragmatic attitude and initiative were responsible for the planning and materialisation of many of the changes in different departments.

Not less important was the spirit of discipline among the Japanese people. They were influenced by long traditions and yet they showed aptitude to assimilate foreign elements. Indeed, due to their patriotic zeal, they evenly accepted the internal reforms as the only way for strengthening and modernising their country. They took the lesson from China, and felt the need to strengthen Japan against possible external aggression.

Moreover, like other Asian countries, the Japanese people did not blindly follow the Western countries for their internal reconstruction. They invited Western technicians and experts, and took their assistance, but did not allow them to dictate policies. As a British resident has observed. "the Japanese only look upon foreigners as schoolmasters. As long as they cannot help themselves they make use of them ; and then they send them about their business..." It was precisely due to that Japan's internal reconstruction was self-sustaining, while that of other Asian countries in most part remained dependent on foreign help.

Q. 4. Write a note on the growth of nationalism in Japan.

Social, political and economic reforms in Japan during the thirty years that followed the Restoration enabled its people to acquire greater knowledge of Western habits and institutions. This very fact developed among them a new awareness of what was individual about their own. The frustrations which arose from a sense of inferiority in dealings with the West gave an emotional impetus to policies aimed at national strength. Japanese nationalism was a corollary to all these developments. It was an offshoot of their love of country.

The process began by a group of patriotic Samurai publicists during the mid-nineteenth century. But at that time it was diverted to anti-Tokugawa movements. But after the Meiji Restoration, the Samurai assumed leadership in all levels which ensured patriotism a continued importance in political debate. Okubo, Ito used it as a reason for concentrating on reform at home. Saigo, on the other hand, advocated on the same ground an attack on Korea, i.e , expansion abroad. Political parties also developed along the different lines of debate on the "love of country" (*aikoku*). In the 1880's it assumed the form of a slogan, "expulsion of the barbarians" (*Jo-i*) and soon grew up as a symbol of respectability among the immotional Japanese. More spectacularly, it was most vociferously expressed by the opponents of the men in power

for it was one of the few weapons that could be safely used against an authoritarian regime.

A basis for nationalism in the modern sense was established with the spread of this patriotic sentiment. Its speed operated in the Government's efforts at political unification. Such other attempts like marshalling of support through the creation of local elected councils and assemblies, development of an efficient system of communications etc. indirectly helped to foster a sense of national consciousness. The system of compulsory education reduced the regional differences and the reading public soon became object of political propaganda. Newspapers and novels, written in simple language made political ideas accessible to a wider circle. The literate Japanese were gradually encouraged to hold views about their country's politics and future.

This spread of political ideas was approved by the Meiji Government but at the same time censored the press and undertook a programme of political indoctrination. It made the emperor as a force of national unity, and promoted the Shinto faith to something very much like a State religion. The training of the army and the schooling of the children were reorganised in such a way as to enable them to become determinants of the future citizen's attitude towards his civic duty. In the Constitution of February 1889 and the Imperial Rescript on Education of October 1890, this trend was given formal expression. The subject's relationship with the sovereign was defined in the Constitution; while in the Rescript education was subordinated to the service of the State. In fact, education constituted the 'ethics' which combined the Confucian obligation of filial piety and the national one of loyalty. Education and patriotism were to go hand in hand in the following years.

The Meiji rulers attempted to equate patriotism with loyalty to the emperor. But it assumed other connotations for those who were critical to the regime. They

alighted at the Meiji enthusiasm for Western dress and customs, and came to think it patriotic to eschew them altogether. There were others who began to rediscover arts and pastimes and revived interest in Japan's own traditions. The latter's attempts found renewed popularity in a more nationalistic atmosphere of the twentieth century.

In the twentieth century, the atmosphere of nationalism was exemplified in the patriotic songs. They were tuned in Western music, and bore titles like 'come foes come' (*Kitare Ya Keitare*) or 'Though the enemy be tens of thousands strong' (*Teki wa ikuman ari totewo*). The Meiji leaders enthusiastically allowed their performances in schools, military units and other audiences throughout the country, and thereby created a public opinion more actively interested in Japan's international position. Voices were raised against the government's 'weakness' in foreign affairs, and men were persuaded to look for a radical revision of the old 'unequal' treaties, and for some sort of action on Asian mainland.

So, the growth of nationalism in Japan was made possible by a sense of patriotism among the Japanese people, particularly among the Samurai. But there was neither any Jefferson, nor any Mazzini to uphold and pilot nationalist movements. The Japanese nationalism had a somewhat archaic growth and rooted more in the country's old traditions than on Western adoptions. Therefore, it was somewhat militant, and by inference it led Japan's career to a forward policy in matters relating to foreign affairs. Again both the ruling and opposition parties had a share of contribution in the growth of Japanese nationalism. The opposition leaders used the external issues to break the grip of an entrenched oligarchy.

CHAPTER XXXIII

FOREIGN AFFAIRS TILL 1905

Q. 1. Trace the growth of Japanese interests in Korea and indicate their influences on Japan's foreign policy;

Growth of Japanese interests in Korea

Japanese interests in Korea had developed largely from a sense of inferiority in dealing with the West caused by their diplomatic weakness. This added an immotional impetus to politics aimed at increasing the country's military strength. Military reorganisation became linked up with specific foreign objectives, and led the Japanese government to a decade of military efforts. It naturally looked to neighbouring states, China, Manchuria and Korea, as the natural outlet for Japan's ambitions. This policy had its start in Korea.

In fact, the need for a continental foothold had been considered essential for Japan's survival during the dark days following the conclusion of treaties with Western Powers in the 1850's. This view was advocated by Yoshida Shoin, and shared by a number of the Meiji leaders, several of them were Yoshida's students. In the 1870's the activities of Saigo Takawori strengthened this opinion, and after his death in 1881, his followers formed a patriotic society, the *Genyosha* designed to promote such expansionist idea.

Japanese attention was dragged to Korea during the late 1860's. It gradually became a focus of their efforts, and it was made a subject of debate among politicians and pamphleteers. Japanese from all walks of life became convinced of the

need to intervene in Korea. This idea originated either from a belief that Korea should be made to follow Japan's example of reform and modernisation in order to make her a worthy ally against Western dominance, or in the conviction that Japan must create an anti-Western league with her neighbours as a means of collective survival from continued exploitation.

The Meiji government did not oppose such ideas albeit they were contradictory to its policy of restraint laid down in 1873. But with regard to Korea, this policy proved difficult, since Japan had already accepted China's suzerain authority over it in the Sino-Japanese treaty of 1873. Yet formal establishment of relations between Japan and Korea was made possible by the latter's firing upon Japanese vessels in 1875. In the treaty of 1876, Korea opened two ports to Japan mainly due to the latter's threat of force. But immediately it was challenged by China, on the grounds that Korea was a Chinese vassal state and so incapable of concluding any such agreement with another power. Since then Korea's strategic position, and agricultural resources made it a vital point in Japanese foreign policy. It was also considered essential to promote political ascendancy and export trade towards north-east Asia.

Effects on Japan's foreign policy : As has been already noted in 1876 Korea became a bone of contention between Japan and China. The latter's claim of suzerainty over it initiated an era of intrigue in which both the contending countries entered into a struggle between the factions at the Korean Court. Their rivalry culminated in an armed clash in 1884, but hostilities between the two countries was averted by the Convention of 1885. But the Sino-Japanese relations over Korea began to worsen during the 1890's on the occasion of the anti-Western movements of the Tong-haks. The king of Korea solicited Chinese help, for he acknowledged his vassal status. China by this time was prepared for frontier defence both diplomatically and militarily, and readily extended support to the king of Korea. But Japan, however, took this action contrary to the 1885 Convention. By this time, Japan had fully realised the

economic and strategic benefits of Korea, and sent forces there. The Japanese diplomat pressed the Korean government for reform and warned China not to send any more men. It created a diplomatic stalemate and led to the Sino-Japanese War of 1894.

Japan won the Korean War. In the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) China agreed to forego her suzerainty over it, to cede the island of Formosa and the Liaotung peninsula, to open additional ports and to pay a substantial indemnity in cash. Japan's victory revealed that her modernisation had been remarkably successful, and she realised a new sense of satisfaction and achievement. Her practical rewards included scope for activities in Korea, status as a 'treaty power' in China's foreign trade, the acquisition of a useful colony, Formosa (Taiwan). To the Japanese government and people the fruits of victory seemed to be very sweet.

But all was not well to Japan's newly earned international prestige. It also brought in its train the responsibilities and dangers. For her victory in the Sino-Japanese War, Japan became a recognisable factor in Far-Eastern politics and so involved closely in the rivalries of powers. Within a week, the representatives of Russia, France and Germany advised her to return the Liaotung peninsula to China in order to maintain peace in the area. The inner motives of those European Powers were, however, different. Russia aimed at preserving her own interests of expansion in the Far East. Her ally, France supported it in the hope of gaining Russia's support for French ambitions in the south. Germany also supported it to edge Russia away from European politics. Japan's new relationship with China, incited the three powers to act, and she was to return the Liaotung peninsula to China.

Korea thus offered to the Japanese government and people a sense of confidence and pride. The threat of Triple Intervention made them cautious in diplomatic affairs. Her position in Korea appeared to be a challenge to Russian expansion; and for this Russo-Japanese relations underwent a progressive

deterioration. Against Russian hostilities Japan had to make barrier with Great Britain against their common enemy, Russia. This emboldened the former to strike at the enemy. Therefore the Korean affairs ultimately led to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Russo-Japanese War, and thereby brought about a revolution in Japan's international position. Korea was, however, annexed to Japan in 1910.

Q. 2. Analyse the circumstances leading to the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. Why has it been regarded as one of the most important diplomatic alliances of modern times ?

Circumstances leading to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance

Japan's sudden appearance as a formidable rival to the European imperialist power after the Sino-Japanese war had important consequences. On the one hand, it revealed the weakness of the Chinese government to protect foreign investment and so tempted the powers to take action on their own. On the other hand, it enabled Russia, France and Germany to seek rewards for their intervention. These led to a scramble for concessions in China. Russia secured the right to construct the South Manchurian Railway in 1896. Two years later, Germany obtained a naval base at Kiaochow and extensive economic rights in the province of Shantung. In the year, Russia received a base at Port Arthur and her special position in Manchuria was recognised. France also obtained a base at Kwang Chowan railway right in Yunnan with a promise not to alienate it. These were a threat to Britain's strategic and economic interests, while they caused great concern for Japan. Particularly due to the rapid Russian expansion, it was felt that a new equilibrium be created in the Far Eastern diplomacy.

Imperialist expansion thus threatened the complete dismemberment of China. It was against the British interests in Asia, albeit she had also obtained a non-alienation agreement concerning the Yangtse Valley, an extension of territory opposite Hong Kong, and the lease of a base at Weihaiwei. For Japan, it was worse still, because she could neither prevent

it, nor effectively share the spoils. At best she could secure a pledge of non-alienation for the province of Fukien opposite Formosa, and watch what Britain and America were doing to prevent it. Situations worsened in China when a group called Boxers seized the approaches to Peking, and laid a seige to the foreign legations. The outbreak of anti-foreign movements made an immediate military intervention by the Treaty Powers urgent. Only Japan was then in a position to send substantial reinforcements quickly. That she did with extreme circumspection, and played a leading part in relieving the foreign legations. This not only enhanced her international reputation but gave her a voice in the subsequent negotiations as well.

The Boxer troubles for the time being eased the rivalry between Japan and Russia over Korea. They even agreed to co-operate in Korea's development, and Russia even recognised Japan's greater claim to economic preference in that country. But on the other hand Russia was not only aloof from the plan to relieve the legations at Peking, but used the spread of the outbreaks to the north-east as an excuse to occupy Manchuria entirely. She entered into an agreement with China in February 1901 the terms of which would reduce Manchuria to a Russian protectorate. There was an uproar of protest by the powers against this, and Germany proposed an anti-Russian agreement. Japan's protest was the most vigorous, and the crisis died, it entered into the acrimonious exchanges about allocation of Boxer indemnity.

The diplomatic manoeuvres concerning the Boxer episode brought Japan and Britain closer to each other, since they had a common interest in opposing Russian expansion. Britain apprehended that any permanent Russian occupation of Manchuria would threaten her influence in China. For Japan it appeared as a road-block to her own best route to the mainland as also a threat to Korea. So, none of them could afford to let it pass unopposed. But any formal agreement would mean for Britain a break with the diplomacy of splendid isolation,

and, for Japan abandoning hope of a local compromise with Russia. Therefore, if there was to be any approach for an agreement, it would be cautious.

The possibilities of alliance had widely been canvassed by the press and public opinion in both the countries. Japan congratulated Britain's refusal to join the Triple Intervention despite the latter's opposition to treaty revision and accepted her as a tutor in modernisation. In fact, the British experts in Japan had helped to create a group in Tokyo that favoured closer ties. British and Japanese officials co-operated over the details of the Boxer expedition and indemnity. *The Times* and *the Telegraph* influenced public opinion in London, and the *Mainichi* and *Yomiuri* in Japan made favourable comment on the case for an Anglo-Japanese alliance. Russian moves in China, gave way to official talks in July 1901, between Japan's minister in London, Hayashi and the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne. They wished to guarantee the *status quo* in China, but Britain was hesitant to give full support to Japan's position in Korea, and Japan to Britain in Korea.

In the meantime, Ito had a private visit to St. Petersburg and further discussion with Britain was suspended. Britain suspected Japan of duplicity, and after the failure of the Ito Mission forced Hayashi to resume negotiations. After hard bargaining over the terms, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was signed on January 30, 1902. It was recognised in the agreement that "Japan, in addition to the interests which she possesses in China is interested in a peculiar degree politically as well as commercially and industrially in Korea." This did not mean automatic British help to Japan in case of a war with Russia; on the contrary each country agreed to maintain neutrality should the other engage herself in hostilities in the Far East. With regard to China, they agreed to maintain *status quo*, and the naval question was left for separate discussion by the naval staffs. Britain, however, excluded India from the alliance.

Significance of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance The Anglo-

Japanese Alliance of 1902 was considered in British public opinion as a warning to Russia. But it gave Japan a footing of equality with the greatest of the powers, and enabled her to treat with Russia on more even terms. She was relieved of the repetition of Triple Intervention. For the Japanese extremists and some moderates, the alliance was not only a triumph, but also an incentive to refuse any unfavourable compromise about Korea. In this sense, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance precipitated the Russo-Japanese War of 1904.

The far-reaching consequences of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance were important in the context of European diplomacy. England abandoned her traditional policy of splendid isolation in foreign affairs. The agreement was signed in an age, when European powers had entered into a life and death scramble for colonies. Explosive situations developed in Asia and Africa, and once isolationist policy was abandoned, Britain went out in search of allies. The growing Anglo-German naval rivalry, and the memory of Kaiser's telegram to Kruger with regard to South Africa, led Britain to sign the *entente cordiale* with Germany's enemy, France. The alliance included Russia in 1907, and thereby completed the polarisation of power in Europe. So the Anglo-Japanese Alliance marked the beginning of Europe's division into two armed camps, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente which led to the First World War. In this sense, it has been considered by historians as "the most important diplomatic alliance of modern times."

Q. 3. Discuss the circumstances which led to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. How do you account for Japan's victory ?

The origins of the Russo-Japanese War may be traced in the successful imperial penetration into the Chinese empire, to which both Russia and Japan were both participants and rivals. Ever since the 'opening' of China, Russia had been casting covetous eyes over the territory north of the Amur river, between the Ussuri and the sea. The motive behind it was to extend Russian predominance over Manchuria, the

Pacific coasts and Korea—the north-east Asia in general. Japan's emergence as a protector of Korea after the victory over China in 1894, and her subsequent designs to extend her foothold to mainland posed a threat to the Russian ambitions. Upon this problem of political ascendancy over north-eastern Asia particularly over Korea and Manchuria, the Russo-Japanese relations glided towards a collision.

After her decisive victory over China in 1894, Japan secured a scope for activities in Korea, status of "treaty power in China" and useful colonies in Formosa and the Liaotung peninsula. Russia was alarmed at the progress of Japan in Far Eastern affairs. With France and Germany she enforced Japan to surrender the Liaotung peninsula to China. The object was ostensibly to maintain integrity of China, but really to preserve her own opportunities for expansion towards the Pacific coast through Manchuria, Korea and North China.

Korea was then deeply involved in internecine feuds around the court. After the treaty of Shimonosheki (1895) tenuous suzerainty of China came to an end. Japan now more enthusiastically resumed pressure for reforms in Korea, and sent advisers with obvious intention to make it a Japanese protectorate. But Russians were not slow to act and they were found intriguing with the reactionaries against the reform party. Japan scented danger at this and instigated a *coup* in October 1895. Early in 1896, Russian guards arrived at Seoul presumably to protect the legation but actually to extend refuge to the Korean king. A direct clash between Russia and Japan thus became impending; but it was averted by the Rosen-Nishi Convention of April, 1898. Both of them agreed to preserve the independence of Korea and to refrain from interference in its internal affairs. Besides Russia recognised Japan's developing interests there. Nevertheless the Convention did not abate their manœuvres and intrigues to paramount position.

But the Russians were more concerned with their plan in

Manchuria. They proceeded to seek rewards from China for their intervention with regard to the Liaotung peninsula. In 1896, Russia secured the right to construct a railway, the Chinese Eastern Railway, across Manchuria to Vladivostok. In 1898, she received a lease of Port Arthur and her special position in Manchuria was recognised. These developments caused considerable concern for Japan, for she had the mortification to see that Russian threat to her expansion was getting serious proportions.

Not contented with these concessions, the Russians were seeking opportunity to make the best of it in order to realise their policy of 'subtle' encroachment into Manchuria. The occasion was provided by the Boxer uprising in China. On the pretext of rescuing the legations at Peking, Russia sent troops to Manchuria in order to conduct a private war without resistance. So, the cessation of fighting in China did not affect its advance. In a secret agreement, the Russian Governor of Port Arthur, Alexeieff, obtained the right to maintain troops in Manchuria, and to appoint a Resident with a seat in Mukden. The highest Chinese official in Manchuria agreed not to appoint the Chinese military commander in the region without Russian acquiescence. The agreement of November, 1900, for all practical purpose meant a Russian protectorate over Manchuria.

The agreement was kept secret and further negotiations were conducted at St. Petersburg. The Chinese government was threatened to accept the compromise status for Manchuria. As a reply to Russian pressure, China allowed the Alexeieff-Tseng Agreement to leak out to foreigners. It caused a flurry of excitement among the European Powers. Particularly Japan had the most to fear next to China. She brought pressure upon China to resist Russian penetration and approached the European Powers for support to prevent, and if possible, to fight out Russian seizure of Manchuria. Russia did not like to antagonise all the Powers, and therefore

withdrew the agreement. Russian troops, however, did not leave Manchuria.

Manchuria was the richest source of raw material in the Chinese empire. So it was not accepted that other Powers would let it fall in the hands of Russia. Already Britain and Japan had come closer to each other during the negotiations of the Boxer Protocol. Now Japan took cautious moves to check the Russian advance. One group of Japanese favoured an alliance with Great Britain against their common enemy, Russia, while others preferred to concede Manchuria to Russia in return for Japan's similar rights in Korea. Great Britain, by this time, was menaced by Russia on one side, and by Germany on the other. Now she was not inhospitable to negotiations. The Japanese efforts to come to an agreement with Russia was foiled by the latter's excessive demands. But they succeeded in concluding an alliance with Britain. In the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, Britain recognised Japan's special interests in Korea, and the contracting parties agreed to maintain neutrality in case of one's war with a third Power.

The extremists, and the moderates in the Japanese government and outside it were thus emboldened to refuse any unfavourable compromise with Russia. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance gave a pause to Russia. She agreed to withdraw her forces from Manchuria in stages. The first batch of troops was removed to elsewhere within the region. But the second stage not only did not take place, but Russia began preparations for another advance. The Japanese government resolved to propose a general settlement with Russia. But Russia responded with counter-proposals unacceptable to Japan. Japan by this time resolved to fight, and sent her reply in the form of an ultimatum in January, 1904. Diplomatic relations were out off in February, and within a year Japan successfully defeated Russia.

Reasons for Japan's Victory—Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War may be explained by her developments in the

army. Her indignity on the occasion of Triple Intervention, made the Japanese government alert. Six new divisions were added to her army in 1896, and her infantry and artillery were equipped with better rifles and quick-firing guns. The navy was increased, and the country made self-sufficient in naval armaments. The government devoted one-third of its budget in these military preparations. The government also supplemented direct measures of rearmament by policies designed to channel investment into sectors of heavy industry with military importance. These development increased the government's determination, and developed self-confidence. A combination of them led to Japan's victory in the war.

Russia on the other hand, was in its most dynamic phase, and the Tsar and his government considered the expansions to the Pacific coast both desirable and feasible. But as regards method, one group favoured direct military measures, while others a more subtle penetration through economic penetration. In the Russo-Japanese War, the two opposing methods were combined. But due to lack of efficient leadership and discipline the Russian troops, although numerically superior to the Russians, could not do what was desired. Moreover, Japan's success at this time was made easier by the political unrest in Russia on the occasion of the First Russian Revolution of 1905.

4. Carefully examine the provisions of the Treaty of Portsmouth (1905), and indicate its influence on the history of Asia.

The Treaty of Portsmouth—The Russo-Japanese war entered in a decisive stage, in the second quarter of the year 1905, when the Japanese troops captured Mukden and frustrated Russian at Vladivostok. But by this time, both sides were wishing to end the struggle. Russia's military resources were at an end, and she was in difficulties with political unrest at home. Japan's financial position became too exhausted to continue the war. She asked for American mediation, which President Roosevelt accepted. Accordingly a peace conference was arranged at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Negotiations

started on August 5, and Japan placed her demands like an apparent victor. Russia flatly rejected her demands for the cession of Sakhalin and payment of war indemnity. As a result, their attitudes stiffened ; but due to American intervention a treaty was finally signed on September 5, 1905.

In the Treaty of Portsmouth, Russia recognised Japan's paramountcy in Korea. Japan consented to Russian interest in south Manchuria including the railway and the Liaotung peninsula. Russia also ceded southern half of the island of Sakhalin. In the treaty, both Russia and Japan agreed to withdraw their troops from Manchuria leaving the railway guards. They also agreed to "exploit their respective railways for commercial and industrial purposes and in no wise for strategic purposes with the exception of railways in the Liaotung leased territory." Moreover, Russia declared that she did not have in Manchuria "any territorial advantages or preferential or exclusive concessions in impairment of Chinese sovereignty or inconsistent with the principle of equal opportunity."

The Treaty of Portsmouth was thus almost an acknowledgement of Japan's victory. Added to her former possessions of Formosa and a share in China, Japan secured a paramount position in Korea and valuable position in Manchuria. Her demand for the Sakhalin was modified ; but secured half of the island. Japan was defeated in only one point, payment of a war indemnity, for it raised the prospect of further fighting. On the other hand, Russia was defeated on all points ; and she was obliged to yield a large share to Japan in Manchuria. In the treaty of Portsmouth, the principle of "open door" was now extended to Manchuria;

Its Influence on Asian history : The Russo-Japanese War and the Treaty of Portsmouth, which followed the war, registered the defeat of a European Power in the hands of an Oriental nation. In Japan, it brought revenge, self-confidence and a sense of mission as a saviour of Asia. This again revolutionised its international position. Now it could

proceed to exploit her gains with little fear of international interference. In fact, the Treaty of Portsmouth set Japan on the road, that was to make her in the following forty years the builder of an empire in Asia.

Japan's emergence as a World Power had an even greater significance. It revealed to the Asian people that the Western Powers were neither irresistible nor invulnerable. For the first time they felt that it was not impossible to overcome Western penetration, if only they had resolution and preparation. It raised a wave of thrill in their veins from Turkey at the one end of Asia, to China at the other end. Nationalistic movements in the Asian countries obtained a fresh stimulation. The flame that was lit in the Japanese victory lighted the revolutions of the Young Turk in 1908, and inspired the risings in French Indo-China, Dutch Indonesia and British Malaya after the World War II. The emancipation of India and China did not fall outside its influence. Indeed, the Treaty of Portsmouth, in the words of Peffer, "lighted a spark in all Asia."

CHAPTER XXXIV

JAPAN BECOMES A WORLD POWER

Q. 1. Trace the circumstances leading to the Twenty-one Demands (1916) on China. To what extent Japan was successful ?

Or. Trace the history of Sino-Japanese relations from 1905 to 1922.

Japan's relations with China took a different course after her victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. Self-confidence and a sense of mission, which she had obtained in the victory against a Western Power, set Japan on the road of an empire-builder. Again conditions in China following the Reform Movement was extremely alluring. As a result, the war did not end in bargaining with Russia only. China was also obliged to enter into the Treaty of Peking with Japan on December 22, 1905. In this treaty, China agreed to open sixteen cities in Manchuria to foreign trade, and Japan to withdraw troops and railway guards not without conditions. China also agreed to organise a Sino-Japanese corporation to exploit the Yalu forests. What was more, recognition of Japanese interests in Korea and transfer to Japan of Russian interests in South Manchuria gave Japan a foot-hold on the continent. As a result China and her northern neighbours were made more than ever a focus of Japanese interests.

In fact, there were three major strands in Japan's Far Eastern policies after 1905. First, there was the desire to

create a defensive league of States under Japanese leadership to free its members from subjection to the West. Secondly, it was planned to form an empire on the continent from which Japan would gain strength enough to defend the area single-handed. Thirdly, there were many who considered China as a source of Japanese wealth and laid greater emphasis on trade and outlets for investment there. All these plans were aimed at increasing the Japanese strength, but they did not ensure unanimity of action. The Genro, (the emperor's senior advisers on matters of State) were inclined to strengthen Japan's position in China and Manchuria with an attitude of co-operation but without provocation to the Powers. Others in the army preferred Japan to rely on her own, like in 1904, and concentrate on building up her military bases in the North. Diplomats and party politicians argued in favour of economic penetration, while the radicals advocated 'strong' action by inciting their friends among the Chinese radicals to revolt—a Korean pattern repeated. Despite the ebb and flow all these resulted in an overall movement towards Japanese domination over China, Manchuria, Korea and the adjacent islands. This was the theme upon which were developed the Twenty-one Demands and the subsequent events until the Washington Conference.

In the meanwhile, events in China assumed serious proportions. The revolution begun by Sun Yat-sen's supporters at Wuhan in 1911 led to the creation of a Chinese republic in 1912. In stead of Sun, the former imperial officer, Yuan Shih-k'ai became its first president. These developments were extremely disappointing to the Japanese radicals, who had expected modernisation of China by Sun in collaboration with Japan. They had much sympathy for Sun, when he led a revolt against Yuan in 1913. Their indignation found a practical outlet when a number of Japanese in Nanking were killed or manhandled by troops under the command of Chang Tso-lin. They and the press and public opinion put effective pressure upon the Japanese government. Demands

were made in October 1913 for an indemnity and the dismissal of Chang Tso-lin. They were granted together with fresh railway rights for Japan in China.

In 1914, the European crisis came at a time when Japan had a government to strengthen her position in China by all possible means. Declaration of War on Germany by the Allies raised the question whether Japan's alliance with Britain imposed on her military obligations to protect British footholds at Hong Kong and Weihaiwei as well as naval actions against German commerce in the Pacific. But the out-break of the World War I opened new opportunities in the Far East, and the Japanese government thought it wise to have belligerent status to exploit them. It declared war on Germany on August 23, and within less than three months took over all German bases, railways and other installations within Japan's sphere of interest. This made the way clear for extension of action in China. The Japanese government thought negotiations with established authority as more useful than inciting revolution to overthrow Yuan Shik-k'ai. It drafted a list of concessions to be won from China, which were designed to free Japan entirely from dependence on Chinese friendship.

This list of concessions were popularly known as the Twenty-one Demands. They were divided in five groups. In the first group the Japanese demanded Chinese recognition of her occupation of German rights in the province of Shantung. In the second they outlined additional railway and mining rights to be obtained in Manchuria and Mongolia. The third contained other economic privileges in the Central Yangtse valley. By the fourth group China undertook not to cede or lease coastal territory to any other power. In the fifth group Chinese government had to make arrangements of Japanese political, financial and military advisers, joint Sino-Japanese police administration in key areas, the purchase of Japanese munitions and joint operation of certain Chinese arsenals. Japan's minister in Peking presented in January 1915 this charter of demands not through normal diplomatic channels, but secretly to Yuan.

It was hinted that if the latter refuse to concede them help might be given to those groups in China which sought his fall.

Japan made these demands at a time when the Powers most likely to help Yuan were already involved in European operations. There were protests from various quarters, especially from the United States, when Peking made inspired leaks of the news. But none were strong enough to prevent Japan's obvious determination. In the negotiations which followed, Japan modified the proposals, dropping the most objectionable of those in the final group, but making the rest an ultimatum. China was obliged to sign a treaty on May 25, 1915 giving Japan most of what she wanted. It included Chinese approval of any Jap-German agreement for Shantung, and Japanese promise to restore the Kiaochow base to China in return for the port being opened to foreign trade. There were provisions for an extension of existing bases in Manchuria and a promise of Japanese priority in all developments there. The agreement, therefore, gave Japan "a preponderance she could not have dared to hope for ten years earlier."

Thereafter, Japan's policy towards China was one of conciliation without reducing her requirements. It was to be attained by working closely with such Chinese leaders as were willing to promote them, notably Tuan Ch'i-jui, the prospective successor to Yuan Shi'h-kai. Accordingly Nishihara Kamez visited Peking, and a series of so-called 'Nishihara loans' followed. The loans were ostensibly for China's economic growth but really to provide political funds for Tuan. But Tuan was not the one among the only warlords who aspired to get a kind of authority in China. So co-operation of the country's official ruler was not by itself sufficient to guarantee Japan's position in China. Its European recognition, therefore, came as a corollary to the Japanese policy. A secret Russo-Japanese alliance was negotiated in July 1916; but bargaining with other powers, continued until a secret agreement with Britain on February 16, 1917 was concluded. A few weeks later France and Italy also recognised Japan's position in China in return for

Japanese help in persuading China to declare war on Germany. Moreover, in the Lansing-Ishii Agreement of November 2, 1917, America recognised that 'territorial propinquity' gave Japan 'special interests' in China, which she was entitled to protect.

Thus Japan had done what was possible against the expected recriminations. China also had declared war on Germany, but at the Versailles Peace Conference she was denied of her claims over the province of Shantung. Japan on the other hand, considered the Peace Conference an occasion to get her rights and status written in a general treaty. The Chinese delegates vigorously protested against the 1915 treaties and they had American sympathy. But Japan remained unmoved, and gained her point at last on April 30, 1919, when it was decided to include in the treaty a clause admitting her claims to all former German rights and possessions subject to such arrangements as she might make with China. Although the Chinese delegates refused to sign the treaty in that form, Japan's *de facto* control of Shantung was made diplomatically unassailable, although it lacked legal sanction.

The Versailles Peace Conference, therefore, registered the fundamental change in the relative position of Japan and China in the Far East. But it did not promote their relations. On the contrary, it made Japan more ambitious in the mainland, especially in the Pacific area. But it was vehemently protested by the Western Powers, more emphatically by the United States. The events led to an international conference at Washington in February 1922. There the Powers undertook to respect Chinese independence and integrity to refrain from seeking special rights at each other's expense and to avoid interference with China's attempts 'to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government'. It clipped Japanese ambitions in the mainland, and created an atmosphere in which Japan and China could settle their differences over Shantung. A bilateral agreement was signed between them on February 4, 1922, restoring Chinese sovereignty

in the province of Shantung and ratifying Japan's economic privileges. The other provisions of the Twenty-one Demands treaties, however, remained as they had been in the past.

2. Examine Anglo-Japanese relation from 1902 to 1922.

Britain and Japan entered into an alliance in 1902 and it was terminated twenty years later as a part of a general Far Eastern settlement. So the Anglo-Japanese relations during the period under review may be explained as the working of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. Russian occupation of Manchuria appeared to be a threat to both British and Japanese interests in China. Britain apprehended danger to her influence in China while Japan saw it as a roadblock to her best route to the mainland and also a threat to Korea. Circumstances led the former to break with the diplomacy of 'splendid isolation' and the latter to abandon hope of a local compromise with Russia.

Negotiations began in July 1901, and the agreement was signed on January 30, 1902. In the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Britain recognised that Japan, in addition to the interests which she possesses in China is interested in a peculiar degree politically as well as commercially and industrially in Korea. Both of them agreed to remain neutral if one of them became engaged in hostilities in the Far East. But if any one of them was attacked by two or more Powers, the other was to come to its assistance.

From the British point of view, the alliance was a warning to Russia, and not a provocation. To Japan it was not merely an alliance on a footing of equality with the greatest of the powers, but also it enabled her to treat with Russia on more even terms. Immediately she was relieved of the repetition of the Triple Intervention of the previous years, but ultimately to the Japanese extremists it was a clear invitation to aggression. It was in this sense, the Anglo-Japanese relations precipitated the Russo-Japanese war. The origins of the Russo-Japanese war lay elsewhere, and it would have been inevitable even if there was no Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese war revolutionised her international position. She secured revision of the unequal treaties from the Western Powers colonies in Formosa and Southern Sakhalin, a predominant position in Korea and important concessions in South Manchuria. In August 1905 the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was renewed. Its scope was extended to provide for the defence of British interests in India. Britain also recognised more precisely Japan's hegemony in Korea. Three months later Japan signed the Treaty of Portsmouth and by the end of the year she was free to exploit her gains with little fear of international interference.

Thereafter developments in Korea did not affect the Anglo-Japanese relations. On the contrary Japan annexed it on August 22, 1910 with the tacit approval of Great Britain. But events in Manchuria had a bad effect on the British public opinion. There the South Manchurian Railway Company was formed in June 1906, in which Japan held half the capital and had the right to appoint the two chief officers. It was empowered to engage, in mining labours, public utilities and sale of goods. It could also collect taxes and conduct administration in the railway zone. Under its patronage and control, Japanese investment in the region proceeded rapidly. Its position was reinforced by diplomatic measures. Rapprochements with France and Russia in 1907 and the Root-Takahira notes of 1908 virtually insured international acquisition in the special privileges being accorded to Japanese business in Manchuria. Britain did not, however, take Japanese gains lightly. There were sumblings of protest from London. But despite all these the Anglo-Japanese alliance was renewed in 1911.

The Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 and the subsequent events, therefore, raised the status of Japan and increased her opportunities. It enabled her to raise an overall movement towards building up a megalomaniac empire comprising China, Manchuria, Korea and the adjacent islands. The outbreak of the World War 1 in 1914 furthered the avenues of expansion. Although the Shigenobu ministry was a supporter of the

Anglo-Japanese alliance, it did not feel itself committed to maintain the *status quo* in China. The outbreak of the war, raised the question whether Japan's alliance with Britain imposed on her any military obligation in the Far East. When Britain sought Japanese help in protecting Hongkong and Weihaiwei the Japanese Government thought it wise to declare war on Germany in order to exploit the belligerent status towards furthering its hold in China. Authorities in London were alarmed at the news and saw all their efforts failed. Japan's military action against Germany began on August 15, 1914, and within less than three months she took over all German bases, railways and other installations in China.

Britain and the Allies were too preoccupied in their own affairs to do anything to prevent Japan in China. So Japan had almost a free hand to push her interests there. In 1915, she made the Twenty-one Demands and China had no alternative but to give Japan most of what she wanted. The gains by themselves were not a guarantee to Japan's preponderance in China. So Japan extended the 'Nishihara loans' to keep Tuan Chi-jui in power and engaged herself in gaining their European recognition. Britain and the Allies were at this time in desperate need for Japanese naval assistance against German submarines. Japan seized the opportunity to conclude a secret agreement with them. It was signed on February 16, 1917, in which Japan undertook to provide a naval escort group for service in European waters and to support British claims to the former German islands in the Pacific south of the equator. In return Britain promised to back Japan's claims in Shantung; the Carolines, Maranas and Marshalls. Similar commitments were made in the treaties with France and Italy to persuade China to declare war on Germany.

War-time Anglo-Japanese co-operation continued to function in the Peace Conference at Versailles. There England

did not oppose Japan's claims ; instead proposed a Japanese mandate over Shantung. But Japan was determined to carry home all the advantages she had obtained in China during the war years. Despite China's vigorous protests, a clause was included in the peace treaty admitting her claims to Germany's former rights in China.

But hereafter Anglo-Japanese relations began to decline. Britain apprehended an obstacle to the expansion of her own trade and commerce in China due to Japan's growing influence. Of late authorities in London understood that Britain's continued support to Japan's claims was helping her to become too powerful to maintain the equilibrium in the Far East. Again, the Siberian affairs brought Japan and the United States in close confrontation. In this moment, Britain's friendship with Japan might prejudice her relations with the United States. The Anglo-Japanese alliance was due in June, 1921. It was allowed to lapse and its termination was talked in the Imperial Conference of 1921. It was finally abandoned at the Washington Conference of 1922 in favour of a new equilibrium of powers in the Far East region.

Q. 3. Analyse the development of American policy in the Far East, especially towards Japan, from the end of the nineteenth century to the Washington Conference.

American policy in the Far East was rooted in its interests both commercial, like those of Britain, and strategic, like those of Russia. Particularly towards the Japanese and many other islands of the Pacific it was, in the words of President Fillmore, "greatly influenced by the United States have attained in California and Oregon (1846-8)". He emphasised that "the policy heretofore adopted in regard to those islands will be steadily pursued." This policy led to the opening of Japan by Commodore Mathew Perry and the subsequent treaties with Japan. It was the same policy which led to the beginning of a tripartite condominium over Samoa in the South Pacific, and annexation of Hawaii in 1893 in the mid-Pacific. The only difference was that the United States was

a passive factor in the 1850's due to its preoccupation with the Civil War and Reconstruction, but towards the close of the nineteenth century industrialisation and the consequent growth of surplus capital enabled her to take an active part in the Far Eastern politics.

During these years political equilibrium in the Far East had considerably changed. The European Powers trading in the East had already gained large "spheres of interest" in the Chinese Empire. What was more, an Asian Power like Japan also took part in the trade and investment there after Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5. This "cutting of the Chinese melon" threatened not only its economic viability but also its geographical existence. These developments were not immediately a threat to the United States, but their continuance would mean loss of an external market for the investment of its surplus capital. America had already set a foot when it entered into a war with Spain over the Philippines in 1898, Gain of a "territorial stake" there opened up the prospects of trade with the Eastern Coast of Asia and with China in particular so America entered into the China conflict as the champion of 'Open Door.'

U. S. Secretary of States, Mr. John Hay proposed the "Open Door" policy to the powers—Britain, France, Russia, Germany and Japan in 1899. In it America desired to "safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of Chinese empire". It recognised the existing leaseholds and "spheres of interests" of the Western Powers and desired from them not to discriminate in their respective spheres against other countries in matters of trade. In reply, each Power undertook to observe equality of trading opportunities where it had power if others did so. It meant dubious prospect. Then the issue was moved to one step further. The Boxer uprising and the Allied expedition against it made the partition of China not only probable but certain. America also took part in the assault of Peking and persuaded Japan to send active help. But at the same time, Secretary

Hay issued a circular on July 3, 1900, in which he sought "a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, and preserve Chinese territorial and administrative integrity." This saved China from the threatened partitions, and committed the United States to allow China survive as an independent state.

The "Open Door" and the subsequent guarantee to Chinese integrity was not an end in itself ; it was a means to get equal opportunity for American trade. Nevertheless, they were to influence the course of diplomacy in the Far Eastern theatre. Especially Russian designs in Manchuria threatened not only the "Open Door" but also Japan's road to the mainland. By and large America also became a party to an international struggle over China. So, when Russia and Japan entered into a collision in Korea in 1903-4, President Roosevelt maintained a policy of neutrality, which was helpful for Japan. His declaration as not to tolerate intervention and the Anglo-Japanese alliance prevented France and Germany from intervening in the war on Russia's side. They facilitated the victory of Japan, and Japan solicited the "good offices" of Roosevelt in the peace talks with Russia. In fact, it was the American intervention which helped to expedite settlement between Russia and Japan in the Treaty of Portsmouth.

The Treaty of Portsmouth did not ease the international tension in Manchuria. On the contrary, Japan's ascendancy over it and her right to exploit the South-Manchurian Railway Company excited the jealousy of other Powers, principally of Britain and America. But the Roosevelt government was at this time not ready to take offensive against Japan's special interests in South Manchuria. Instead he entered into a five year arbitration treaty with Japan in May, 1908. In November, an agreement was signed between Secretary of State, Root, and the Japanese Ambassador, Takahira, the purport of which "was as important for what it left unsaid as for what it definitely stipulated." In this, the United States recognised Japan's special position in Korea and Manchuria at least morally.

But this policy towards Japan did not satisfy the commercial interests in the United States. At the same time, William A. Taft and Philander C. Knox became President and Secretary of State respectively. They were sympathetic to the "legitimate commercial aims of the nation and substituted "dollar for bullets" in the Far Eastern policy. The object of "dollar diplomacy" was to "smoke Japan out" of her position in Manchuria. Accordingly, Secretary Knox proposed to neutralise the foreign owned Manchurian railways, and if it failed to sponsor the Chinchow-Aigun railway project in collaboration with Great Britain. The philosophy behind it was anti-Japanism, but Britain did not share this view and refused to agree. The dollar diplomacy, therefore, led to a pathetic failure and only stimulated Japan's and Russia's spheres of interests in Manchuria—the very things it was designed to destroy.

In any case, the Root-Takahira exchange set the pattern of official policy of the United States towards Japan and the Far East. Japan annexed Korea in 1910 without any diplomatic hindrance. Hereafter, Japanese immigration to the United States caused some strain in their relations. But the outbreak of the World War I brought the American policy to a trial. Japan's acquisition of the former German leaseholds in China, at once affected the policy of 'Open Door' in China and of friendship with Japan. Sympathetic attitude towards China was necessary to upkeep her commercial interests in China, but the Twenty-one demands of Japan were to threaten them. But Japan tried promises. An agreement was reached between the special Japanese Ambassador, Ishii Kikujiro and American Secretary of States, Lansing in September 1917. In it, Japan undertook to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China, as well as to promote equal opportunity for all in China's foreign trade. In return, America recognised Japan's 'special interest' in China given to her by 'territorial propinquity'.

The World War I left Japan a potential Power in Far Eastern politics. She appeared as powerful and ambitious

opponent for the United States and other powers. American attitude was likely to change in this perspective. It was first felt at the Versailles peace table, when President Wilson proposed a just action for the former German leaseholds. There he accepted Japan's claims over them with reluctance. But thereafter, American attitude towards Japan was gradually stiffened and led to the verge of a war over Siberia in the Pacific area. She took the initiative to arrange a general discussion with the Powers relating to naval disarmament and political equilibrium in the Pacific area. The discussion led to a Four Power Pact and a Nine Power Treaty at Washington. The naval ratio was fixed in the former at 5 : 5 : 3 for the United States, Great Britain and Japan respectively ; while in the latter, the province of Shantung was returned to China with certain reservations.

But the American policy towards the Far East did not succeed in the long run. China was not taken out of the arena of international struggle which the United States did not undertake in the "Open Door" policy. Nor Japan was effectively checked to prize it for aggressive expansion. In fact, China became a pivotal point in the political equilibrium of the Far East, and was subjected to any conflicts or continental wars. The Washington Conference of 1922 and the subsequent events proved that American policy in the Far East was equally motivated by economic imperialism. This again could fairly explain her shifting attitude towards Japan.

Q. 4. Analyse the background and major decisions taken at the Washington Conference. How did they affect the balance of power in the Far East ?

Background : The Versailles Peace Settlement shelved rather than solved the problems relating to the Pacific area. Japan was concerned with them in one way or another. Shantung remained a problem due to China's refusal to recognise Japanese control there. But the most spectacular among them was the strain in the American Japanese relations. Both Japan and the United States were vitally interested in the

Pacific relations and conflicts in their relations had begun immediately after the Russo-Japanese War. But the war-time developments brought more strain among them and they arrived at a disagreement over Siberia. Their relations were exasperated by continued dispute over immigration and they developed a race in naval armaments. Many governments began to think that the two Powers were heading towards a war. Particularly Great Britain apprehended a real danger in view of the obligations under the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Largely at the instigation of Canada the British Government decided not to renew it which was due in June 1921, and to replace it by a multilateral agreement. This opened up the possibility of a general discussion of the Pacific affairs. Accordingly, U. S. Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes took the initiative and the representative of the Powers met at Washington on November 11, 1921.

Major decisions : At Washington, representatives from Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States in addition with those from China, Belgium, the Netherlands and Portugal assembled to consider a whole range of Pacific and Far Eastern Affairs. But the gathering was actually two and their decisions were known as the Four Power Pact and the Nine Power Treaty.

The Four Power Pact was the first to be announced on December 13, 1921. In it Britain, France, Japan and the United States agreed to respect each other's rights in the area and to consult together in case of crisis. With this the Anglo-Japanese alliance was allowed to lapse in August, 1923. With regard to naval armaments, the United States proposed to limit the size and firepower of capital ships and to scrap them altogether. It was decided that Britain, America and Japan would maintain their respective tonnage for the future at a ratio of 5 : 5 : 3. Japan's plea for a ratio of 10 : 10 : 7 faced a stubborn resistance, but it was substituted by a standstill in Pacific fortification. The treaty also provided that battleships

were not to exceed 35,000 tons or aircraft carriers 27,000 tons. Naval guns were not to be larger than 16 inch calibre.

The Nine Power Treaty relating to China was concluded in February 1922. The signatories were Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, China and the parties to the Four Power Pact. It was stipulated that China was to have greater control over her customs and revenue. The Powers agreed to respect her independence and integrity, to refrain from seeking special rights at each other's expense and not to interfere with her attempts to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government. But the Washington Conference did not provide any promise or machinery for their enforcement. The only gain on China's part was that Japan agreed to settle the differences over Shantung. In a bilateral agreement on February 4, 1922, the province was restored to Chinese sovereignty subject to the ratification of Japan's economic privileges there.

Consequences : The consequences of the Washington conference of 1921-22 were far-reaching. Its express object was to consider all the pacific and Far Eastern problems, and to arrive at decisions on which the new pattern of international relations of the post-war years was to take shape. This policy succeeded in preventing a combination of power to dominate the Far East, as it had been exemplified in the Anglo-Japanese alliance. There the Powers adopted a ratio for total tonnage of capital ships and other measures to ease a dangerous naval competition in the Pacific. Moreover, by undertaking to maintain a *status quo* in China, they agreed to respect her political independence.

Only these did not develop a new equilibrium of powers favourable for peace. Those who made arrangements for the Washington Conference took Japan as the formidable enemy to peace in this corner of the world. Seemingly the ratio of capital ships at 5:5:3 for the United States, Britain and Japan respectively ensured an end to the American Japanese naval competition. But at the same time America and Britain

agreed not to construct new fortifications at Guam, Hong Kong, Manila or any other base nearer to Japan than Hawaii and Singapore. By inference, Japan obtained, in the words of Beasley "naval predominance in the West Pacific and an unbreakable grip on the approaches to the China Coast."

Again, the Powers at the Washington Conference did not undertake for not to use China as a prize for aggressive expansion. They only repeated their pious platitudes, but did not set up any machinery to enforce their decisions. Frankly, none of them renounced political advantage or economic profit in China. It was satisfying for China that it did not lose any new thing. Only the restoration of Shantung did not lead to an end of imperialist conflict there. Therefore, China remained a bone of contention, and Japan retained her priority by dint of her predominance in the West Pacific.

There is no denying that the easing of international tension was the main achievement of the Washington Conference. But this did not prove longstanding. Due to international pressure upon her, Japan receded for the time being. But public opinion and economic developments within Japan did not abandon expansionism. On the contrary, she resumed diplomatic relations with Russia in order to break the isolation imposed on her at the Washington Conference. This and those relating to naval armaments and China, appeared to the Japanese government as a chance to make a fresh start possible.

Therefore, at the Washington Conference what was expected the photo-finishes proved a farce. Japan did not renounce her war-time gains and fully exploited. The Powers failed to check her ambitions ultimately. This made future of the decisions taken at Washington not so bright as it had appeared at first sight. By 1937 the signatories allowed the agreement to lapse and naval competition and the arming of the Pacific islands once again began.

CHAPTER XXXIV

OLIGARCHY, PARTY GOVERNMENTS AND MILITARISM.

Q. 1. Enumerate the political patterns in Japanese politics during the thirty years following the Constitution of 1889.

Or, Give an account of the rule of the Oligarchy (1889-1918).

The Constitution of 1889 contained representative institutions and the emperor's absolutism at the same time. Its makers combined appearance of popular government with perpetuation of the emperor's authority. They created institutions both constitutional and extra-constitutional not to destroy one ruling class and substitute another. What they actually did was 'the distribution of political authority within the ruling class', and added new elements to it. The government tried to achieve a reconciliation with the former court nobles and feudal lords in the Constitution. The latter in their turn took recourse to the usual and respectable route of the services and the bureaucracy to secure a pivotal position. They formed the 'Oligarchy' which for the next thirty years until 1918, piloted the destiny of the Japanese people.

In the Constitution the provision for election provided an occasion to challenge the power of the oligarchs. But the first election held in July, 1890 was per-excellence a model performance because only one per cent of the population had the right to vote. Even within this limited franchise, the political parties such as the *Jiyuto* or Liberal Party and the *Kaishinto* or the Progressive Party endeavoured to create a government

responsible to the Diet and to destroy the arbitrary power of the clan bureaucrats. But in the first Diet the oligarchs enjoyed certain advantages, not only because the opposition of the political parties was weak, but also because the Constitution had preserved the *status quo* in the Japanese political society.

In fact, antagonism between the oligarchy and political parties was the only pattern in the Japanese politics during the years between 1890 and 1895. In the first Diet Premier Kuroda Kiyotaka proclaimed the government's policy of 'transcendental' Cabinets which meant that it derived all power from the emperor. This was clearly at variance with the desires of the political parties who considered that the Cabinets would be responsible to the House of Representatives. Premier and General Yamagata Aritomo was even more hostile to the Diet. The political parties also fought and attacked the budget and through it the policy as a whole. They were unsuccessful in so far as popular government was concerned. But 'their struggle was marked by a series of dissolutions and elections and by the attempted use of force to decide them' (Beasley).

During the Sino-Japanese War, the partisan feeling between the oligarchy and political parties was submerged in a wave of patriotism. Following it, Japanese political life moved towards a compromise between them. This was a new pattern and followed largely from their desire not to undo the Constitution. It led the oligarchy to offer Cabinet posts and minor concessions on matters of policy to the parties. It was first set to function by Ito who won the support of the Liberal Party and offered the Home Ministry to Itakagi. But since they held extreme and opposing views, political stability remained a far cry. There were six different Cabinets and four dissolutions of the Diet within a span of five years. The process increased factionalism among and within the parties, which brought corruption and skulduggery into the administration. It was in this wake, Yamagata secured an Imperial Ordinance, giving the military services advantage in the successive administra-

tions. A new party, however, was formed in 1898 known as the *Kenseito* or the Constitutional Party.

During this time a growing rivalry between Ito and Yamagata complicated the situation. To tide over the opposition Ito organised in September, 1900 the *Seiyukai* or the Association of Political Friends. It was a significant development because it provided an occasion in which a political party became an administration party and an oligarch a party leader. This did not ease political factions; on the contrary facilitated polarisation under the leadership of Ito and Yamagata, whose groups were known as 'civil' and 'military' respectively. Yamagata, however, had his ascendancy in the services and the House of Peers. Both Yamagata and Ito were represented in politics by the respective proteges Katsuro Taro and Saionji Kimmachini. In fact, rivalry between the two factions was principal pattern in Japanese politics during the first eighteen years of the present century.

Saionji and Katsuro altered as Prime Minister for the twelve years from 1900—1912. Katsuro became premier in 1901, and Saionji succeeded Ito as President of the *Seiyukai* in 1903. The former remained in office until 1905, when he resigned. The latter followed him in January, 1906 and continued till June 1908 when he failed to reconcile the views of his party and the Genro over matters of finance. Katsura returned and made a compromise with the *Suiyukai*. This led to an interlude in 1912, when Katsura himself organised his own political party, the *Rikken Doshikai* or Constitutional Fellow Thinker's Society. By doing so he challenged the power of Yamagata, and failed. Yamamoto Gombei succeeded him in 1912, and resigned in 1914. Then came Marquis Okuma who formed a new Coalition Party, the *Kenseikai*. He resigned in 1916 and succeeded by one of Yamagata's men, General Terauchi Masatake, who failed to deal with the rice-riots of 1918. Then came Hara Takashi the 'Great Commoner' in September, 1918. His elevation to premiership marked the

end of the rule by the Genro and the beginning of rule by party politicians.

Q. 2. Examine the social and economic basis of the rule of the oligarchy.

Ito once described the Japanese polity as an overgrown village, in which "family and quasi-family ties permeated and formed the essence of every social organisation, in which free discussion is apt to be smothered, attainment and transference of power liable to become a family." This was the basic philosophy of the rule of the oligarchy. Its object was to create a powerful nation-state which made Constitution of 1889 merely a matter of political theory. Japan was to become strong and modern. Its bureaucrat makers built up a new edifice combining materials Japanese and Western. It comprised agriculture, commerce and industry, education and the like which made the rule of the oligarchy entrenched in Japanese society.

Agriculture was still a major sector in Japanese economy, and production of rice and raw silk was steadily increasing. By 1920 rice production increased by a fifty per cent rise in yield per acre, and export of raw silk amounted to a third of the country's export total. Yet in a money economy a subsistence farming grew impossible. Tenant-held lands became a profitable investment for men who made their money in towns. Poorer tenants however, joined in the textile industry, and they were locally employed in silk reeling and weaving. Those who were employed in the cotton industries were entering a phase of expansion. Their exports were valued at 33 million Yen in 1913.

Upon the expansion of Japan's basic economy, Japan's ex-Samurai rulers developed a new industrial system which embodied machine technology, accumulating, banking and industrial capital of the West. The government injected a great stimulus in heavy industry after the Sino-Japanese War. Shipbuilding reached an annual average tonnage of 50,000 tons in 1909-13. Iron and steel production also attained

substantial level in the period. There were notable developments in heavy engineering industries, while much of the production of consumer goods was carried on in small family workshops within the industrial town. Coal output increased by more than five times. Electricity became available in 1900 but increased to over half a million kilowatts in 1913 and 4 million kilowatts in 1919.

There were consequent developments in strategic and transport industries. With regard to railways the main line was extended to Shimonosheki and Nagasaki, and its mileage reached 500 miles in 1907. Its development was so complete in the period under review that only Hokkaido and Shikoku were without a line. There was increase in passengers and goods carried in these lines. The network of rail system was supplemented by roads. Number of carriages increased and they included everything between horse carts and motor cars. Coastal railways facilitated shipping services, and Japan itself provided daily steamer services the islands in the Pacific including Australia. There were also improvements both in impression and output of waterworks, electric railways and tramways, the network of telegraph, telephone and electric light wires overhead in the principal towns.

These were not wholly an emulation of the West. They pointed to one thing that the modern sector of the economy was becoming a significant feature in Japan's national life. The number of the urban populace rapidly increased due to the increase in workshops and factory workers. Steady industrialisation yielded a favourable balance of trade, Gold standard was reinstated in respect of money. The real wages rose by 30 per cent and there was an increase in the *per capita* consumption of food grains. But the rapid growth of population provided more people to share the food and goods. But this did not at once become a problem to Japan's industrial growth. However, there was less increase in the standards of living since the government also resolved to maintain a large army.

The rule of the oligarchy was thus based on a very effective economic foundation. Although industrial boom gave increased wealth to elements attached with it, the merchants did not break their traditional status. In fact a network of social traditions bound the Japanese society to be loyal to the oligarchy. This was manifest in the educational system. There was a national effort to destroy illiteracy. Prospects of higher and technical education widened. But the whole system was influenced by Confucian principles. In 1900 two kinds of Shinto evolved viz. State Shinto and Sect Shinto. The former concerned largely with the emperor and official ceremonials, while the latter with the people. Religion also ensured a social basis for the rule of oligarchy.

But industrial expansion caused an extension of the 'modern' element in Japanese society. This included Western theaters, literature and even Christianity. Again, there was a consequent growth of the urban proletariat. Besides large scale industrial organisations were formed which were known as *Zaibatsu*. The cities also brought hardship and misery to many people as a concomitant of industrial growth. These were not favourable forces for the oligarchy.

What was more an industrial and commercial middle class had grown out of this economic expansion. They were all men of substance and education and they began to seek ways of getting their interests served. They became a political factor, and organised themselves as pressure groups. They were rapidly achieving a position in society which threatened the foundation of the oligarchy. This class by nature of their position and wealth ensured that the rule of the oligarchy would not continue. In the words of Beasley, they "promised to give the politicians a chance of the power which had so long eluded them."

Q. 3. Give an account of Japanese party governments in the 1920's How do you explain its failure ?

Party Government : Coincidence of a number of forces in Japan brought into being what was known as party

government. As a concomitant of economic expansion emerged the commercial and industrial middle class. Their education and wealth led them to think of an economic policy which would serve their interests best. They were organised into pressure groups at a time when the oligarchy was facing a crisis of leadership. Of the Meiji statesmen, only Saionji was alive, who left the affairs to the new generation, which was more concerned with power than its uses. Literature, dress and thought of the people by this time had developed a kind of idealism. Ideas of popular government was once again raised by the political parties. In an atmosphere of liberalism, the downfall of Terauchi government in 1918, and the selection of a 'commoner', Hara, was hailed by the progressives as the dawn of a new political era—an era of responsible parliamentary government universal franchise and a milder China policy.

In contrast to the oligarchs, these elements of Japanese society were known as the reform groups. They were also interest groups, and so they supported reforms in varying degrees. However, the liberal reforms were given a trial between 1918 and 1932. During this time, Japan had twelve Cabinets and each of them had an average life of a little more than one year. But they were all party or semi-party Cabinets and the members elected in Diet by a universal suffrage. A qualified responsible government was evolved in Japan in this way.

As has been already said, selection of Hara as premier was hailed as a victory for liberalism and democracy. But his performances were rather unsatisfactory. He appointed members of his party the *Seiyukai*, in the high offices which had been reserved for the bureaucrats. He depended much upon the Genro and the House of Peers, and showed little enthusiasm for reform in general. An extension of the franchise was put aside and socialist opinion suppressed. Corruption was ignored and the cabinet failed to restrain the army's intervention in Siberia. Nevertheless, Hara was successful in holding his men together by attracting loyalty and imposing loyalty

upon them. His assassination on November 4, 1921 robbed the party movement of an able politician rather than an inspiring statesman.

Hara Takashi was succeeded by his Finance Minister, Takahashi Korekiyo in the office of the premier. But he resigned in June 1922 and thereafter the *Seiyukai* majority was used to support three non-party governments during the next eighteen months. But by this time, the demands for responsible government was gaining popular support, and Kato succeeded in forcing a dissolution of the Diet in 1924 on this issue. It was followed by a coalition government which resigned soon due to its precarious positions in the Lower House. Then Kato himself formed an administration, first on the basis of coalition and then from the *Kenesikai* alone after August 1925.

Although there were some notable members in the Cabinet, Kato himself had dominated it. He was less flexible and better born than Hara, and had an administrative background with which he could meet the oligarchs on equal terms. As an advocate of parliamentary rule he passed the Universal Manhood Suffrage Act in May 1925 and this increased the electorate by ten million. He reduced the number of bureaucrats and cut the service budgets to below 30 percent of the national total. The army was also reduced, but he could neither reform the House of Peers nor reduce the authority of senior bureaucrats. He also passed the Peace Preservation Law as a corollary to manhood suffrage in order to punish the more extreme form of left-wing politics. He died in January 1926 and succeeded by Wakatruki in the leadership of the party and the government. But due to the opposition of the army and Privy Council he resigned early in 1927 and yielded place to a *Seiyukai* Cabinet. Since the *Seiyukai* was a minor party it dissolved the Diet and tried to better its position in the next election. The affairs made two principles almost established; first that the defeat of one party must bring the other to power, and second, that the government must enlist a majority in the Lower House.

In the 1928 election, the Seiyukai under the leadership of Tanaka Girechi came out victorious by a slender majority against its opponents, now renamed the Minseito. The government under Tanaka soon came into a conflict with the high command of the army over the murder of Chang Tso-lin in 1928. He resigned in July 1929 being replaced by Hamaguchi. Hamaguchi's Minseito won the 1930 election and soon entered a head on clash with the army and the Privy Council over the signing of the London Naval Treaty. Its attempted economy was frustrated by the Civil Service and Hamaguchi himself was shot at Tokyo railway station. Wakatsuki again stepped in only to face another dispute with the army over the invasion of Manchuria. A bitter struggle for power began within the party and he resigned in December 1931. His successor Inukai of the Seiyukai had an even shorter tenure and he was assassinated in 1932 by a group of young army and navy officers who hoped to bring about military *coup d'etat*.

Reasons of failure : By 1932, it was becoming clear that Japan had an attempted transition from oligarchic government to a responsible one by the political parties. It was an illusion because political power had not passed from the bureaucracy, and it shattered as soon as a few fanatics with army backing put it seriously to the test. For this the reasons were implicit in the parties and their performances.

First the Meiji Constitution did not provide wide opportunity to the Diet which was constitutionally weak. Although it enabled the political parties to conduct the government, it was shared by the appointed Upper House. Again, here were the established centres of authority like the bureaucracy, the Privy Council, the Genro, the military services, and the Imperial Household officials. Their existence amounted to a denial of party rule for Party leaders could secure office at the cost of bargains with them.

Secondly, the parties themselves originated from the sectional protests against Meiji centralisation. They were, therefore, coalition groups under personal affiliations. So, they lacked

any positive programme of action and moved to blackmail the government for concessions. Policy differences remained unimportant and party loyalty became a rare virtue. The system was liable to corruption. In most cases the parties had no business backing and they failed to build up any popular support.

Thirdly, the parties did not represent the urban interests. In fact they were not the men to lead a social revolution. On the other hand the war time industrial growth precipitated labour movements on socialist lines. Proletarian radicalism became vocal and assumed alarming proportions. Left parties were formed and they threatened both the political parties as well as the oligarchs. They were suppressed by repressive measures. No reforms were planned to incorporate the urban population within the fold of the government. In other words, the party leaders "were liberals of a very conservative kind" and this led to the downfall of the party government.

Lastly, the rising autonomy of the army was the immediate cause for the decline of party government. It was backed by a radical philosophy. Its enormous authority within the Constitution made it a source of potential energy. Since the political parties alienated them by not allowing to act according to their programme, they staged a *coup d'etat* and wiped out the illusions of party government altogether.

Q. 4. Examine the working of the left-wing politics in Japan after the World War I.

The growth of left-wing politics in Japan was encouraged in Japan by the conditions which existed in towns and countryside after the World War I. Differences between those who reaped profits from industrial growth and those who laboured for it were widened by inflation and trade recession. News of the German and Russian revolutions appeared to a section of the populace as a possible means for successful protest. They drew their plans and programmes from a study of Western literature. Trade unions and the intellectuals were the pilots of left-wing politics.

There was no denying that the wartime industrial progress increased the average Japanese living standards. But the growth of urban population faster than factories not only caused a major dislocation of lives in the towns but also added strain of work in factories. The inflation of 1918 made the situation worse. There was a sharp upward trend in prices, while wages rose more slowly. The difference between price index and wage index caused a wave of agitation and industrial unrest. More important among them were the rice-riots of August 1918 which led to burning of the establishments of the rice-dealers, money-lenders and profiteers. They were suppressed by the troops but they led to a series of strikes for higher pay and better living. By 1919, they succeeded in getting an eight-hour day. Moreover, workers in coal mining and ship-building were involved in strike, lockout and demonstrations in 1921 due to the post-war trade recession.

Inflation, however, did not affect the farmer so seriously as the city worker. But the trade recession led him to real poverty. There was a decline in value of rice and silk, while price index did not fall below 26.5 yen. Again the villages had to act as a shock absorber for urban unemployment. The villages became overpopulated and its social stability was upset. Besides, the peasant had to pay his taxes in kind, which amounted to "as much as half the crop on rice-paddy, a third for dry fields." Production also slowed down and tenant unions were formed to meet the increasing number of tenancy disputes. So unrest spread into the countryside.

Intellectuals, who were mainly university professors, designed to cash the unrest in the towns and villages, and formed a series of political parties. The earliest among them was Oi Kentaro, who formed the Oriental Liberal Party in 1892. His party principles combined extreme nationalism with economic controls for the protection of the poor. The Social Democratic Party and a Socialist Party formed in 1901 and 1906 respectively, but all were unsuccessful attempts. Amidst the turbulence of the post-war years, these groups

could survive, but they did not due to their disunity. However, the Socialist League was formed in 1920, and the first Communist Party was founded in the next year.

The trade unions were handicapped by police repression and struggle between competing factions. Although the earliest unions of the iron workers (1897) and railwaymen (1898) failed from 1918 the movement began to increase both in militancy and size. In its first phase till 1922, the anarchists and the syndicalists were defeated. The remaining communists and socialists, while still had to resolve their differences were subjected to bitter repression following the earthquake of September, 1923. The communist penetration into the unions led to a purge and the moderates gained upperhand, when the Communist unions broke away to form an organisation of their own in 1925.

The introduction of manhood suffrage in the same year made it a possible theory for a proletarian party to fight elections within the limits of the Peace Preservation Act. But this did not end disputes among left-wing politicians and the extremists among them became an inevitable target of official intervention. So the Farmer-Labour Party was banned in the moment it was born on December 1, 1922. The moderates however formed the Farmer-Labour Party in 1926 which pledged to follow constitutional means. But it was torn under dissension and broke off within a year yielding three separate parties. Moreover, the Communist Party was also reconstituted in the same year for making confusion worse confounded. In this background of left-wing politics it was likely that the Seiyukai and Minseitō, would gain popular support: and they had it in the following elections. In 1932 the left parties had a drop in their share of poll by 40 percent.

It has been already said that the left-wing parties were subjected to bitter police repression. They included censorship, arrest and even violence against them. Regulations of 1900 had already invested upon the police extensive powers, and they were increased in the law of 1925. After the elections of 1928,

police raids on a large scale rounded up the Communists and Communist sympathisers, and it was repeated a year later. Henceforward men and women of known left-wing proclivities were always liable to serious police actions. This again developed among the left parties tendency to unite, when under attack. The right and centre among the left-wingers were actually brought together to form the Social Mass Party in July 1932. Under its banner, they maintained a semblance of unity right down to 1940, when all political parties were dissolved.

In fact disunity and government persecution did not allow the parties of left to make any great mark before 1945. Their opposition to the 'liberal' parties appeared as a road block to the Diet's bid for control of national policy. The reasons for their failure to enlist public support were inherent in the ideas and institutions which had attopinned the Japanese people towards the attainment of collective goals. The formative pressures of the education system checked the spread of leftism in general. An emperor-centred state-religion stood as the largest road-block against the spread of Communism. Conscription and the consequent indoctrination excluded leftism and tintured with national goals. Moreover, the time-honoured authoritarian attitudes in bureaucratic and family behaviour absorbed the discontents arising from economic change.

Q. 5. Account for the rise of militarism in Japan. What led to the army's victory in 1940 ?

Rise of militarism : During the twenties, side by side with parliamentary democracy and left-wing politics, there arose in Japan a conservative and national reaction that was soon to overwhelm them. It had its roots in the older anti-Western tradition of opposition to Japan's modern growth. It was a kind of patriotism, which, associated with the ideas of expansion in the Asian mainland, fostered to make Japan a powerful state. It thus involved questions of politics, education and morale as well as of foreign and economic affairs. Especially with domestic aspects, the growth of industry,

equal distribution of profits and the consequent rural distress appeared as results of an over-indulgence in foreign ways. It thus focussed resentments of the conservatives, the futurists, the professional patriots, agrarian idealists, advocates of state ownership and social revolutionaries. It assumed the form of aggressive 'ultranationalism' during the 1940's.

This kind of thought was championed by the so-called 'patriotic societies.' Some older ones like the *Kokuryokai* had achieved a degree of respectability, while newer bodies, such as the *Dai 'Nihon Kokusuikai'* (Japan National Essence Society) and the *Kokuhonsha* (National Foundation Society) were formed with the avowed purpose to protect Japan from the threat of socialism. They included party politicians, representatives of the *Zaibatsu* firms and the higher bureaucrats. They were different in ideas and affiliations, and of then the *Kokuhonsha* was the most powerful champion of the nationalist cause in the centres of authority in Japan.

There were also smaller and extremist organisations, whose members were in most cases the personal following of fanatics. One such man was Kita Ikki, who with Okawa Shumei founded the *Yuzonsha* (Society of Preservation of the National Essence) in 1921. As an ideologue, Kita advocated in his *An Outline plan for the Reconstruction of Japan* a radical revision of the society based on direct relationship between the emperor and his people in order to fit Japan for leadership in revolutionary Asia. Unlike him, Gondo Seiko, did not wish to socialise industry, but destroy it altogether for yielding place to an agrarian-centred nationalism. His was a plan, in which the village was the nucleus of both political and economic life. There were others like Tachibana Kosaburo, who founded a communal village near Mito and Inoue Nissho who formed the *Ketsuweidan*, a blood brotherhood which favoured assassination of the leading financiers and industrialists.

Such smaller organisations, were thus too divided to put forward a political programme. But their anti-capitalist and anti-Western prejudices were shared by the younger officers

of the forces, who had no much loyalty to the established order. These officers did not like civilian control and Spartan ways in a society where the privileged could enjoy his wealth and luxury. They joined the radical right and looked at the stress of economic change. A good number of them began to form connections with the nationalist movement advocated by Kita and others. Joint military-civilian organisations were formed, and the most important among them was Lt-Col. Hashimoto Kingoro's *Sakurakai* (Cherry Society), originating in July 1930. Their object was to discuss the possibilities of reform by force. These officers talked of 'the imperial way' (Kodo) and 'the Showa Restoration' which implied imprecisely that the emperor would play a special part in any plans. Their targets of attack were the political parties and big business, especially *Zaihatsu*. Their plans including those of economy and ideology amounted to what was known in Europe as fascism.

Junior officers' participation gave the radicals access to arms. The weapons were used to persuade their seniors to declare a state of emergency and martial law. They therefore preferred terrorism and assassination to real revolution. Their armed actions were accompanied by pamphlets, newspaper articles etc., all harping on the theme of patriotic duty. Their method of action prevented any opposition in Japan during the years between the close of 1931 and the beginning of the Pacific War.

The army's victory in 1940: The revolutionary aspects of the militarists were a continuation of what had gone before. But during the thirties, they were precipitated by the contemporary pressures, especially from rural distresses, caused by the world depression. However, military opinion was first exerted in 1930 on the occasion of signing the London Naval Treaty. It was enraged in two points. It considered the limitation on war vessels as a blow to national pride, and that the chief of the naval staff was overruled as the treaty was signed by the navy minister. Military reaction was soon to

come. Premier Hamaguchi was shot at the Tokyo railway station in November 1930. But this did not change the political pattern and that of party government, in Japan.

Hereafter the *Sakurakai* in conjunction with civilian extremists led by Okawa Shumei was planning for a declaration of martial law and installation of a military governments. The Manchurian crisis of 1931-32 provided them the needed opportunity. The success in Manchuria unleashed a wave of assassinations within the country. A former Finance Minister Inoue Junnosuke was murdered, and Baron Dan, head of Mitsui killed. Prime Minister Iukai himself was assassinated at his official residence by a handful of army cadets, who were 'adolescents straying in a pink mist'. It did not mean an army *coup d'etat*; but it served as a death-blow to party government.

The defence of the Constitution became a crucial issue at this time. The only remaining Genro, Saionji, the ex-premier, and many other liberals preferred party cabinets, but at the same time feared the extremists. They, therefore, propounded a compromise, Saionji recommended the Emperor to call on Admiral Viscount Saito to form a national government. The Saito government was comprised of five party men, two bureaucrats, three militarists and three members of the House of Peers. It failed in 1934 and was followed by nine governments until 1941. The high mortality of cabinets revealed not only political instability in the country, but also the growing strength of the militarists.

During these years, the army and navy officers themselves were divided in their outlook. The *kodo* (Imperial Way) faction, headed by Generals Acaki and Mayaki were moved by the revolutionary ideas of Kita Ikki, while the *Tosei* (Control) faction led by Nagata Tetsuzan and later by Muto Akira was less liberal, more rational and was willing to work within the existing structure. But in matters of foreign policy both of them pressed for a positive one. They rivalled against each other until 1936, when it assumed the form of *gekokujo* or

manipulation of superiors by subordinates. The revolt of the junior *kodo* officers was repressed in the same year, and hereafter, the *Tosei* faction exercised a dominant influence on army affairs by controlling the intermediary stages. The elections of 1936 were a threat to the militarists and they revived old rule which provided that the War Minister must be an officer on the active list. The army regained its unity by 1936.

The elections of 1936 was followed by an orgy of murders. The Hirota Cabinet was vetoed by the army as unreliable. He was succeeded by Ugaki and then by Hayashe who resigned in May 1937. Konoe Fumimaro of the old nobility and nationalist Hiranuma came and went away, because the military high command assumed as position to choose and veto its nominees for cabinet appointment. It did so by encouraging expansion abroad and it proved its usefulness by balancing the economy. The militarists sustained the Meiji slogan *fukaku-kyohei* ('rich country, strong army'), and directed their energy towards their main targets. Japanese nationalism by this time became hysterical and Japan was renamed Nippon. Its inherent chauvinism found expression in rigid education system. Against these army officers the political parties failed to make a united front. These officers organised the *Taisei Yokuson kai* (The Imperial Rule Assistance Association) in October 1940, which replaced the parties.

CHAPTER XXXV

AN EMPIRE WON AND LOST

Q. 1. Examine Japan's international relations during her period of parliamentary government.

Japan took recourse to representative government in 1918, but it was not based upon free political institutions. So, the 'liberals' as the party leaders were called, had no rigid road-block in adopting a vigorous policy of expansion abroad. But they were more sensitive and so were more disposed to solution through diplomacy rather than direct action. The major issues of Far Eastern international relations were, specially after the Washington Conference, ere the Pacific question, the Communist threat from Russia and the resurgent Chinese nationalism. Despite 'a consolidation of the *status quo*' in the Washington Conference of 1922 for a decade the Japanese government made 'an exceptional record of good citizenship in the life of international world' (Henry Stimson).

This attitude of Japan was first manifested in its treaty with China (1922) whereby its government carried out the restoration of Kiaochow to the latter. But then, it did not mean that it was ready to forego the nation's privileged status in Manchuria. However, the basic philosophy of Japan's China policy during the 'twenties was provided by Baron Shidehara Kijuro. Without relinquishing Japan's 'special position' he outlined a policy of conciliation and adjustment with the Chinese nationalists. He thought it would be helpful for Japan's commercial and industrial expansion in terms of membership in the League of Nations and at a time when

there was a limitation of naval armaments. The 'Shidehara policy' as it has been called, was pursued from 1924 to 1927 and from 1929 to 1931, when he was the Foreign Minister. Even within these years Japan used force twice in 1925 and 1927, for the protection of Japanese interests in China.

During this period under review, Japan's relations with Soviet Russia was also improved. Owing to the diplomatic pressure of the Washington Conference, Japan withdrew her troops from the mainland of Siberia by the end of 1922. But this did not relieve either Russia or Japan of the chaos in Eastern Siberia caused by revolution and intervention. To protect their political interests there, Russia and Japan came closer to each other. After protracted negotiations, they signed a treaty on January 21, 1925, restoring relations between themselves. Japan did it at a time when she faced a diplomatic isolation, caused by the Russo-Chinese agreements, and strained U. S.-Japanese relations due to the Quota Immigration Act of May 1924.

But to the Japanese militarists, bureaucrats, and to some business circles, Shidehara's conciliatory attitude was regarded as a 'weak' policy. At a critical time of mounting civil war and anti-foreignism in China, they forced the resignation of the Wakatsuki Cabinet in April 1927. The *seiyukai* leader Tanaka succeeded him as a champion of 'positive policy' towards China. It implied that it was Japan's duty to maintain peace and order in Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, in order to protect her 'special interests' from any kind of encroachments by the Kuomintang. For this Tanaka dispatched troops to Shantung. But Tanaka had yet to establish his control upon the army. Against the government's decision, the Kwangtung army plotted the murder of Chinese warlord Chang Tso-lin, and Tanaka had to resign in July 1929.

Although Japanese foreign policy was vacillating at this time, her performance played as a member of the League of Nations was respectable. Indeed, the League was served by Japan's ablest statesmen and jurists, diplomats and politicians.

They served as an Under-Secretary General in succession, and were active in the field of arbitration and adjudication of international disputes. As she was a signatory of the convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of the Hague Conference of 1899 and 1907, Japan was made a member of the League Committee which drafted the statutes for the new Permanent Court of International Justice.

Japan's relations with the United States and Great Britain, especially with the U.S. were not always satisfactory. The Washington Conference shelved the race of naval armaments in the Pacific by limiting the capital ships to a ratio of 5:5:3 for the United States, Great Britain and Japan respectively. But Japan improved her naval strength in the Pacific region by developing the auxiliary categories. Again large scale Japanese immigration created a problem in the United States and the American Senate passed the Quota Immigration Act in May 1924, for restricting it. In consequence when on February 10, 1927, President Coolidge invited the Powers to a Disarmament Conference at Geneva-Japan demanded an extension of principles adopted at the Washington Conference. No agreement was possible and the Anglo-American-Japanese relations continued to deteriorate. Only Shidehara's return as the Foreign Minister made a compromise possible, and the London Naval Treaty was signed on April 22, 1930. In this treaty Japan accepted a 10:10:6 ratio in heavy cruisers and a 10:10:7 ratio in light cruisers and other auxiliary ships of America and Britain. She however obtained a parity with others in submarines.

But the method in which the London Naval Treaty was signed was disliked by the military opinion in Japan. As has been already said, the army was already restive. As a mark of protest against the treaty the chief of the naval staff resigned. A wave of ultranationalism swept the country at this time. The militarists drew their inspiration from it, and put an end to parliamentary government altogether. Nevertheless, the London Naval Treaty marked the high water mark of Japan's

policy of rapprochement and conciliation in international relations. Thereafter she returned to expansion abroad.

2. Review the history of Japanese expansionism in the thirties of the present century.

Japanese expansionism was for all times rooted in an anti-Westernism and a desire to exploit the Asian mainland for the country's betterment. It was true in case of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5 ; it could explain the aggressive policies adopted in the 'thirties. But this time the Japanese policies were invigorated by the handicaps of the Washington Conference and the racial discrimination in the United States and Australia. The new tariffs, quota regulations and other 'defensive' arrangements of the more recent years added stimuli by trying to reduce Japanese competition during a time of world recession. What was more, for her large and growing population, Japan had to take resort either to immigration, or to advance into world markets, or to expansion of territory. Since the first two methods were closed down by the Western Powers, expansionism remained the only alternative. Japan took recourse to it at a time, when the military opinion was gaining ascendancy and desiring the same thing.

The aggressive designs of Japan in the 'thirties were manifested in varying forms. In 1931, it was one of direct conquest. Prime Minister Kono announced the concept of a 'New Order' in East Asia in November 1938. It stood for Japanese leadership for the military, political, economic and cultural activities of Japan, China and Manchucuo against American and European pressures. A more ambitious proposal for a Greather East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere came a few years later, and South East Asia was also included within its purview. These different programmes pointed to the fact that there was disagreement about methods. It was made greater by the struggle for power between the civilian and military authorities and later between the *Kodo* and *Tosei* factions of the army itself. For these reasons one could

not precisely allocate responsibility for designs in the various phases of expansion.

The new wave of expansion started with the occupation of Manchuria in 1931. Ever since the Treaty of Portsmouth (1905) the area was becoming more and more important both strategically and economically to Japanese interests. Especially the Japanese Kwangtung army was toying with the idea of its complete annexation. For it, the time seemed ripe in 1931 when China was distracted by floods in the Yangtse Valley and the Great Powers were busy with their economic difficulties at home. On the pretext of suspected Chinese plan for blowing up the South Manchurian railway, the Japanese troops occupied Mukden on September 18-19, 1931. By February next, the whole of Manchuria fell under Japanese occupation. The puppet State of Manchukuo was created with the former emperor Hsuan Tung, or Pu Yi at its head while the Kwangtung army retained *de facto* political, military and economic control. The occupation of Manchuria was dictated by the Kwangtung Army Staff and did not follow from the policies of Tokyo. International repurcussion to this was rather passive, and the League of Nations did nothing but to appoint the leisurely Lytton Commission.

Japanese expansion in China did not stop in Manchuria. In 1933, Jehol was added to Manchukuo, and a demilitarised zone created around it. Making it a base, the Kwangtung army demanded an withdrawl of Chinese troops from Hopei and Chahar, and simultaneously encouraged those politicians in the north who would be willing to accept autonomy under the patronage of Japan. Hereafter, the Japanese advances were local, intermittant and small scale and did not evoke international intervention. The authorities in Tokyo, however, 'had no way of learning what the plans and activities of the Kwangtung army were.' It only inunciated a kind of relationship with China amounting to suzerainty or protectorate and proposed a general settlement demanding Chinese recogni-

tion of Manchukuo, suppression of anti-Japanese activities in China, and an anti-Communist Sino-Japanese alliance.

Japan renewed her 'mission' on the mainland in 1937. In the negotiations, which preceded it, the Japanese leaders were convinced of the uselessness of their piecemeal methods. In fact, the Chinese stubbornness and hostility and Chiang Kai-shek's recent alliance with the Communists led them to think so. The Japanese high command had also to get rid of the frustration caused by the failure of the military revolt in Tokyo. An attack on China became evident when the *Tosei* (control) faction of the Japanese army came at the helm of affairs. In fact, Japan abandoned moderation, and took recourse to an adventurous foreign policy in the hope of outstanding achievements both at home and abroad.

The war with China broke out on an incident at Marco Polo Bridge on July 7, 1937. Due to Chinese resistance and absence of any authority on the Japanese side to effect a local settlement fighting quickly spread, becoming general in the next few weeks. By August, the Japanese troops occupied Tientsin and Peking. Then they moved towards south and pushed up to Nanking, Chiang's capital. Their victories ensured further prospects of the war, especially because China's appeals to the League of Nations were not going to bring her substantial help. Japan was encouraged to wage a full-scale war, and extended a naval blockade to the whole of China's coastline. To consolidate the gains, the Chinese cities were heavily bombed. The Japanese troops moved up the Yangtse and reached Hankow and Canton in October 1938. In November, Japan controlled the wealthiest and most populous Chinese cities, and it was at this time that Prime Minister Kono announced his plan for a 'New Order'.

But the 'China affairs' appeared to be 'a wearisome colonial war', and Japan experienced economic strains. Capitulation of the Kuomintang seemed to be not in sight and it made Japan pause for reconsideration. Her military leaders also were anticipating a clash with Russia, and Japan now

undertook to exploit political rather than military advantages. She put pressure upon Britain and France to isolate China. In this, she was successful because France granted her access to the South through Indo-China and Britain closed the route Burma to Yunnan. At the same time, Japan attempted at from subversion in China from within and placed Wang Ching-wei at the head of a puppet government in Nanking.

The spread of Japanese authority in China meant in some degree an attack on the interests of Britain and America there. But their reactions were slow to come, because Britain was engaged in the crises in Europe, and America was busy with her isolationism at home. But Russian reaction appeared to be dangerous, not only because of the forced sell to Japan in 1935 of the Chinese Eastern Railway, but also because they had a much longer common frontier. Frictions between them were frequent' and one of 1939 made Japan more wary of Russian strength. By this time, her withdrawal from the League of Nations placed her in a diplomatic isolation. This led to her talks with Hitler's Germany, and an Anti-Comintern Pact was signed in November 1936 providing German-Japanese co-operation against international communism. But Japan failed in her attempt at a general anti-Russian agreement with Germany.

In the meantime, Japan's ambitions was given a new dimension. In 1936, the military staffs had discussed plan for expansion in South East Asia with a view to exploit the region's material resources. Prospects of its success was becoming bright with outbreak of the Second World War. In 1940, the army pressed the second Konoé government for a Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy. They also tried by diplomacy to appease the French and British reactions. Germany's attack on Russia in July 1941, made them confident of a success in South East Asia. But authorities in Tokyo were divided in their opinion apprehending danger from the United States. The militarists pressed their opinion for campaign in that region. Premier Konoé resigned because he failed to

bring about a reconciliation. He was succeeded by General Tojo Hakeda, the 'Razor', in October 1941. Thereafter, Japan entered into a full scale war with the Allies.

So, Japanese expansionism in the thirties was not always a concerted move. The civilian authorities preferred policies which would seem 'respectable' in international terms. The army desired, specially after the defeat of the *kodo* extremists, an advance in China rather than a defence against Russia. The navy in its turn considered an advance into the South East Asia helpful for fuel and oil. But in most cases, the conspiracy of the army led to intervention in China and South East Asia. They first opened hostilities, and then informed it to the authorities in Tokyo. The latter, if not liked it, sent reinforcements when necessary. So responsibility for expansion could not be precisely allocated.

Q. 3. Enumerate how Japan won and lost an empire during the Second World War.

Japanese attempts at building up an empire in East Asia may be dated back to 1936, when the *Tosei* (control) faction of the army came to ascendancy. It inflicted a death blow to civilian government and thereby put an end to a policy of moderation and respectability in foreign affairs. The first attempt was made in 1937, when the Japanese Kwangtung army became engaged in large-scale hostilities with China. It was facilitated by the League of Nations' failure to help China at her critical time. Prime minister, Konoe, announced his 'New Order' in November 1938 to pacify international repercussion. But military success did not automatically led to the removal of Chiang Kai-shek, which most Japanese desired. The China war appeared as 'a wearisome colonial war' and the authorities in Tokyo tried diplomatic isolation of China and its internal subversion from within to complete the success. However, the China war marked a modest beginning towards empire building.

The idea of empire at this time was contained in the concept 'of New Order'. It connoted the co-ordination

of military, political, economic and cultural activities of the states of East Asia under Japanese leadership. Its aim was to rescue all of them from subservience to American and European pressure. It had, therefore, the reasoning reminiscent in the Twenty-one Demands. But this could not dampen the international repercussion. Most likely protests would have come from Britain and America, since Japanese advances in China threatened their interests. But they were too preoccupied in their own affairs to take any positive step. What the statesmen of Tokyo apprehended most was Russian intervention, particularly at a time when Japan faced a diplomatic isolation resulting from her withdrawal from the League of Nations. They tried to repair by signing an Anti-Comintern Pact with Hitler's Germany in November 1936. But Germany refused to sign an exclusively anti-Russian treaty—exactly the thing which the Japanese statesmen had desired. Its negotiations came to a close when a Russo-German non-aggression pact was announced in August 1939. Nevertheless Russia remained neutral, but Britain and extended large credits and war-supplies to China.

In the meantime, the World War broke out in Europe, and the Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yosuke planned to exploit the international situation in favour of empire building. He also gave a new dimension to Japan's ambitions by preparing plans for expansion in South East Asia. At a liaison conference between ministers and service chiefs in July 1940, he emphasised that Japan must seize the opportunity of the European war to establish herself in Indo-China, Burma, Malaya and the Netherlands Indies. He tried diplomacy by signing a Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy on September 27, 1940. He went as far as to enter into a neutrality agreement with Russia in 1941 in order to free Japan from uncertainty about her northern frontier. But his was a plan based on erroneous calculations, for Britain did not succumb to German attack, nor Germany warned Japan before invading Russia in 1941. It led to Matsuoka's

fall. However, Japan succeeded in persuading France in September 1940 to authorise the establishment of Japanese air bases in North Indo-China and to grant right of passage for Japanese troops.

Germany's attack upon Russia made it possible for Japan to launch a campaign in South East Asia with greater confidence. In such a case, Japan was to act independently of her Axis allies, and without getting involved in the Russian War. But as has already been told, her 'New Order' in East Asia had a cold reception in the United States. In fact, America was hostile to Japanese policies in China and put economic pressure upon Japan. It went so far as to freeze all Japanese assets in the United States in response to the occupation of Southern Indo-China in July 1941. Thereafter, the two States had for some months been engaged in negotiations only to arrive at disagreement. Japan refused to withdraw from China. By October, the services announced their plan to give priority to South East Asia and remained adamant against retreat from China. Prime Minister failed to bring about a reconciliation and he resigned yielding place to a military dictatorship of the General Staff under General Tojo Hideki, the 'Razor'. America rejected the new demands of Japan in China, and war became inevitable. Japan formally broke off relations with America and declared war against it.

Once the decision was taken, Japan took prompt action. By a surprise air strike, she destroyed the American Pacific fleet at its Hawaiian base, Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941. Simultaneous attacks upon Wake, Guam, Midway, the Philippines and Hongkong were equally successful. By March 1942, Japan occupied everything between Rangoon and the mid-Pacific, and between Timor and the Mongolian Steppe. Her war plans, drawn up in November 1941, contained a Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere covering the whole of this area. It would have its industrial base in Japan north China and Manchukuo, while other countries would feed them with raw materials and form a vast consumer market. It was

designed to improve Japan's economic strength so that she could retard any counter-attack and then if possible to incorporate India, Australia and Russia's Siberian provinces.

By 1941, Japan, therefore, replaced the West in dominating the South East Asian States. It required elimination of 'undesirable' influences and the creation of a network of new political alignments. As such, Indo-China and Siam were given a large measure of independence. Occupied China under Wang Ching-wei was persuaded to declare war on America and Britain in January 1943, Manchuko's status did not fare more than a colonial status, despite its declared independence. Burma was placed under a puppet leader, Ba Maw in 1942. Both Burma and the Philippines achieved independence in 1943, while Malaya and the Netherlands Indies were retained under direct Japanese control. Japan also tried to exploit the anti-Western sentiments and economic resources of these States to upkeep her own defence. But here she achieved less success. She only produced hatred and resistance by executions and torture. The Greater East Asian Ministry, established in November 1942 had neither local knowledge nor administrative experience and expertise to pursue any definitive policy. Again, there were no trained technicians to restore trade and industry in South East Asia and to create a powerful and self-sufficient economic block. Moreover, submarine attacks seriously dislocated the sea communications among the islands.

By this time American counter-offensive was faster than the economic development of the Co-prosperity Sphere. By February 1943, the Japanese services were repulsed from Guadalcanal in the Solomon islands. America developed the 'island-hopping' technique, a new pattern of warfare which involved close co-operation between land, sea and air forces. The allied leaders also, conferred at Casablanca and Quebec to outline the strategy. By a fleet action, the key base of Kwajaleen was captured in 1944. Allied recovery of Saipan and Marianas was followed by the fall of Guam and the Palau in

the same year. Morotai, Manila and Okinawa fell in quick success and Japan was led to the offshore defence of the mainland. Campaign had also begun in Burma, and China and Germany's surrender in May 1945 enabled the allies to devote all their efforts toward China.

Thereafter, the allies bombed the Japanese industries and cities and by the summer of 1945 Japan was virtually in a state of seize. Despite terrible hardships, the Japanese leaders realised that victory was unattainable. Deteriorating military situation brought about the fall of Tojo and his successor General Koiso Kuniaki. Suzuki Kintaro, an aged and much respected admiral came to power in April 1945. He privately favoured peace, if it could be achieved with honour. He and other elder statesmen favoured Russian mediation but only to find Russia irresponsible. On the contrary Russia concurred with Britain, America and China, when they issued the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945. The declaration called for Japan's unconditional surrender to be followed by military occupation, demilitarisation and loss of territory. It was unacceptable to the opinion of the services. It was followed by a week's peace, when on August 6, America dropped the first atom bomb on Hiroshima, and three days later a second on Nagasaki. By this time Russia also declared War on Japan. Japanese surrender became imperative and after silly dilly-dallyings it was made public on August 15, 1945.

Japan's surrender was not simply an end of a chapter ; it was rather the end of story—the story of Japan's career of conquest. Indeed, it was the end of an era, when the military opinion injected with a strong ultranationalism jockeyed the country towards militarisation both within and outside the country. The dream of building of a megalomaniac empire had its blossoming and fall down during the Second World War.

Q. 4. Examine the American-Japanese relations during the years between 1922 and 1945.

Relations between the United States and Japan were improved at the Washington Conference of 1922. There they

agreed to attenuate the naval rivalry, which had been plaguing their relations, since the outbreak of the First World War, and resolved to limit the tonnage of capital ships on ratio of 5 : 5 : 3 for America, Great Britain and Japan respectively. The United States and Britain also undertook not to construct fortifications at Guam, Hongkong, Manila, or any other base nearer to Japan than Hawaii and Singapore. In a Nine Power Treaty, Japan agreed to restore the province of Shantung to China. The United States' policy of Open Door' seemed to have succeeded because *status quo* returned in the Far East. On the other hand, Japan did not renounce her wartime gains except Shantung and at Washington she gained a naval predominance in the West Pacific and an impregnable grip on the approaches to the China Coast. The decisions of the Washington Conference seemed to have been satisfactory to both America and Japan, so far as restoration of good relations was concerned.

During this time Japan experienced a measure of popular governments. Especially Foreign Minister, Shidehara, favoured a policy of moderation towards China the most sensitive point in America's Far Eastern relations. Trade between the two countries also improved and Japan sent 36 per cent of her raw silk to the United States. But at the same time the Japanese immigration to America caused some constrains in their relations. Public opinion in America was very much bitter against this and demanded heightened restrictions on all immigrations. Its pressure was felt upon the Congress and a law was passed in 1924 prescribing a two per cent quota on Japanese immigration to United States. Secretary of State Hughes himself apprehended its evil effects on American-Japanese relations. The Japanese reaction may be traced from a letter of the Japanese ambassador to Secretary Hughes where he warned of its "grave consequences".

The Quota Immigration Act of 1924 thus created a noticeable tension in the relations between the two countries. It was furthered by their growing interest in the question of

armaments. Despite a ratio of 5 : 5 : 3 in capital ships, fixed at the Washington Conference, the United States failed to keep pace with Britain and Japan in the Pacific either in naval strength or in auxiliary military categories. For this President Coolidge invited a disarmament Conference at Geneva on February 10, 1927, with the object to extend the 5 : 5 : 3 to all categories of ships and to reduce total cruiser tonnage. It failed, and thereafter the American-Japanese relations continued to deteriorate until an agreement was reached at the London Naval Conference. It met on October 7, 1929 the resulting treaty was signed by Britain, United States and Japan. It contained, among other things a 10 : 10 : 6 ratio in heavy cruisers, a 10 : 10 : 7 ratio in light cruisers, and a parity in submarines in eastern waters.

The London Naval Treaty was the high water mark in Japan's relations with the United States. It had consequences with the country which led to the virtual end of responsible government. The military opinion gained ascendancy in Japan, and, injected as it was, the armed services became jealous imperialists. Their first act was an attack on Manchuria on a flimsy pretext and China and Japan sank more deeply into a morass of undeclared war hereafter, China lodged her complaints to the League of Nations, which did its duty only by sending the leisurely Lytton Commission. Despite her isolationism at home America reacted very sharply. Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson protested it as a gross violation of the Nine-Power Open Door Treaty. This did not prevent Japan from continuing further advances, but it made the American-Japanese relations bitter.

Thereafter, Japanese Kwangtung army continued its southward moves; and at length it came out to be long-drawn colonial war. This spread of Japanese authority in China was detrimental to the commercial interest of America and Great-Britain. Particularly America maintained strained relations with Japan although she was willing at first to take positive steps. Due to pre-occupation in domestic politics the United States, Japan

was allowed a free hand until Japanese advance in South East Asia began to threaten its interests more directly. But she was always sympathetic to China and desired an unaltered *status quo* in the Far East. During the second Sino-Japanese war of 1936, American interests were not hampered directly.

But Japan's victory in China enticed her to establish herself in Indo-China, Siam, Burma, Malaya and the Netherlands Indies in the wake of the war in Europe. She desired to exploit the region's tin, rubber, bauxite and other strategic raw materials. In fact Japan's extension of the 'New Order' threatened the U.S. establishments at Hawaii and the Philippines. American attitude towards Japan grew hostile and Washington refused to renew its commercial treaty with her in July 1939. By 1940, it increased economic pressures. Licenses were introduced for exports of various kinds of oil and scrap-iron. An embargo was placed on all scrap for Japan, and later was extended to iron and steel exports. What was more, on the occasion of Japanese occupation of Southern Indo-China the American government issued a regulation to freeze all Japanese assets in the United States, bringing trade almost to a stand still. For a few months there were talks for a conciliation, but Japan's refusal to withdraw from China and halt her advance in South East Asia made them ineffective.

In the meantime the Japanese strategists were determined on war, and considered the plans they would follow. They gave priority to South East Asia and issued a formal statement breaking off relations with the United States. The American government secured a copy of the statement from its intelligence agencies, some hours before the Japanese ambassador could pass a copy of it. The formal war thus began, and the Japanese, due to their strategic position, won successive victories. They planned a Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere covering the whole of South East Asia and went so far as to incorporate India, Australia and Russia's Siberian provinces.

But everything did not go so smoothly as the Japanese had

anticipated. America and her allies did not remain idle observers. In fact their naval battles of the Coral Sea and of Midway in 1942 foiled Japanese thrusts towards Australia and Hawaii respectively. A year later, America re-captured Guadalcanal in the Solomon islands and planned the 'island hopping' technique to win bases from which ships and aircrafts could dominate wide areas of the West Pacific. General Douglas MacArthur was deputed to the South West Pacific, who destroyed the Japanese fleet in the naval battle as in the Leyte Gulf in 1944. The surrender of Germany in May 1945 enabled the America and her associates to devote all efforts towards Japan. Japan was thus played virtually to a state of seize. Cabinets fell one after another. Defeat being inevitable moderates in the Japanese army decided to seek Japanese mediation for a honourable settlement. But it was too late and on August 6 and 9 respectively, Hiroshima and Nagasaki were bombed. Japan had no way but to surrender, and she did it on August 15, 1945.

Therefore Japan's relations with the United States, and they were defined in the Washington Conference of 1922, had a good start. During the twenties they were occasional *à passe* as it was found in the Immigration Act of 1924. But it did not hamper trade and commerce between the two countries. In fact, the 'Shidehara Policy' was so designed as not to disturb the *status quo* in Asia. But the renewal of Japanese expansion and her career of conquest in South East Asia led to a head on collision with the United States. It led to a period of occupation of Japan by the American troops.

CHAPTER XXXVI

UNDER OCCUPATION AND AFTER

Q. 1. Write a brief essay on the occupation of Japan, 1945-1952.

Japan's decision to surrender on the allies' terms on August 15, 1945 was followed by the appearance of American airborne forces in Tokyo and of an allied fleet at anchor off Yokohama. The Japanese overseas troops were ordered to lay down their arms, and those within the country to disperse quickly. Japan's defeat was complete despite her last-ditch stand to prepare itself for a victory. The Japanese nation by the end of the World War II wore a sham show of physical destruction, economic collapse and social hollowness. Yet with habitual discipline its people responded to the emperor's call for surrender, because they wanted relief although at the cost of disillusion of a dream.

Allied occupation of Japan was in all vital affairs an American one. Although there was an elaborate machinery of international control, headed by a Far Eastern Commission in Washington, the execution of policy depended on the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), General Douglas MacArthur; the American Commander-in-Chief. He took orders from the United States Government, it also transmitted to him the decisions of the Far Eastern Conference. As a result, distinction between the two functions were blurred, and he and his immediate superiors had a good of discretion in carrying out policies. The SCAP had an enormous bureaucracy to assist him in Tokyo. These civil and military bureau-

crats had no much knowledge and experience of the country, and their action mostly led to transplantation of American institutions in Japan. What was more, the basic lines for the working of the occupation were first laid down by the American government ; and the Far Eastern Commission only approved them.

The occupation involved, among other things, the disposition of the Japanese Empire. In accordance with it military supplies and installations were destroyed. Over two million soliders were demobilised in Japan, while three million repatriated from overseas. Japan was deprived of 46 per cent of her pre-war territory and lost all territorial gains which she had made since 1868. An international tribunal tried the 'war criminals' between May 1946 and November 1948, and in Yakohama alone 700 were sentenced to death and 3,000 to various terms in prison. Since, the object of occupation as announced in the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945 was to remove-all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people,' there was political amnesty of all who had unsuccessfully opposed the wartime and pre-war governments in Japan. As a corollary to it there was a 'purge' of over 200,000 persons from public life, who had identified themselves, with the war-time government.

In the meantime, political views revived in Japan mainly due to American encouragement to replace the Imperial Rule Assistance Society. Thus came the powerful Liberal and Progressive Parties. From an uneasy combination of moderates and socialists emerged the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party also received a great stimuli under Nosaka Sanzo. There were also over 300 local parties, which came into existence after the occupation. Elections were held in 1946, 1947 and 1949, showing a marked decline of the Liberals and rise of the Progressives now reorganised as the Democratic Party. In the elections of 1947, however, the Social Democrats emerged as the largest Diet Party but after 1949

it was splitted into parliamentary right and Marxist left. The Communists secured support of nearly 10 percent of the electorate and thirty-five seats in 1949.

But the parties were to operate within entirely a new political structure, laid down in the Constitution of 1947. Drafted at Mas Arthur's headquarters in 1946, the Constitution was seriously criticised both in Japan and abroad. But its most important achievement was that it put power firmly into the hands of the Diet. It contained that there was to be an a House of Councillors of 250 members, and a House of Representatives of 118 electoral districts, the House of Representative could be dissolved like the British House of Commons ; but like the American Senate the Upper House could not. The Lower House was to elect the Prime Minister and his Cabinet was to be responsible. In case of a revision of the Constitution a two-thirds majority in each House and a simple majority in national referendum were required. In the New Constitution, the emperor became "the symbol of the State.. deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power." There was an outline of 'grass-roots democracy' in matters of local government, which included abolition of the Home Ministry, creation of elected governorships backed by local assemblies. But this aspect of Constitution proved less successful.

Decentralisation of authority was followed from American example ; it also inspired separation of the judiciary from the executive. Henceforward, a Supreme Court was to supervise the administration of the Courts in place of the Ministry of Justice. It was also to appoint judges and to pronounce constitutionality of laws. Women were given full legal and political equality with men, and laws specially labour laws revised. The Japanese workers obtained the right to organise and strike in the Trade Union Act of 1945 and the Labour Regulation Act of 1946. A Labour Standard Act in 1947 afforded them a guarantee of better working conditions. As a

result, by the end of 1948 some 34,000 unions had been formed and their membership nearly seven million.

A bill drafted by the Australian representative in Japan, MacMahon Bill, was forced through the Lower House in October 1946, and became a law concerning land tenure. It subjected all land held by absentee landlords to compulsory purchase, but allowed owner-farmers and resident landlords to retain an average of 12 *che* (just under 30 acres) of land in their possession. Artificially low prices of crops, fall in the value of money and black-market prices for food equipped the peasants to purchase them. As a result, the share of owner-cultivators rose to 90 per cent of the whole land under tenancy in 1948. Japan was thus made a country of peasant-proprietors, which in its course led to 'a considerable increase in the sum of human happiness in Japanese villages.

Reforms in education involved changes in manner and matter of schooling of the Japanese children. The wartime text books, written in chauvinist and nationalist terms were abolished. A complete reorganisation of the educational system was drawn by a mission arrived from the United States. Administration of educational institutions was decentralised, and put under elected boards at the prefectural and municipal levels. There was to be compulsory education for full nine years. The new system faced shortage of school buildings, text and trained teachers, and a barrage of advice of educational method. The new method contained 'core' curriculum and 'integrated projects' in place of 'subjects', and in it 'civics' replaced 'ethics'. As regards higher studies, universities grew like mushrooms, and the American type of reduction in specialisation for undergraduates and the introduction of new graduate courses were implemented. Nevertheless, these universities in course of time became centres of radical leftism.

But matters on democracy and reform yielded place to considerations of international politics in MacArthur's mind after 1947. It was due to a sharp deterioration of Russo

American relation and growing strengths of Communist China that shifted the emphasis to the strategic aspects of America's position in Japan. This trend became stronger after the Communist victory in China and the outbreak of hostilities in Korea. The SCAP purged over 20,000 people from jobs in Government, education and industry in Japan 1949-50. Despite 'the Japanese people for ever renounce War as a sovereign right of the nation' in the constitution, they were allowed to develop a para-military force having land sea and air arm to act as America's potential.

As early as 1947, General Mac Arthur had suggested the possibility of concluding a peace treaty with Japan. But thereafter, he consistently had been overruling the success of 'democratizing' policies. In view of the Korean war he gave weight to his earlier arguments. The authorities at Washington also favoured the idea having the possibility of joint action by the Far Eastern Commission ruled out. The resulting treaty was signed at San Francisco in September 1951 by forty-eight powers. After the ratification of the treaty in April 1952, the military occupation of Japan came to end. But, it did immediately led to the withdrawal of American troops from her territory. In fact, she had also to sign a defence agreement by which she undertook to provide military bases for the American troops.

Thus, under American occupation, Japan made a fresh start. The reforms, carried out during this period, were not always rooted in Japan. They were, in most cases transplantation of American institutions. Again they were introduced for their familiarity with the SCAP and not for their usefulness. This and back of trained personal under the SCAP, made possible, in the words of Beasley 'a considerable divergence between intention and result',

Q. 2. Examine the developments in Japanese politics since the end of American Occupation.

With the satisfaction of the Treaty of San Francisco in April 1952 the American military occupation of Japan came

to an end. From this time Japan was expected to follow a sovereign democratic career. Immediately it confirmed the domination of the conservatives in domestic politics. The end of occupation gave them an opportunity to effect their desired change of policy. They were helped by the anti-left-wing proclivities of the occupation headquarters, and their policy suited with the changed Japanese opinion. The Japanese were no longer allergic to 'Western' innovations ; but this did not imply that they did not turn towards tradition. In fact the Japanese after the occupation was more a continuity with the past, a resumption of trends and controversies which had been suppressed or diverted by the militarists in the 1930s. It also combined a little less of America of 1904s with it. This was a 'reverse course' which provided re-examination or revision of a number of occupation reforms.

The reverse course took as its targets, the constitution, decentralisation and education. But since it was a policy of the right-wing parties they put strictures upon the 'excessive' liberties which had been given to trade unions and individual citizens. It was bitterly opposed by the socialists and the trade unions. But since the peace treaty of 1951 had a popularity of its own, the conservatives secured a firm hold in the lower house. In the election of 1952, Yoshida's Liberal Party secured an absolute majority, while the former Democrats now re-grouped as the Reform Party-also held a substantial number of seats. Their positions in the Diet were maintained in the elections of 1953 and 1955. But these parties were not without factional struggles, and a rift within the Liberal Party forced Yoshida to resign from premiership, in December 1954. His rival Hatoyama soon formed a new Democratic Party and formed a Cabinet with the Liberal renegades and other right-wing Diet groups. He won the elections of 1955, relegating the Liberals to a second place ; but he commanded no more than a plurality, there was merger in November creating the Liberal-Democrats. Thereafter it has been the ruling party headed by Hatoyama Ichiro till 1956, Ishibashi Tanzan Kishi.

Nobusuke till 1960, Ikeda Hayato till 1964 and Sato Eisaku since then.

The pattern of Government in Japan since 1956 has been one of conservative coalitions. Against this opposition is composed of the Socialists. But since the setback of 1949 it had been suffering from basic ideological division. It came into open in 1952, and it was divided into two units, the right supporting the peace treaty, the left rejecting it. In the elections of 1953, the right won 66 Diet seats, and the left 72. In 1955 the figures increased to 67 and 89 respectively. In October, the two wings were re-united and regrouped as the Social Democrats. The Social-Democrats made a modest progress by winning 166 and 172 seats in the elections of 1958 and 1960 respectively; but then 17 members formed in 1959 a new group of Democratic Socialists. Nevertheless the Social leaders predicted after the elections of 1963 that they would assume control of government within eight years.

The position of the Communists was the worse. Their parliamentary representation had been wiped out by the Korean War. Nosaka's peaceful line in 1950 was severely criticised by Russia or rather the Cominform. Isolated at it was from international communist movements, the government's policy of 'Red Purge' had completed its discomfiture. The Communists lost all thirty-five of their parliamentary seats in the elections of 1952 and secured only 2.6 per cent of the total votes polled. Thereafter, they regained one in 1953, two in 1955 and three in 1960. They were by this time engaged in militancy and underground movements, and their preoccupation helped left-wing Socialists at the polls.

Thus the Communists had ceased to be a major factor in Diet proceedings, and the increase to 3.5 per cent of the Socialist membership in 1960 had caused a slight fall in the conservative membership of the House of Representatives. But the success of the 'reverse course' had been less than these facts would have led one to expect. Constitutional reform was blocked by the left's never going down below a

third of the seats in the Upper House. Reform in education was defeated by extra-parliamentary pressures. Introduction of ethics and license for text books met with a wave of criticism in press and public, and they were either withdrawn or defeated in the Diet. With regard to police administration, the Diet abolished in 1954 all smaller forces by consolidating them into prefectural units, with a national police to carry out co-ordination. But a bill to give the police more powers including rights of arbitrary arrest, was dropped in 1958 by the Kishi government in the face of an outcry.

The ruling party and their Socialist opposition were, however, equally retrogressive in their parliamentary behaviours. The socialist attempt to obstruct Diet business ranged from a refusal to conduct debates to even use of force. It was because they had no immediate hope of coming to power, and because extremists among them were never fully committed to parliamentary means. They staged strikes, demonstrations and petitions, and during the struggle over the Police Duties Bill of 1958, the General Council of Trade Unions (Sohyo) brought over four million workers in the protest rallies. In the Japanese society it was made easier to organise such a sympathy against specific protests than to rally it in the elections against the conservative coalitions. It was greater still in discussions of foreign affairs, especially Japan's 'involving in the 'cold war'. The most famous among them was the American-Japanese agreement of 1960, against which socialists boycotted the proceedings and picketed the House. As was usual with the government party, it arrested many of the oppositions and in their absence voted to ratify the treaty. The dispute was thus made one of constitutional rights, and it was followed by mass demonstrations throughout Japan on May 26. One effect of the protests was that the Kishi government resigned in June.

The exit of the Kishi government did not change the nature of Japanese politics. He was replaced by another of the Liberal-Democrats, headed by Ikeda Hayato. As was usual,

the tumult did not affect the Japanese voting pattern in the elections of 1960. Ikeda announced his intention to concentrate on promoting economic growth, and he had a smooth sailing. He also introduced 'low posture' in Diet proceedings, meaning thereby his ministry's intention to respect opposition views and avoid highly controversial issues. This policy was however, abandoned by his successor, Sato Eisika, who challenged the left-wing parties by promising revision of constitutional provisions.

Q. 3. Review the economic growth of Japan during the years following the end of American occupation.

Economic rebuilding was a fundamental task in the Post-War Japan ; and it was made all the more difficult by the surrender in 1945. The economic life had been damaged and dislocated during the war. After the surrender Japan lost 46 per cent of its pre-war territory, and no longer it had any direct control over the mineral and agricultural resources of Korea and Manchuria. Japan was also deprived of the sugar and rice of Formosa, the pulp of Sakhalin, and fishing grounds of the shores of northern pacific. Added with these, Japan's former customers in South East Asia began to trade elsewhere. Within the country there were shortages of fuel, power and raw material, inadequate transport and apathy of fears. The division of the world into sterling and blocs complicated its multilateral commerce, and there were also political problems of trade with China. Moreover, the American occupation placed direct handicaps, stemming out from reforms. The purge caused shortage in trained leadership and the breakup of the giant *Zaibatsu* forms led to the dissolution of central entrepreneurship and the manufacturing combines. Lastly, there was an enormous increase in the country's population.

The war and the occupation also brought new advantages to balance the drawbacks in Japan. Level of Japanese technical skill in several industries was raised by the creation of a war economy. Destruction made possible re-building with the most up-to-date methods and machinery. The American

occupation brought vital shipments of food and raw materials, which provided a substitute for a stagnant foreign commerce. Intensification of cold war led to relaxation of anti-*Zaibatsu* policies, and it was increased by the outbreak of the Korean War. These helped towards the ending of inflation, and large orders for equipment for the United Nations forces added a stimulus to Japanese production. Moreover, between 1952 and 1956, procurement orders for American troops and bases in Japan paid for nearly a quarter of its commodity imports annually.

The growth of Japanese industry had, indeed, started under the American occupation. In the post-occupation it was made rapid and almost continuous. In 1950, it increased by 84 per cent more than that of 1934-6, and 155 per cent by 1953. There was mild recession in 1954 due to the government's correcting measures relating to price rise ; but then it jumped to 325 per cent and 410 per cent in 1959 and 1960 respectively. During these years there was a 13·2 per cent rise in the real Govt. rate, but there was also a 12 per cent rise in individual consumption..

Much of this advance was achieved in the field of manufacturing industry. In 1955, furnished steel became more than double of what had been in 1936 , and in 1960 it was five times higher than that. Commercial motor vehicles in 1960 were twelve times higher than their number in 1936. Japan also became the biggest shipbuilder of the world by this time. In 1960, Japan ranked sixth in the world in electric generating capacity, and five atomic reactors were in operation by the end of 1961. Consequently there was a sprawling growth of industrial cities with modern factories. They produced a range of goods like motor-cycles, cameras, optical goods, sewing machines, transistor radios etc., which could compete with the very best in the international market. Added with this there were technical innovations, and for the first time Japan was in a position to sell patents. But textile industries lost their importance in foreign trade and raw silk failed in its

competition with man-made fibres. By contrast, Japan made a significant stride in rayons and other artificial fabrics by dint of its expanding chemical industry.

The pattern of industrial growth was reflected in Japan's foreign trade. Textiles lost their dominant position in the country's exports. In fact Japan made a variety of exports—chemical, electrical and optical equipments, ships, railway equipment, motor vehicles, fertiliser etc. On the other hand import of fibres declined. But that of oil, increased. But the import of raw materials and food remained stable. Nevertheless, Japan gained a favourable balance of trade and its exports and imports were widely distributed.

Despite the loss of food-producing colonies and an increase in population from 73 million in 1949 to 93 million in 1963, the increased efficiency of Japanese agriculture kept food imports stable. It was chiefly due to land reform which gave greater incentives to the owner-farmers and limited opportunities for investments in land for rent. Agriculture was gradually mechanised, and motors and hand-guided motors were widely in use. Added with these there were better drainage and irrigation, wider use of chemical fertilisers and more effective pest control. As a result the production of rice rose to an average of 30 per cent more in 1959-60 than in 1935-36. Side by side, farm produce has been diversified. So there was also a conspicuous growth in the production of vegetables, fruits and dairy products, and livestock.

Japan's economic growth in the post-war year was assisted by government's emphasis on population-control as a long-term measure to ease economic pressures. Thus the Eugenic Protection Law of 1948 encouraged birth control and abortion. The average annual increase was lowered to 1 per cent which ensured a levelling off of population at a little over 100 million towards the end of the century. The prohibition on re-armament indirectly contributed to economic growth. Liberalisation of and a general rise in international trade also facilitated Japan's economic boom during the 'fifties

and' sixties. In fact Japan in the post-war years had an unanticipated economic boom, and she stood second only to the United States in the output of industrial goods in 1970.

The economic growth was felt in the Japanese standard of living. The diet has continued to become more varied. Real wages in manufacturing industries rose by almost 60 percent in 1960. But there were inequalities in the wage indices, because workers in large modern factories were appreciably well paid than those in small ones. The farmers were also not at par with the industrial workers in respect of net income. However, prosperity was there in the Japanese society and they were evenly distributed than ever. The per capita income of the Japanese was the highest in Asia. There was also a sharp rise in consumption expenditures—by 12 percent in the villages and 13 percent in the towns. They included luxury goods, travel, superior clothing, electrical equipment, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners etc. There were also savings and insurance. Indeed, owing to her economic boom, Japan today in the words of Professor Beasley 'is well on the way to becoming an affluent society'.

Q. 4. Make an assessment of Japan's foreign policy in the post occupation years.

Japan's international relations since the end of occupation must be viewed in the context of cold war. The development of the Korean War quickened Japan's independence, for its American-occupants considered it more useful. But the occupation was substituted by a defence agreement, by which Japan undertook to continue providing bases for American troops, ships and aircraft. In other words, Japan regained her residual sovereignty, but at the same time committed to an American alliance. Since the world had already been divided into capitalist and communist camps, each fostering jealousy and hatred against the other, Japan's international position became rather suspicious. Her alliance with the leader of the capitalist world caused considerable difficulties in her relations with Russia and the Asian neutrals.

In fact, Japan's relations with Russia were not friendly owing to her occupation of the Kurile islands and southern Sakhalin at the end of the war, Russia was in a position to control all routes of access to Japan's former fishing grounds in the sea of Okhotsk. Again, by using veto Russia blocked all Japanese attempts to seek election in the United Nations Organisation. But close alliance with the United States ensured Japan a resistance to both threats and temptation. The end of the Korean War, however, eased international relations and the Japanese and Russian ambassadors opened peace talks in London. The Japanese Foreign Minister, Shigemitsu Mamoru, visited Moscow in 1956. But all these did not solve the problem over the Kuriles. A settlement was, however, reached in October 1956 on other matters. They agreed to resume diplomatic relations and signed a trade pact. In the following year Japan became a member of the U. N. O. and was elected to the Security Council. But the territorial questions continued to bedevil Russo-Japanese relations. Russia used it and proposals for an expansion of trade as inducements to weaken Japanese ties with America.

Japan's relations with China had broken off with the emergence of Communist regime in the latter. She lost a useful market and a useful source of raw materials. Communist China used the same as weapons to entice the Japanese Government, and the Japanese businessmen overcame their conservative scruples about dealing with China after 1949. Against these, the American alliance prevented Japan from 'trading with the enemy' and recognising the 'Red' regime. This was resented in Japan and business with the left-wing politicians raised a hue and cry to get the restrictions eased. The Japanese Government was obliged in July 1957 to put the China trade on the same level as that with Russia. The contracts signed after it did not, however, improve the political relations between the two countries. Japan did not extend recognition to Red China and continued to assist the exiled nationalist Government at Formosa.

Japanese economy depended much upon the external market and sources of raw material abroad. Her needs of trade were the keynote of her relations with the other Asian countries. But to her friendly gestures, her former colonial policies aroused much resentments. It was specially true in case of Australia and South Korea. The unsolved problem of reparation created difficulties in the way to restore relations with South East Asia. Again, Japan's commercial practices of the 1930's aroused among countries like Great Britain, which refused to extend to Japan the full benefits of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Moreover the Japanese themselves did not always act in a manner best calculated to overcome foreign prejudices. However, with the passage of time, Japan adjusted these difficulties. She expanded her trade with all these countries, and the newly born Afro-Asian States commensurate with her industrial boom at home.

As has been already, Japan's alliance with America caused much constrain in her domestic policy. It was widely criticised and left-wing politicians desired that the Government should denounce it and join with the Asian neutrals. More particularly America's nuclear tests in the South West Pacific and the presence of American bases aroused a vector of protests in Japan. To ease the situation, the Kishi Ministry and Eisenhower Administration opened negotiations, and a new Treaty of Mutual Security and Co-operation was signed in 1958. In it, America undertook to consult with the Japanese Government before employing Japanese bases for war in Asia or introducing nuclear weapons in Japanese soil. The treaty also provided for the imposition of a ten-year limit on American claims to Japanese bases after which either parts might seek a cancellation. It caused the downfall of the Kishi Ministry, but it made Japan an ally of the United States at a time when the cold war was deepening.

In the light of cold war Japanese foreign policy was one of political alignment with the capitalist block. But trade was

the prime mover in Japanese foreign policy. So, limited trade relations were established with the communist countries—Russia and China. In relations with the mainland, Japan separated commercial from general political relations and established the former. In fact, the conservative leaders of Japan gave trade and commerce priority over politics. But criticism of Japanese foreign policy during the post-occupation years did not cause much pressure in the domestic politics except the resignation of the Kishi Ministry.

THE SOUTH-EAST ASIA

CHAPTER XXXVII

BEFORE THE COMING OF THE WEST

Q 1. How do you account for the peopling of South-East Asia in the pre-historic period ?

The term South-East Asia came into general use during the Second World War. At present it includes the mainland States of Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Singapore, Laos, Cambodia, North and South Vietnam as well as the two island groups, the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of Philippines. The peopling of the region in the pre-historic times is a very interesting study, but there are no written records and so it is largely a matter of spade work. Prof. Hall has rightly described the area as 'an anthropologist's paradise'. In fact, in the mountains and jungles evidences of Pre-Historic man are found, and at times from beneath the earth as well. A picture may be derived by piecing them together in the light of archeological knowledge.

There has been a general belief that the transition of life into human forms has been reached in a tropical climate. South East Asia provides the earliest evidence of such transition. Eugene Dubois has discovered in 1891 the skull of the earliest known individual in human history in a village at central Java. It was named *Pithecanthropus* and commonly referred to as Java Man. Another similar skull, probably of an infant was found at Mojokerto in 1936. It was followed by a series of further discoveries in central Java and they proved that, before the pleistocene period the evolution of certain anthropoid-ape forms into human forms took place in South-East

Asia. *Pithecanthropus* was the product of this evolution, but a more advanced type, *Sinanthropus* or Peking Man have been found in northern Vietnam. These two type were the earliest inhabitants of the region and they were the earliest specimen of biped posture. But they were not *homo sapiens* or modern man. Central Java again provides evidence of this further physical transition. A more advanced type of human forms was in the Sole Man, and the earliest example of *homo sapiens* were the Wadjak Man, found in Java. The Wadjak Man appears to be related to proto-austroloid man,

After the emergence of the *homo sapiens* a succession of broad human groups came down into South-East Asia from the north. Among them the *Austroloid* and the *Veddoid* people were probably the first human inhabitants. The former survives in Australia and Malay, and the latter in Celebes, Eugano and Mentawai islands. They were dark-skinned, curly but not woolly haired and their nose depressed. The *Austroloid Veddoid* types were followed by the small woolly-haired *Negaitos*. They are found in Malay and the Philippines and known as Semang and Aetas people respectively. The *Melanesoid* people succeeded these groups in South-East Asia. They are plenty in number in the Pacific islands to the east of new Guinea and Australia. All these groups of people were at a transitional stage between old and new stone culture. Their mesolithic implements and weapons, known as Basconian-Hoabhinian type, have been found in Vietnam, Siam, Malaya, and in the larger islands between Sumatra and the Philippines.

Following this 'drive to the south' another group of people known as *Indonesian* or *Austronesian* moved down into South-East Asia in pre-historic times. These people were the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Malaya and island South-East Asia, and formed the basic population of the rest of the Indo-Chinese peninsula and southern China. They were of two racial type : Proto-Malay and Deutero Malay. The former clear admixture with the Mongoloid people and formed

the basic Indonesian population of South-East Asia. The latter was a more mixed type and followed the former very closely into the region. They are nowadays represented by the Peninsular Malays, the Coastal Malayas of Sumatra, Sudanese, Balenese, etc.

The arrival of the *Indonesian* group of people marked the beginning of neolithic age in South-East Asia. They used a variety of stone tools of more advanced workmanships, and of their implements the quadrangular adges were the most typical. There were well organised centres of their production in Java, which again indicated that the area was densely populated and reached a high level of civilisation. Remains of decorated pottery revealed a spirit of artistic enterprise among the Indonesian people, who again turned to cultivate their food instead of hunting it. They cultivated food-crops, domesticated animals and made pottery, and therefore adopted new ways of life. They made a break-away from the past civilisation by raising wooden houses, wearing bark of trees etc. What was more, introduction of agriculture made possible a settled community life for the development of social custom and behaviour. Aspects of community life of the early Indonesian people may be found in megalithic or large stone movements.

Metals came into use in South-East Asia roughly around 300 B.C. and gradually superseded the polished stone implements. Bronze and iron were widely used for artistic purposes. Evidence of a bronze industry was found at *Dong-son* a village in Vietnam. The *Dong-son* type of art was related to that of south China and iron came into use probably in the later *Dong-son* phase. However-introduction of metals closed down the neolithic age and brought into being a new 'neolithic culture represented by decorative sculptures. Painting was found in graves in Sumatra and there were remains of glass and Cornelian beads.

Such was thus the story of the peoples of South-East Asia during the pre-historic times. By the beginning of the first

century A.D. the spread of Indian trade and settlement wrought great changes among them, and South-East Asian civilisation entered into a new phase when trade connections were established between India, Europe and South-East Asia.

Q. 2. Analyse early Chinese and Indian influence in South-East Asia.

Growth of Chinese influence : South-East Asia had experienced a wave of successive culture-contact from the surrounding areas of Asia. It had started during the early *Dong-son* period, and the increasing cultural forces had exercised an articulated influence upon the region's civilisation. The earliest of these cultured waves came from China, and it was evident in the close affinity between the early *Dong-son* art style and that of central China. It was made possible by the conquests of Ch'in dynasty, after its establishment in China in 221 B.C., which brought the whole south-east coastal region of China under its nominal control. For a time the Ch'in control was extended as far as Vietnam (Tonkin), but the Ch'in empire collapsed with the death of its first emperor in 210 B.C.

Thereafter, a period of chaos and confusion ensued in China, out of which the Western Hans rose to prominence and established an empire with Ch'angam as its capital. Under emperor Han Wu Ti 140-87 B.C. the dynasty reached its zenith and extended commercial and cultural contacts with Central and South-East Asia. The Han sphere of influence spread as far as the Canton delta and Hainan probably to find a second route to India. The expansion of the Han empire facilitated the opening up of the sea-route to island South-East Asia. The remains of Han pottery found in East Borneo, West Java and South Sumatra speak of the beginning of Chinese trade and settlement in South-East Asia before the first century B.C. and during the *Dong-son* period.

From the time of Western Han the relations between China and South-East Asia became more commercial and diplomatic

than cultural. Trade rather than Confucianism assumed paramount place in China's attitude towards the vassal States of South-East Asia. Extension of Chinese authority and commercial interests beyond Central Asia during the Eastern Han period (23 B.C. to 221 A.D.) made Siam and Burma and the Salween and Irawaddy rivers a useful subsidiary route for transshipment to the Mediterranean. At this time most of the States of South-East Asia must have derived much of their wealth from the China trade. Especially Tonkin (Northern Vietnam) for its proximity with China experienced Chinese power and influence more directly. Successor-States to the Eastern Han made it a base for sending expeditions towards Champa (Lin-yi) and Funan in 23 A.D. Moreover, after the fall of the Eastern Han, when Buddhism spread beyond the walls of the Chinese Court, the South-East Asia served as an important route for the Chinese converts in their pilgrimage to the great centres of Buddhist teaching in India.

The spread of Indian influence: The spread of Indian influence has been analysed by historians differently. Indian historians have considered its extension as 'Hindization', or more specifically 'colonisation'. Although Sanskrit names in South-East Asia provide a good example of Hindu influence there, Buddhism also played a vital role in the region. European scholars have taken the 'colonisation' into serious considerations. They explained away the reasons of immigration from India towards South-East Asia and rightly. Again, Coedes has analysed the spread of Indian influence as a by-product of the intensification of Indian trade in the early Christian era. But this again does not take the role of Indonesian shipping into account. These two theories of immigration have been called the 'ksatriya hypothesis' and 'vaisya hypothesis' respectively. More recently Professor Bosch has cancelled out both the theories. He has concluded that the new culture was a blending of Indonesian and Hindu elements, and it was patronised by the royal houses of South-East Asia.

So, how and when Indian influence appeared in the region is a highly controversial question.

Nevertheless early Indian literature, the *Ramayana* and the *Puranas* contained reference to the places of South East Asia like *Yava-dvipa* and *Malaya-dvipa*. In the third century B.C. emperor Ashoka sent Buddhist missionaries to *Subarnabhumi*, corresponding to present Lower Burma. Trade contacts between India and South-East Asia probably began side by side with the beginning of commercial relations between India and the Middle East and the Mediterranean area. It was due to the extension of Indian trade both east and west-wards, Hittite and Phoenician stone and glass beads were unearthed in South-East Asia. Ptolemy's *Geographica* was written during this time with the help of 'authentic information'. During the first three centuries, trade between India and South-East Asia was intensified ; but it was not an adequate explanation for the transmission of higher civilisation of the one people to another.

Indian influence in South-East Asia was in existence in the second century A.D. It spread through the Isthmus of Kra and during the first four centuries of the Christian era its direct evidence is rather scanty. The Chinese chronicles has recorded the Kingdom of Funan as the earliest Indianised State in South-East Asia. It was founded by a Brahmin named Kaundinya, and soon the kingdom of Lin-yi or *Champa* followed in its trail. Their rulers closely followed the Hindu way of life and worshipped Brahmanical gods and goddesses. But the Indian caste system was not rigidly adopted. Buddhism which arose in India partly as a challenge against the predominance of Brahmins, also became attractive and *Theravada* Buddhism was quite popular among the people. In the Malay Peninsula Langkasuka was Indianised some times in the second century.

More direct evidence of Indian influence during the first four centuries may be found in the images of Buddha. These images were found in Siam, Champa, Sumatra, Java and Celebes and bore the stamp of the Amaravati School of Indian

art. In fact, "Buddhism seems to have opened the door to Indian cultural penetration of South-East Asia. The Sanskrit inscriptions which had been discovered in the region revealed a more positive proof of Indian settlement. The rock inscription of Vocanh or those of Malaya Kedah east Borneo, Java and Burma were extensive evidences of the spread of Indian influence. It was accepted on all hands that the Brahmin and Buddhist priest and teachers, who followed the traders and craftsmen, carried the mantle of Indian civilisation with them and introduced it in South-East Asia. The use of Grantha script by these immigrants showed that they had their main homeland in the Chola and Pallava kingdoms.

To the *Indonesian* or *Austronesian* group, who had peopled the South-East Asia in the pre-historic times, the Indian influence meant the introduction of a developed civilisation. They borrowed the art of writing, the Sanskrit language and literature, Brahmanism and Buddhism, distinctive styles and techniques of art and Hindu mythology. The 'Indianised' States developed Hindu conception of monarchy, codes of law and methods of administration. But this did not mean that they had abandoned their traditional way of life ; they only enriched it by the introduction of Indian influence.

Q. 3. Write a note on the early Indianised States of Funan and Srivijaya.

The earliest Indianised State in South-East Asia was Funan. According to Chinese accounts, it was founded in the first century, A.D. by a Brahmin prince, Kaundinya, who married the local chieftess and subdued her people. But its recorded history had been traced from the rock-inscription of Vocah, belonging to the first half of the third century. Gradually it covered the whole region between the southern tip of present Vietnam and the Malaya Peninsula, and remained the dominant power in the Indo-Chinese peninsula for five hundred years. It had a commanding position over the gulf of Siam, where Indian Brahmins were the predominant class, and which had a large share in the transit trade with China. Funan was

at the height of power during the late fifth century and thereafter it weakened. Finally, according to Chinese sources, it was overthrown by the Khmer people in 539. The conquest of Funan marked the beginning of the Pre-Angkor period of the Khmer kingdom and it lasted till 802. The glory of Funan went down in the traditions of South-East Asia. The Khmers entered into the cultural inheritance of Funan, and their title, 'King of Mountain' was shared by a powerful dynasty in Central Java.

The kings of Central Java assumed the royal title of Sailendra and claimed to be the imperial successors of the King of Funan. They made good their claim by establishing the powerful kingdom of Srivijaya around the middle of the ninth century. Gradually it became the predominant political and commercial power with its capital at Sumatra. By dint of its supremacy over the Straits of Malacca, it could establish close trade relations between India and the Middle East and China. As to the origin of Srivijaya, the Chinese chronicles recorded it prior to 670, and thereafter it had its own history inscribed in four stone pillars written between 683 and 686 in old Malaya language. From the inscriptions it may be derived that the kingdom of Srivijaya extended its supremacy over the southern part of Sumatra and gradually to the north of Palambang. The Chinese traveller, I-tsing, in his memoirs gave description of extensive commerce and prevalence of Buddhism. In fact, its eighth-century rulers combined commercial enterprise with an enthusiasm for Buddhism of the elaborate Mahayana school. The extension of Mahayana Buddhism might have been a reflection of the influence of the Pala dynasty in northern India and the Nalanda University.

The introduction of Mahayana Buddhism in Central Java by the Sailendras brought about a cultural renaissance in that region. But since King Sanjay of that dynasty was a patron of the cult of Siva, there was a strong tendency towards assimilation between Mahayana Buddhism and Brahmanist cults. At any rate, Buddhism assumed a predominant position,

and various Buddhist monuments including Berobodur were built in this period. Besides at this time Sailendra political influence extended into the mainland of South-East Asia—along the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and into Cambodia. They also obtained a controlling influence in Sumatra by the middle of the ninth century possibly as a result of a royal marriage. This union of the Sailendras with the imperial power of Srivijaya was an outstanding event and thereafter, the former continued to direct the fortunes of the kingdom of Srivijaya down to its fall in the fourteenth century. The change of the seat of Government to South Sumatra meant the end of Mahayana interregnum and the return of Brahmanism. But gradually in course of assimilation between the two, they developed the cult of Siva-Buddha.

The revival of Brahmanism in Central Java was associated with the rise of the kingdom of Mataram between 898 and 910. It shifted in centre of power to East Java after 929, and then it rose in all respects rivalling those of Srivijaya. Between 985 and 1005, the island of Bali was annexed to the kingdom of Mataram. But then Srivijaya invaded and destroyed the Mataram Capital and thereby recovered its supremacy over the straits. By the eleventh century, however Srivijaya was challenged by the Cholas of Tanjore in southern India, and it was forced to acknowledge their suzerainty. This paved the way for the recovery of the Mataram kingdom in East Java under king Airlanga (1019-42); but after him dynastic rivalry split the kingdom into two parts, notable among them was the State of Kadiri.

4. Examine the developments in the Indianised States of South-east Asia between the ninth and fourteenth centuries.

In the Indo-Chinese peninsula the kingdom of Khmer by its conquest of Funan had entered into a heritage of Indian culture and tradition. In its Pre-Angkor period, its people worshipped Buddha and Siva, and followed Indian models as their art style. By 802 king Jayavarman II liberated the country from Sailendra influence and founded the Angkor

dynasty which flourished between ninth and twelfth centuries. During this period, the kingdom of Angkor developed a civilisation that influence the later Thai kingdoms of the Mekong and Menam river basins. This evolution of the Khmer civilisation may be traced from the group of great buildings of the ancient capital of Angkor. They resembled the pattern of Indianised rule and had the clearest example of the adaptation of Indian ideas to local tradition.

In fact, the monuments of Angkor followed the Khmer art style but they were essentially in their Indian spirit. In their whole structure they embodied the essential features of the Indian conception of the universe, and they were so constructed as to induce sympathy and harmony between gods and men. It was linked up with the conception that the king himself was a god. This theory of divine kingship was supported by Brahmanism as well as Mahayana Buddhism, and inherited from the kings of Funan. The cult of god-king thus emerged, was associated with the worship of Siva for it was believed that Siva had endowed the founder of the dynasty with the 'essence' of kingship. This 'essence' was embodied in an image of Siva, in the shape of *linga*. After his death the king would become completely divine and was to be worshipped in a temple most of which were funerary structures. Angkorvat was the greatest of the Khmer funerary mountain temples, constructed for king Suryavarman II.

The rulers of Angkor also inherited territorial ambitions from Funan. On the west they subdued the Mon people in the Menam river-basin, and reduced Champa in the east for a time being. Under king Suryavarman II, the Khmers went as far as Tonkin in the north. According to Chinese chronicles, the Khmer kingdom in the twelfth century extended from Cambodia across the Menam river basin and towards the north-west down to the present border of Burma, and also southward down to the Kra isthmus as far as the Bay of Bandon. The Khmers thus dominated the central part of the Indo-Chinese

peninsula. Over its eastern part there Vietnamese power, which had a strongly sinicised culture, was then expanding.

Indian culture and tradition also transmitted into Burma by the Mon people who inhabited in the Suvannabhumi or Lower Burma. The Mons, although of Indonesian stock, had the earliest experiences with India by dint of its contiguity. Due to the south-ward drive of the Tibeto-Burman peoples of upper Burma they, the Pyus owed their first civilisation to the Indianised Mons, the earliest positive influence of Indian cultural penetration is provided by the ancient site of Prome and its inscription and sculptures. The Mons by this time adopted Indian scripts and accepted Hinayana Buddhism, The Pyus were not however the only people to drive to the south. For two centuries the Tibeto-Burman immigrants flowed to Lower Burma, and in the ninth century they established their capital at Pagan. After a brief period of consolidation, they again started their expansion under king Anauratha (1044-77). By this time they must have experienced Mon cultural influences. But king Anauratha himself was converted to Buddhism and to obtain a collection of scriptures of the Pali canon he invaded the Mon city of Thaton. This heralded a period of cultural assimilation and contact with the sea.

A fresh wave of southward of the peoples into the Indo-Chinese peninsula had begun in the meantime. The Thai or Shan people who had scattered settlements in southern China moved down to the valleys of the Mekong, the Menam, the Salween and Irawaddy rivers due to continued Chinese pressure. They entered into the 'Shan States' of northern Siam and Laos by the eleventh century. During the thirteenth century the Mongol conquest of the Chinese province of Tunnan added a fresh impetus to their immigration and overran northern Burma. In this wake the Mons regained their independence, and, Burma remained disunited till the sixteenth century. The Thai, however, established their Kingdom of Chiangmai in 1275. They repelled the Khmers

to Cambodia proper, and in the fifteenth century they compelled the Khmer kings to abandon Angkor.

Island South-east Asia during the twelfth century enjoyed a marked revival of commerce and Kingdom of Srivijaya recovered its former strength. With the expansion of Chinese foreign trade under the Southern Sung dynasty (1127-1276), the importance of the region in the trans-Asian trade gained new importance. Along with Chinese pottery, its own products such as ivory, ebony and spices etc. had increasing demands in the Middle East and Europe. It was this which enticed foreign traders to exploit the produce markets of South-East Asia. Persian, Arab and Chinese merchants increasingly took part in this trade. Especially after their conquest of Sind and Gujrat in India, the Arabs sent trading vessel from their port of Cambay. What was more, the Crusades added a general stimulus to trade between Asia and Europe. The Moslems of Gujrat asserted themselves as the leading agents of the European trade. But this did not imply that they facilitated the spread of Islam in South-East Asia. It was transplanted only when Moslem rule entrenched itself in north-west and north east India under the Delhi Sultanate.

These economic factors induced changes in the balance of power in island of South-East Asia. The Kingdom of Kadiri in East Java gradually developed into a great commercial power owing to its hegemony over the produce markets of southern Celebes and the spice islands of the eastern archipelago. It was strong centre of Hindu culture and the cult of Vishnu flourished in the region due to their patronage. On the straits of Malacca, Srivijaya was still the dominant power and it had fifteen vassal States. But great changes were taking place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Sumatran kingdom of Malaya and the kingdom of Tambraling in the North Malaya Peninsula reasserted their independence. The ruler of Kadiri was ousted from power and a new regime was established with its centre at Singhasari. Under its warrior-king Ketanagara (1268-92)

the Srivijaya capital itself was outflanked and the kingdom of Malaya became his puppet. During his reign Javanese elements and attitudes began clearly to assert themselves, which facilitated their full assimilation with Indian culture and tradition. But his was a shortlived rule. He was killed in an uprising engineered by a prince of the displaced house of Kadiri. But his son, Vijaya succeeded in expelling the Kadiri usurper, and he shifted his seat of authority to Majapahit.

Majapahit was the last of the Hindu-Javanese kingdoms, which for the first sixty years (1293—1353) was engaged with the rehabilitation of East Java. West Java remained outside its control, and Malaya and South-West Borneo were allowed to go their own way. But with the appointment of Gajah Mada as Pateh or Prime Minister in 1331, the predominance of Majapahit was rapidly established over a large part of island South-East Asia in series of Majapahit wars.' Indeed its expansion enabled it to fill the vacuum created by the downfall of the empire of Srivijaya. It dominated almost the whole of island South-East Asia and claimed a protectorate over Siam, Cambodia, Champa and Annam. But this centralisation imperial power in East of Java faced a challenge from the new political and cultural forces. The rise of the Thai kingdom of Siam, commercial prosperity and the consequent spread of Islam were destined to reduce it to 'a fading power on the fringe of the changing world'. These new cultural forces also undermined or at any rate modified the traditional concepts upon which Indianisation of South-East Asia was based.

Q. 5. Examine how Islam spread into South-East Asia

The story of the spread of Islam in South-East Asia may be traced from European, and particularly Portuguese sources. The native and Chinese chronicle were mostly silent about this. However, before the rise of the Prophets, the Arabs had made settlements along the trade route between the Red Sea and China. The rise of Islam added stimuli to their shipping. The Mohammedans sacked Canton in 758, and they dwelt as

merchant communities in several ports on the route to China. They married native women, but kept themselves apart from non-Muslim Communities. Chinese sources provided that two Muslims led an embassy from Malaya to the Mongol Court in Yuan in 1281. Islamic faith gained a sure foot-hold once it was adopted and Marco Polo during his voyage in the 1290's saw many Muslim traders in Perla and Samudra. There he saw royal and educated families adopting Islam in order to gain prestige value and an authoritarian aspect in the eyes of common man. These conversions to Islam were the missionary work of Gujrati merchants who carried in trade from their part at Cambay. Islam's earliest centre of diffusion in South-East Asia seems to have been the kingdom of Pasai.

Islamisation of South-East Asia had been facilitated by various factors. There is no denying that this was a voluntary acceptance of an Asian religion by Asian people. But it was speeded up by a more violent change in trans-Asian trade. The rich spice markets of the islands became known to the European merchants after the voyages of Marco Polo. Gradually they began to travel through Mongol Persia, and continue by sea to India. Potentialities of spice trade increased, and the carrying trade of the Indian Ocean was firmly held by Muslim merchants. The merchant rulers of the region found Islam profitable and against the rising commercial instincts of Europe, they were tempted toward conversion. In fact Islamisation of South-East Asia was a necessary corollary to its expanding trade and commerce.

Not before the rise of Malacca had there any real impetus to the conversion of the peninsula. But the origin of Malacca itself is highly controversial. From *Suma Oriental* of Tome Pires written between 1512 and 1515 it is derived that a fugitive Sailendra prince, Paramesvara settled at Singapore, having driven out by Majapahit. He assassinated the local ruler, and with the aid of sea rovers shortly he developed a large settlement covering the adjacent kingdoms. King Paramesvara maintained the closest possible relations with China and the

rapid expansion of Malacca under him was due to his control over the shipping passing through the Straits. It thus became an heir to the commercial powers once wielded by Srivijaya. It superseded Sumatra and Java in commerce as it became an emporium. Hereafter ships leaving East Java had to put in at Malacca, and this prosperity led Paramesvara to renounce all political subjection. He embraced Islam at his 72 and renamed Megat Iskandar Shah. He died in 1424. But his son and successor significantly took the old Srivijaya title of Sri Maharaja, and his grandson a Hindu-Muslim title, Raja Ibrahim. Thereafter, their successors assumed only Muslim names, and under Mahmud Shah (1488—1511) Malacca was at the height of its wealth and prestige.

Malacca assumed the leading role in the propagation of Islam in South-East Asia. The ruler of Pahang was a son of the Sultan of Malacca and Trengganu adopted Islam officially on becoming a vassal State of Malacca, Patani and Kalantan were converted from Malacca, and the first Muslim ruler of Kedah dated from 1474. Through their trading connections with Malacca Roken, Kampara, Indragiri and Siak across the straits, and Brunei entered the Islamic fold. In fact, the Malaccan dynasty used Islam as a political weapon, and it secured, in the words of Van Leur, 'the unity of Islam' with its assurance of powerful allies and its expansive ardour. Its overlordship over the States of the peninsula and on the east coast of Sumatra across the straits during the different century was at once a reason and a consequence of the penetration of Islam.

'Java was converted in Malacca'—so runs the statement of R. A. Kern. In fact Malacca had a particular brand of aggression i.e. to extend her control by a mixture of force, missionary endeavour and diplomatic marriage. But even before that Java came into contact with Islam through its commercial magnates, who used it as a potent in their struggle against the Hindu Buddhist Majapahit rule. Another theory has been developed around a disowned son of the last of king of

Majapahit, Bra Vijaya. This son, Radan Patah is said to have founded an Islamic centre at Demak ; and conquered Majapahit at the head of alliance with North-Javanese Muslim States. But this theory has been challenged by historians and sociologists alike. What is striking is that the Hindu Javanese culture was not suddenly replaced by an Islamic. On the contrary, Java absorbed elements of Islam and political advance of Islam was very slow. The declining Majapahit empire was gradually disintegrated through its vassal states embracing Islam and declaring their independence. It was a long drawn process, the Dutch on their first arrival in 1597 found much of the interior still 'infidel'. The advance of Islam in Java was, however, limited to rulers and aristocracies.

The propagation of Islam in Indonesia has been described by Van Leur as a reaction against the appearance of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean in 1497. The Indonesian States embraced Islam as Muslim merchants then occupied a pivotal position in trans-Asian trade. This theory of 'race with Christianity' was quite popular in the Indonesian background. But it was subjected to defective studies. Celebes embraced Islam towards the close of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese power was visibly waning. At Bali, all attempts to introduce the religion of the Prophet were resisted. On the contrary it was an affair of merchants and traders, and it spread because the ruler was the chief merchant. It was true to Pasai and Malacca, it was equally true in case of Indonesia, especially in Acheh. Like elsewhere, the Sufi saints and Muslim scholars played an important role in its spread. For all the Islamised States in South-East Asia, Mughal India was a cultural model.

Q. 6. Narrate the history of the coming of the Europeans to South-East Asia.

Europe of the Middle Ages had no recorded contacts with South-East Asia. It was only in the thirteenth century that Marco Polo, on his way of returning from the Court of Kublai Khan by the sea route, passed down the coast of Champa and

rounded the southern extremity of the Malaya Peninsula. The area increasingly received importance in the travelogues written by the Christian missionaries, who like Marco Polo, had their homeward journey by the sea route. Such an account was left by the Franciscan Odoric of Pordenone, who travelled the region during 1316 to 1330. He was followed by John Marignolli of Florence and Sir Henry Yule of Jordanus. Of the trading prospectors, who account of South-East Asia, Nicolo de' Conti of Venice, Hieronimo de Santo Stefano of Genoa and Ludovico de Verthema of Bologna were important. These travelogues were at times borrowed from Arab accounts, relied mostly on hearsays and their informations about South-East Asia were not always accurate. But these were the books which informed the European nations of the prospects of trade in the region.

Indeed it was the prospect of trade and commerce which had made South-East Asia alluring to foreigners. With the beginning of the sixteenth century it was attuned to the demands of world markets. Credit for this must be given to the Indian and Arab traders. It was based on an exchange between the staple produce of island-South East Asia viz, pepper and spices and the staple manufactures of India i.e., textile fabrics. Increasing demands of the South-East Asian products in Chinese and European markets increased the importance of Malacca. It held the straits the main outlet to the main sea route, and developed an immense entrepot trade. Gradually it became in the words of Barbosa, "the richest seaport with the greatest number of wholesale merchants and abundance of shipping and trade that can be found in the whole world."

The products of South-East Asia were in increasing demand in Europe. They were carried through Aden and Alexandria by the Muslim and Italian merchants. This trade on the Mediterranean was disturbed and dislocated during the fourteenth and fifteenth century. They rose from political developments in the Middle East. The rapid expansion of the

Ottoman Empire in Asia Minor and the fall of Constantinople in 1453 deteriorated the Asian trade of the Venetian merchants. Europe felt the need an alternative route badly. Under the inspiration of Prince Henry the Navigator, Portuguese adventurers arranged voyages to find a new sea-route to the East. They waged a southward drive along the African coasts. In 1487 Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope and revealed the immense possibilities of an eastward drive. Ten years later a Portuguese squadron of four ships under the command of Vasco de Gama left Lisbon and reached Calicut in South India in May 1498 via the Cape of Good Hope. The first stage of the eastward journey by the Portuguese was thus complete. They were now to divert the flow of eastern merchandise to Europe from the Mediterranean to round the Cape of Good Hope and to advance eastward from India along the trade route that led to South-East Asia and China.

Between 1500 the Portuguese consolidated their position in the Indian ports. They defeated the combined Egyptian and Indian forces at Diu, and thus fought their way to mastery of the Indian Ocean. In 1509, a squadron under the command of Lopes de Sequeira reached Malacca. His reception was at first rather cordial, but the Gujrati merchants there were suspicious of his intentions. At their pursuation the Sultan of Malacca planned a surprise night attack ; but having the news before hand de Sequeira drew out of the harbour leaving his men ashore. The return of the Portuguese to Malacca was inevitable, and it was taken by Alfonso d' Albuquerque who became Viceroy in 1509. He took various steps to secure Portuguese domination of the whole maritime trade system of Asia. He occupied Socotra and Goa and in 1511 he led a voyage to Malacca. His men trapped the Sultan in a marriage ceremony, and strenuous fight ensued. On August 10 he took over Malacca.

Albuquerque was the real architect of the Portuguese empire in Asia. He designed the outlines of an imperial structure which had its foundation on the naval command

over the Indian Ocean. He established direct rule over a few strategic bases in order to secure Portugal's hold on the maritime trade route across Asia. He maintained subsidiary fortresses to ensure supplies of commodities. He set the pattern of future European rule in Asia, which was dictated by the commercial aims—voyage, factory and fortresses. It was to remain in vogue until development of colonial rules. Malacca was made a fortress town, and all aspects of European civilisation were extended to it. Its conquest was a commercial war as well as a religious crusade. For its future safeguard, the Portuguese soldiers, whose number did not exceed 200 were encouraged to marry native women, and with a hundred years Malacca after its capture had a Christian population of 7,400 living outside the fortress.

Thus the Portuguese were the first among the European nations to arrive at South-East Asia and to have trading establishments. They were soon followed by the Spaniards through a different route. Having failed to reach the Moluccas or the Spica Islands directly from Malacca, the commander of the Portuguese squadron Francisco Serrao approached the Spanish authorities to discover a new route to the islands. Accordingly Magellan sailed from Spain in 1519, who crossed the Atlantic and entered the Pacific through the southern tip of the American continent. He died at Macton in 1521, and the command of the squadron was taken over by DelCano, who arrived at Tidore in the Moluccas in November 1521. Del Cano sailed back to Spain through the Indian Ocean enroute the Cape of Good Hope. It was the first circumnavigation of the globe. The Spanish objects were obviously commercial.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE EARLY PHASE OF EUROPEAN EXPANSION

Q. 1. How do you explain the rise of Portuguese influence in South-East Asia during the sixteenth century? Why did they fail to maintain their supremacy there!

Rise of Portuguese influence : During the sixteenth century Portugal and Spain were the great maritime powers in Europe. Each had found a sea-route to Asia, and each had its base in South-East Asia. They demarcated their individual spheres of influence in the Treaty of Jordesillas (1494). But during the first quarter of the sixteenth century the question of supremacy over the Moluccas area deteriorated their relations. They supported opposite sides in the local wars, and in 1529, by the Treaty of Saragossa, Spain withdrew from the struggle. Portugal had now to consolidate her commerce in the region. As a form of commercial ensurance, they 'undertook annexation of territories. They reduced Tidore to a tributary State in 1530, and conquered Ternate in 1564. They used Christianity as an added instrument of power. In fact, it was on their part a Christian crusade, 'political annexation and religion conversion were interrelated aims' (Harrison).

Spanish competition did not wholly out of place during the sixteenth century. Their conquest of Mexico provided them a potential base and adequate finances to renew their operations in the Spice Islands. They laid their first settlements in the Philippines in 1580, and like the Portuguese, used

Christianity as a political instrument. Violating the Saragossa agreement the Spaniards made in 1545 an abortive attempt to challenge Portuguese supremacy. Thereafter they avoided a direct clash with the Portuguese, but extended their territories in the Philippines and in 1571 made Manila their headquarters. The Portuguese also developed a rich entrepot trade in Macao. In fact Manila and Macao were two outposts of European expansion in the sixteenth century but the Mexican dollar gave Manila a favourable balance of trade.

However, Malacca was the earliest Portuguese base, from which they established contact with China Siam and Moluccus. In their diplomatic dealings with Siam, they succeeded in obtaining permission to trade in Ayuthia Mergui, Tenasserim Nakhon and Patani. The Siamese rulers still claimed suzerainty over the Malaya Peninsula but they were taken by fear of the Portuguese in Malacca, the Chiangmai Kingdom of the Thai and disunited Burma. In fact, the relations between the different States of the region contained in a long drawn struggle for supremacy between the Burmans and the Siamese of Ayuthia. The political situation afforded to the Portuguese an opportunity to gain influence and obtain concessions by lending support to the rival powers. But their activities were essentially individualistic, and they acted for personal gains. No sustained efforts were made to maintain commercial relations with those countries on official basis. So the opportunities, arising out of the disturbed political situation benefited the Portuguese adventurers and mercenaries. They supported rival courts and extended commerce in those regions. They fully exploited the trading possibilities of the Arakan region.

But on the Straits of Malacca the position of the Portuguese was not very comfortable. Between 1511 and 1526, they had to fight a series of commerce-wars against Malayan resistance. They successfully resisted all attempts of the ex-Sultan and his sons. But then they had to fight similar wars with the leading coastal sultanates of Sumatra viz ,

Achin, Pedir and Pasai. Once the Portuguese had established themselves in Malacca, their attention naturally tended to shift back to the Sumatran ports. First, they approached to Pasai. There they stationed a blockade squadron off Pasai in order to divert its shipping to Malacca and maintained friendly relations with the Sultan by assisting him in local disputes. They set the pattern of indirect rule, and used a prince with a claim to the valuable throne as a stepping stone to power. This policy was successful due to the extreme personal nature of royal rule and short-sightedness of the majority of the rulers. But at Achin and Pedir, the Portuguese were obliged to recede to their policy of commercial blockade due to the sinuous resistance of their people. On the contrary they developed a bitter enmity with the Achinese for they caused their expulsion from Pasai.

There is no denying that the Portuguese had an unenviable position in Malacca. They aimed at establishing a commercial monopoly in straits of the type of Srivijaya and Majapahit with their superior techniques and equipment. This was the reason behind their conflicts with the Sultanate of Sumatra and with the Malayan people. But they desired to derive the maximum commercial profits with a minimum cost in personnel and material. The aims were incompatible, and during the monsoon they could retain only a bare minimum of vessels essential for the control of the straits and defence of Malacca. In other words, they were weaker in man power and supply than the native States and had to depend on the fortuitous reinforcements from Goa. But in every respect their task was made easier ; for there was no united Muslim front against the Portuguese. In fact, the Achinese or the Malayese and all the contestants wanted a commercial hegemony like those of Srivijaya Majapahit or Malacca. This prevented an alliance between them, and this again enabled the Portuguese to present a vigorous stand against 'the prodigious resources and perseverance of the Achinese' and others with a handful of men.

Reasons of failure : Despite the fact that the sixteenth century in South-East Asia was 'a Portuguese century', the Portuguese failed to maintain it in the long run. It was mainly because of the fact that Portugal's commercial empire in Asia was sponsored by the State. In fact it was a royal monopoly which combined commercial and feudal ideas together. With a small initial outlay of capital and man-power it succeeded in the early years in securing immense profit, and control over inter-port trade in Asia against Muslim shipping. Portugal also developed a new source of income from the tributes of spices and other commodities from weaker rulers. Frankly it had both commercial and imperial aims, which in the long run led to the reduction of profits. And since, the king did not invest a higher proportion of early profits in Asia, its commerce and empire was not likely to survive in the long run.

As has been already noted, Lisbon's attitude towards the Asiatic possessions was feudal, and this could explain the parsimony of the king. Lack of sufficient re-investment compelled the Portuguese officials in South-East Asia to substitute their inadequate salary and protection. They engaged themselves in private trade, and gave it priority over the royal monopoly. Frankly it was corruption and competitive private trading, and the Crown was deprived of the fund which it could use for reform and strength. On the contrary lack of funds compelled the Crown to sale out the offices in the East to the highest bidder. It weakened the position of the Portuguese at Malacca, and financial resources were at their weakest at a time when new European rivals, Dutch and English were added to their enemies in the Straits.

Moreover, for the defence of the long inter-port trade in Asia, the Portuguese needed a strong naval force. For reasons already stated, they could not develop it during a century of their predominance in South-East Asia. It implied that their supremacy could not remain indefinitely. Again they concentrated their efforts in Moluccus neglecting Java and failing to

overcome Achinese opposition in Sumatra. The basis of Portuguese power in South-East Asia was therefore, unsound, and doors were left open in Java and Sumatra for the other Europeans to penetrate into the region. The Dutch did this and once they consolidated a base, they were, in the words of Harrison, "in a position to drive a wedge into the Portuguese dominion, to intercept their trade, undermine their power, attack them in the Moluccus and at Malacca in turn." The Spanish competition, however, declined after 1580 when Philip II became the ruler of a united kingdom of Spain and Portugal.

Q. 2. Account for the beginnings of Dutch and English commerce in South-East Asia.

The merchants of the Netherlands closely followed the Spaniards and Portuguese in South-East Asia. They stepped into their transoceanic trade by developing a world-wide carrying trade from Lisbon during the middle of the sixteenth century. But then the political developments in Europe brought about a commercial decline of their centre of trade at Antwerp. The rise of Spain under King Philip II and the union of Spain and Portugal in 1580 cut them off entirely from the distribution-centre of Eastern goods, viz., Lisbon. A national struggle ensued in the Northern United Provinces of the Netherlands against Spanish-Portuguese rule. It provided the immediate incentives for the Dutch to seek direct access to spice-producing islands of South-East Asia. The war of Dutch national independence was to be fought both in Europe as also on the oceans.

The Dutch voyager Van Linschoten had furnished a detailed account of Portuguese Asia including sailing directions in his *Reysgeschrift*, published in 1595. The Dutch traders desired to apply this new knowledge to Holland's political and commercial purposes. A squadron of four ships under the command of de Houtman left Amsterdam in 1595 and reached Bantam next year. He was cordially received by local and Portuguese authorities and returned home via the south coast

of Java and the Indian Ocean. His success inspired the Dutch commercial organisations to finance separate voyages to Java Sumatra and the Moluccus. They laid expeditions in South-East Asia, sought favourable terms of trade and concluded separate agreements with local rulers. In so doing they offered toleration and protection to Islam. They entered into such agreements with Banda, Achin etc. They attacked the Portuguese defence squadron of Malacca in 1592, and by 1602 they established command over the Sunda Strait on the road to the Maluccas. But for a succession pursuit of war and trade a pooling of capital and unification of competing syndicates deemed necessary. They were amalgamated in the East India Company in 1602 with a subscribed capital of $6\frac{1}{2}$ million guilders. It was to be governed from Amsterdam by a Board of sixty Directors.

In England there had been insistent demand of spices to deodorise the dry salted meat. Before the sixteenth they secured it from Venetian and Hanseatic merchants. The opening of the Indian and Atlantic Oceans and the consequent development of her shipping and commercial organisations placed England in a favourable position in transoceanic trade-routes. But that advantage was taken over by the Spaniards and Portuguese by dint of their mastery over seas. England waited for developing alternative routes to exchange her woollen cloth with the spices and pepper of South-East Asia. But the outbreak of hostilities with Spain in 1577 inspired England to pursue an aggressive anti-Spanish policy overseas.

Accordingly, Francis Drake made a circumnavigation of the globe between 1577 and 1579. His achievements in the Spice Islands did not turn into a national effort to develop trade in that region owing to the Queen's apprehensions. Nevertheless in England prospects of trade with South-East Asia gained further stimuli from the travelogue of Ralph Fitch.

The final drive to the English approach to South-East Asia was however, provided by the outbreak of war between

England and Spain in 1585. The Anglo-Dutch alliance of the same year inspired the two nations to the weakness of Spain and Portugal overseas. Thomas Cavendish, after his circumnavigation, claimed that trade could be carried on in the Moluccas without obstacles from Spaniards and Portuguese. Drake prized a Portuguese carrack which contained a cargo valued over £ 108,00 and valuable informations on Portuguese organisation in the East. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 injected a fresh impulse, among group of London merchants to organise an expedition by the Cape route to South-East Asia. Three ships sailed east-ward in 1591, but it did commerce-raiding rather than direct commerce. But the capture of the *Madre de Dios*, a Portuguese carrack provided a description of China and a general account of Portuguese trade and administration in the East. These descriptions further encouraged the English to establish a footing in South-East Asia. The success of the Dutch there, and the Anglo-Dutch agreement for co-operation brought the English Government and the London merchants to the final step, and they organised an East India Company in 1600.

The English Company's first expedition to South-East Asia was headed by James Lancaster. His fleet arrived at Achin in 1602 and with Dutch co-operation secured trading facilities there and at Bantam. The English Company like the Dutch, had professed to oppose the Portuguese in South-East Asia. But unlike Dutch, theirs were isolated attacks on Portuguese shipping in the Straits. During this period Portuguese-Dutch rivalry in the East reached its climax, but the English peace treaty of 1604 with Spain and Portugal slowed down its speed. The idea of a joint Anglo-Dutch expedition to Malacca, thus, came to an end and Britain and Holland appeared as commercial rivals in South-East Asia; Both of them had an access to pepper markets in Java and Sumatra. But while the former, by dint of its alliance with Portugal secured permission to trade at Amboyana, the latter snatched it outright from the Portuguese in 1605. The

surrender of Amboyana was followed by that of Tidore and Ternate but Malacca withstood several Dutch attacks. Following defeat of naval forces in Gibraltar Bay in 1607, Spain was impelled to conclude a twelve-years truce with Holland two years later. The Dutch fully exploited the truce with Spain by creating a *de facto* exclusive dominion in the Moluccas, Amboyana and Banda.

The Dutch, by this time, were carrying a large amount of business in South-East Asia. In search of a *modus vivendi* with them, the English continued to seek their co-operation. Talks began in London in 1613. But the Dutch had nothing much to gain from such a co-operation. Even if the English agreed to co-operate against the Portuguese in South-East Asia, they lacked the resources and equipment to make it effective on their part. However, negotiations started in Europe, and their companies pushed forward in the East independently. The English spread their factories from Bantam to Celebes and Borneo, and the revival of Achin led the reopening of English trade. In his discussion with the Sultan, Thomas Best succeeded in 1613 in arranging new terms for English trade with Achin to include the ports subordinate to her. This enabled the English to establish almost monopoly control over trade in Sumatran pepper.

Trade in Sumatran pepper appeared to the English Company less profitable than nutmegs and cloves. This inspired its directors to embark on a new attempt to break in on the spice trade of Amboyana and the Bandas in 1615. Meanwhile, talks for Anglo-Dutch co-operation broke down. The decision of the English Company led it to a head on clash with the Dutch. In their trial of strength for dominating the South-East Asian trade, the English scored an outstanding victory in 1616. They took Wai and Run, the two islands of the Banda group, from the local rulers. In pursuit of their new forward policy the English Company opened new agencies in the Sumatran river ports, and Thomas Dale, the hero of Virginia, with a fleet of six ships arrived in 1618 to add force

to its policy in the whole area. The Dutch also appointed Jan Pieterzsoon Coen as Governor-General. Towards the end of the year, conflicts between the English and the Dutch began at Bantam and Jacarta, and by 1619, the English fleet was completely destroyed. They were now weaker than ever; but diplomacy in Europe gave them a new lease of life. In the renewed negotiations, the English and the Dutch arrived at a decision and a Treaty of Defence was signed in July 1619. In this treaty the English and the Dutch agreed among other things to provide ten warships each for joint action against the Portuguese. The English Company was now committed to definite obligations in South-East Asia, and the Dutch although scored a diplomatic victory, were not likely to have English co-operation since the latter's aim was to open markets, not war.

The unison of Anglo-Dutch interests in the East Indies provided in the Treaty of Defence, was a forced one. It did not alter the fundamental reality. Coen for the time being refrained from direct action against the English, but he spared no pains to make the latter's position extremely uncomfortable. In 1621, the tenure of the twelve-years truce was completed, and with its expiry war between Spain and the United Provinces (Holland) began. In that war England failed to perform the obligation which the Treaty of Defence imposed upon it. Nevertheless, the treaty remained in legal force for twenty years although it was broken down in practice. The Dutch increased their obstruction to English commerce, and by 1623 it was confined nominally in Run Island. In that same year, the Dutch executed ten Englishmen, nine Japanese and one Portuguese at Amboyana on a charge of conspiracy. The new treaty obliged the English authorities at Batavia (Jacarta) to wind up their Company's commerce in South-East Asia except certain areas and to hasten back to its stations in India. English competition to Dutch commerce was now eliminated in South-East Asia, and the former turned aside to concentrate on the Indian Commerce.

Both the English and the Dutch, while beginning their respective commerce in South-East Asia, had to suffer a good deal for climatic condition. It was extremely unsuited for the Europeans, and a large number of them lost their lives in 'the flux' and other diseases. But despite these calamities the Dutch and English Companies kept close watch over the conduct of their servants in the East Indies, but their views were not always shared by the men on the spot.

Q. 3. Review the performance of European Company trade during the seventeenth century.

If the fifteenth century be regarded as the Portuguese century in South-East Asia, the seventeenth century may be called a Dutch one. In fact, the commercial enterprises of the Dutch Company far outnumbered the other European Companies. The English after Amboyna massacre of February 1623, withdrew to their stations in India. Still there were Portuguese rivals, and the Dutch were to prepare themselves for the expulsion of Portuguese power from the Straits of Malacca. The Dutch made a slow beginning by diverting the whole net work of South-East Asian trade from Malacca to Batavia and accumulating land and sea forces. The Portuguese lost their rich entrepot trade, having cut off from direct access to the main produce markets of island of South-East Asia. Their commercial enterprise went down and the Malay Peninsula itself had nothing much of commercial importance except an irregular supply of tin. Dislocation of commerce seriously affected the import of rice and vegetables; and their prices rose high. Yet the Portuguese did not change their established principles and between 1615 and 1637 they survived by maintaining friendly relations with Johore and the States of Malay Peninsula generally. But the Achinese were their implacable local enemy and in 1637 Johore also cut off friendship with them. The time was getting ripe when the Dutch could begin their final assault against Malacca. They made it in June 1640, and on January 11 next year, the fort was capitulated.

The capture of Malacca offered the Dutch a command upon the Malacca and Sunda Straits. They retained their headquarters at Batavia and developed it as a European administered colonial seaport town. From there they looked outward and did not interfere in the political balance of Java itself. The rise of the Mataram during the seventeenth century did not affect their commerce, since its rulers had no ambitions for foreign trade and overseas influence. But on the other side, the Sultan of Bantam, in contrast to Mataram began to build up its overseas trade and established diplomatic relations with Turkey and England. His was a system based on personal influence, and during the quarrel with his son in 1682 the Dutch assisted the latter to seize the throne. In return the Dutch obtained a virtual monopoly of the pepper trade and henceforward other merchants including English freebooters had to carry on brisk trade in non-prohibited commodities. The Dutch also took full opportunity of the civil war between the prince of Madura and the Sushunan or the emperor of Mataram in 1674. They assisted the Sushunan for expelling the rebel prince, and as a price for it extended their territory to the river Chimanuk in the east and in the south across the Priangan to the coast. The Dutch Company also gained monopoly and duty-free trading rights in Katsura's ports.

The Dutch Company aimed at capturing not only the carrying trade between Asia and Europe but inter-port trade in Asia as well. The second, the Portuguese had also attempted. But the Dutch had superior resources and organisations. They had their control-points at Batavia and Malacca, and their hold on the exchange ports of Java helped them to direct and feed the main channels of South-East Asian trade. But their monopoly control over trade in certain commodities did not lead to expulsion of other Asian and European merchant groups. They could not restrict or control the production of these commodities.

In order to prohibit such evasions, the Dutch proceeded to establish at the Moluccas an exclusive control over production

as well as marketing and distribution. In the long run, it led to political control over the rulers of the Moluccas. They entered to agreements with the rulers of the Banda islands, with the Sultan of Ternate and others. Such agreements involved them in a series of wars ; and towards the close of the seventeenth century, they finally subdued the Moluccas. But theirs was primarily a commercial concern and they did not like to take any political responsibility. So, except Ternate, the Dutch Company ruled the islands by indirect methods. Nevertheless it achieved complete control over the production and distribution of cloves and nutmegs by a mixture of diplomacy and duress. They employed the local people as servile labourers, and imported slaves from Africa.

After its capture in 1641, the Dutch made Malacca their foremost strategic fortress rather than a trading post. Its entrepot trade had already been away to Batavia. But it had shortage of food and textiles which its rulers had to import. Its major export commodity was tin and a little of pepper, cloves, opium, nutmeg, mace and resin. Initial policy of the Dutch at Malacca was one of direct control of all the main ports in or near the Straits. But since they were inferior in commercial practice to other traders, and had no control over the supply of textiles, they abandoned this policy in favour of the Portuguese type of indirect control over the region. Besides, they entered into several agreements with the rulers of the Malay Peninsula for supply of tin, but they were of not much help. But politically, their position at Malacca was more secure than that of the Portuguese. For a period, the Johore Sultans claimed a general suzerainty over the Malay and Rian Archipelagos, and caused much headache to the Dutch authorities. But after 1670, the rivals of Johore in the Malay world, eased the position of the Dutch there.

In the meantime, there was a revival of the Burman power under the Toungu dynasty during the first thirty years of the seventeenth century. Much of the southern territory was reconquered, and the seat of government was removed to the

coastal territory at Pegu. But then it retired to Ava in 1535, probably because the Toungu rulers apprehended danger from the Mons. Thereafter, Burma had an orthogeneric growth of its culture, completely isolated from the developments in the outside world. For the better or for the worse, this seclusion indirectly helped it to stave the successive raids from Ming ruler of China from 1658. However, the seaports of Burma lay outside the main line of European commercial activities in Asia and they were very little affected by its operation. Yet the Dutch maintained a regular footing in Syriam and Ava in order to keep the English out. But they abandoned their interests in Burma in 1679. Their followers, the English, likewise abandoned it due to the Burma government's refusal to supply saltpetre.

European trade in the Siamese ports was equally fitful and out of the main line. But from 1620 onwards, with the arrival of the French in Eastern waters, European competition in these ports became keener. The French formed regular East India Company in 1664 and established Indian factories. From their bases in India, the French sent missionaries to Puket islands and at Ayuthia they were readily assisted by Constantine Phaulkon. A Greek by birth, Phaulkon arrived there by an English ship and subsequently entered into the services of the Siamese government. As Superintendent of Foreign Trade, he assisted the French in their exchange of diplomatic overtures with the local government. Due to the patronage of Phaulkon, the French Company obtained a right to trade with the royal agents, a monopoly of the tin exports of Puket islands and the cession of Singora. Like the Dutch, they were also offered extraterritoriality. The success of the Dutch at Siam precipitated the English in India to lead an abortive expedition in 1686. But French ascendancy was short-lived and ended with the murder of Phaulkon. Thereafter, the Dutch replaced the French, and entered into a new trade agreement with the Siamese court in November, 1688.

The performance of the English East India Company in

South-East Asia after the Amboyana massacre was rather scanty. It had its only factory at Bantam, but it was closed down in 1682. Two more factories were opened on the Sumatran coast, at Indrapura (1684) and Bencoolen (1685) of which the latter only survived until the foundation of Penang in 1786. English free-traders however, had a share in South-East Asian trade, and the Dutch conceded them 'for their natural character and their large purchases'. For a time being, an English trader enjoyed duty-free trading right from the Sultan of Johore also. These attempts on the part of English traders were sporadic, but they pointed at the fact that the English interest in South-East Asian trade was never absent.

During the seventeenth century, the Dutch East India Company, therefore, wielded a kind of a general politico-commercial supervision over South-East Asia. The other Asian and European traders were not, however, totally excluded from trading in the region. But in order to get rid of their competition, and more positively to control the Eurasian and inter-port trade, the Dutch took to a forward policy. Execution of their purely commercial aims involved armed intervention and territorial acquisitions. But this was not consciously a colonial policy, although the status of the Moluccas did not differ very much from that of a colony. The governing body at Amsterdam were concerned only with commerce; political aspects were a work of the Governors in Batavia. But these two aims were closely interrelated, in effect if not in intention.

4. How do you explain the Commercial enterprises and the related conflicts between the European Companies and the South-East Asian States during the eighteenth century.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century South-East Asia had already experienced the operation of European commerce for about two hundred years. The Dutch, having the lion's share in the trade of the region, had combined commerce with political intervention not as a policy but out of local needs. The changes that took place during the late seventeenth

century brought about new trends in South-East Asia at the opening of the eighteenth century. The Dutch Company was stripped of its Indian and inter-port carrying trade in Asia. It was also unable to enforce monopoly control over the Java ports. For these losses, the Dutch were compelled to transform their policy of mercantile intermediacy to one of agricultural exploitation in Java. This policy invariably entailed a political supervision stronger than ever. But this did not imply that the Dutch abandoned their commercial aims or they had any intention of interfering in domestic arrangements. They expanded their monopoly control over the ports and products of Java. They developed the plantation of new commercial crops such as coffee and indigo. They did these by political means in which the regents were required to deliver fixed amounts of commodities to the Company at imposed prices. The rulers in Java thus combined with the Dutch in the exploitation of the Javanese peasantry although they remained the acknowledged heads of their districts. In this way an increasing area of Java became subservient to Dutch commercial purposes. But this did not imply any overnight change of social organisation, law and custom in the region, for the Dutch wished to acquire rights not responsibilities.

In fact the influence of European culture and custom was rarely noticeable. The Europeans and Asians bargained their commerce by means of a debased kind of Portuguese. Here and there in South-East Asia there were survivals of Portuguese ascendancy and Catholic missionary works. But the number of Eurasians was declining and from 1645, when the Dutch administration prohibited Catholic worship, most of them migrated to Europe. But there were *orang sirani* in the Moluccas which still had the impress of Portuguese influence. An account of this has been furnished by Alfred Russel Wallace who visited Amboyna between 1857 and 1860. But it was in the Philippines that the influence of European culture more rigidly felt. Among its inhabitants, who were

rather untouched by Indian influence, the Spaniards developed an administration on a broad territorial basis after the pattern of Spanish America. But they did it in a medieval mould, so that it remained a rigid immobility for centuries together. It did not coalesce with the native Filipino culture, and the lack of commercial exploitation by the Spaniards devoid the islands of a rising middle class.

During the eighteenth century there was a fair number of Chinese inhabitants in South-East Asia, who had immigrated from the South China provinces of Fukien. They composed half the population of the north-east of the Malay Peninsula and mostly engaged in pepper planting. Generally they tended to form a middle class in the region and they were the middlemen between the European merchants and native peasants. Their activities extended beyond the direct control of the Dutch and they facilitated the contraband trade of the Dutch officials. They lived as a separate community and had social customs and traditions of their own. But their number rose sharply in Java and most of them found no employment. There the vagabonds posed a problem to order and security and the Dutch authorities at Batavia tried to solve it by enforcing registration. The Chinese were threatened with deportation and the rumours of harsh treatment made the Chinese of the countryside aggressive. As a result, there was an outburst of frenzy and hatred between the town-dwellers and the Chinese in October 1740, and ten thousand Chinese had been massacred at Batavia. It soon spread into the whole of Java, and the Dutch authorities were either unable or unwilling to check it. However, Java was cleared of its Chinese inhabitants.

Due to the advance of Dutch interests in Java, Mataram now held a dual position. In fact Mataram was the symbol of Javanese imperial tradition, but was brought partly within the Dutch system of control. Profits of commercial exploitation was quite satisfying to some princes and regents, while others took it as bartering away of political leadership by degrees. This conflict fo

opinion among the regents and princes had rented the Mataram empire since 1705 and actually a revolt broke out in East Java in 1723. The Dutch Company extended help to stamp out the rebellion, and ten years later tightened its grip by a new treaty with Mataram. The Chinese uprising of 1740 was considered by the Javanese as an opportunity to shake off Dutch control. They siezed the fortress at Kartasura in July 1741 and a majority of subordinate rulers joined the war party. They defeated the peace moves of the Sushunan by replacing him by a new ruler. The Dutch were no silent spectators and the Company restored the Sushunan by 1743. A treaty was signed between them, and Mataram lost control of its seaports and so independent contact with the outside world who made. The rebel regents lost most of their judicial powers and Dutch control did not bring relief to the inhabitants of the coastal districts from traditional burdens. By 1755 however, the remaining areas of Mataram was partitioned into two separate States under a Sushunan at Surakarta and a Sultan at Jokjakarta.

West Java did not join in the Mataram wars ; but it did not remain wholly peaceful due to differences between its rulers and the Dutch Company on matters of trade. Like elsewhere, here also the Dutch took side with the heir to the throne, who had been exiled by Sultan. In turn, they removed the Sultan himself and the Company annexed the whole of Bantam. The Sultana was installed on the throne, and the whole country rose in a rebellion against her in 1750. By 1752, however, the Dutch were able to stamp out rebellion, and to assume full sovereignty over Bantam. Again the cession of East Java by its Mataram rulers in 1755 did not automatically led to its annexation by the Dutch. Indeed the Company had to fight for five years between 1767 and 1772 to establish its control. Towards the close of the eighteenth century the Dutch wielded territorial hegemony in Java ; but they were for the ultimate object of commercial expansion. The Dutch trade was still concerned with the Spice Islands, the so-called Great and Little East and Malacca.

The English Company, however, had been carrying on minor trade mainly in pepper from Fort Marlborough at Bencoolen since 1714. In the subsidiary Sumatran trade the Dutch Company outbade the English and its monopoly control over the east coast of Sumatra facing Malacca Straits. But infringements of Dutch monopoly rights by the visiting ships of the English and others increased steadily. Nevertheless the English tried to establish a second permanent settlement in South-East Asia during the eighteenth century. At Banjermassin, on the south coast of Borneo, they opened a fortified factory in 1701 but in 1707 they were driven out by local rulers. Thereafter, they carried on brisk trade till 1756, when at the wake of the Seven-Years' War in Europe, the English sent an expedition to the Philippines to combat the Spanish capture of Bencoolen. Although at the end of the War, the Treaty of Paris stipulated *status quo ante bellum*, the English Company made an acquisition of Balambangan off the northern tip of Borneo, which was unaffected by the treaty. The settlement at Balambangan did not last long but it served to heighten the interest of English in Bengal in South-East Asian trade. Moreover, the English also organised private voyages from India in 'country' ships and managed to dispose their cloth and opium in exchange for spices and pepper. Notable among these private merchants were Alexander Hamilton, Captain Forrest and Francis Light, founder of Penang.

In the eighteenth century, European trade in Burma and Siam was frequently interrupted by a wave of war and violence which overtook the countries. The Mons of Lower Burma remained at loggerheads with the Tong Younger dynasty of Upper Burma till 1757, when the whole of Burma was united under the rule of Alaungpaya. This re-united Burma did not cease to be a warrior State. Alaungpaya invaded Manipur, and occupied Imphal and then turned towards Siam. The Thai town of Chiengmai became a bone of contention between Burma and Siam, as it was retaken in 1765. The Siamese were

defeated in 1767 and "Ayuthia was captured, plundered and almost completely destroyed." In the meantime, however, the Manchu rulers of China, decided to extend their frontiers into Burma. But in the ensuing wars, they were defeated and driven back by 1770. The Chinese invasion, however, helped the growth of a resistance movement in Siam against the Burmans, and the Siamese retook Chiengmai in 1776.

Under these extremely unstable political conditions some of the European traders had a favourable commerce in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Only Dutch maintained a factory at Ayuthia after the collapse of French influence in Siam. But at Syram, a Burma port, the English and French Companies since 1720 had a semi-official Resident to supervise ship-building and repair. But during the Mon Revolt of 1740, the French establishments were destroyed, and the English were rewarded for their help to the Mons. But that too was shortlived, and the English withdrew to Madras in 1743. By this time an Anglo-French naval contest for supremacy in the Indian waters had been going on, and their dash was widened by the outbreak of the War of Austrian Succession and the Seven-Years' War in Europe. They had Indian sideshows of these wars, and by 1763, the English outstripped the French as political rivals in India. However, during these years, the Mons appealed to the French for help in their struggle against the Burmans. Dupleix, the French Chief in India, readily complied with it and sent Sieur de Bruno in 1761. At de Bruno's advice the French planned an expedition to the Irawaddy delta. The news leaked to the English camp, and they conquered the island of Negrais in 1753. In 1756, the Burmans defeated the Mons and their ally, the French were obliged to return back to India. The English for the time being fared better but the Burmans sent them back in 1759. The French, however, returned in 1773, at the wake of a mutiny of the Mons.

The eastern Indo-Chinese Peninsula had been almost outside European influence ever since the Portuguese times. But

from 1620 onwards the French missionaries had begun their work among the Vietnamese. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the area was separated into the modern divisions of Annam and Tonkin. Against Chinese immigration, the French missionaries sought patronage of political authority. Between Annam and Tonkin, there had been a struggle for the imperial throne and it flared up in 1786. In that struggle, the Annamite Nguyen family came out victorious in 1802. The French bishop, Pigneau de Behaine, happened to be under its patronage, and for that France obtained the port of Tourane and the island of Condore in 1787. But the French Revolution of 1789 swept aside these arrangements.

CHAPTER XXXIX

PERIOD OF EUROPEAN TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

Q. 1. Analyse the factors which shaped a new balance of power in South-East Asia during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth the position of British trade grew better than that of the Dutch. It was facilitated by events which were taking place in India and Europe, and which had a bearing upon the balance of trade in South-East Asia. By the 1770's the English Company had emerged as a mature political power in India and developed its transshipment of opium from India to China. Although like the Dutch Company, it had been suffering from corruption, bribery and sale of offices, it had the alternatives to make good the losses. The Dutch, on the other hand, increasingly failed to adopt their commercial instrument to developing quasi-political functions. The Dutch Company appeared to be less fortunate than the English Company and it was unable to survive the wars of the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

War broke out in Europe during the late 1770's on the occasion of American independence. France and Spain joined the American side against the English. The Dutch, who had led a smuggling trade with the colonies, were now ready to enter into commercial relations with the new States in America. The news leaked to England, and she declared war against Holland in December 1780. The war lasted till August 1781, when the Dutch were defeated at the naval battle of Dogger Bank.

Asian trade of the Dutch was seriously dislocated by the war, and but for the presence of the French fleet in the Indian waters their Asiatic possessions might have been lost to the English. However, the Anglo-Dutch peace was signed in June 1784; and the Dutch possessions, except Negapetam, were restored. The English secured Dutch consent to trade freely throughout island of South-East Asia. In fact, the treaty paved the way for Britain's rise as a South-East Asian and Far Eastern Power. Rapid development of her overseas trade indicated her desire to compensate her American losses in Asia. It was facilitated by the Communication Act of 1784 and the consequent rise of China trade. The Dutch on the other hand could not get back their former monopoly control over the region's trade, although they were released from their wartime isolation in Batavia.

But the foundation of English power in South-East Asia had already been planned by private trader in Francis Light. Amid political rivalries in the Malay Peninsula, he contemplated an alliance with the Sultan of Kedah, who was in the 1770's threatened with an invasion from the Bugis of Selangor. Francis Light considered Keda's an important trading post and wrote to the Company's authorities. But nothing sort of an agreement was made due to British reluctance to assume any direct responsibility in South-East Asia. It was resumed in 1785, when the Dutch renewed their control over the Straits. This time Light argued that it would be a useful port of call and supply on the China run, and a valuable *point-d'apyui* for British influence. But the Company at Calcutta, preferred Penang more than Kedah and delayed the negotiations. The Company, however, agreed "always to keep an armed vessel—stationed to guard the island of Penang and the coast adjacent belonging to the King of Quedah." The idea behind it was to secure the island without entering into a formal agreement. In 1793, the authorities in London clearly declared that "no offensive and defensive alliance should be made" with Kedah. Frustrated with the English the ruler

of Kedah was assured in 1790 of the assistance of the combined troops of the Bugis and the Malays to expel the English. The English did not await their attack. They crossed the mainland scattered the Malay forces and secured a treaty from the Sultan of Kedah ceding the Penang island in May 1791. The island was of commercial and positional value to the English ; but until 1905, its administration was left to Francis Light.

In the 1790's the most momentous event in Europe was the French Revolution. The Revolutionary Government's declaration of war in 1793 on Britain and Holland put the Anglo-French struggle for supremacy over the Netherlands to a climax. During 1794-5 the French invaded Holland and secured ultimate control over the fleet, financial resources and overseas possessions of the Dutch. By virtue of enemy occupation, Holland and England became belligerents. But the Dutch Stadtholder William V fled to England and set up a 'free Dutch government' in exile. He issued an order, in February 1795, to the Dutch governors and commanders overseas not to oppose the admission of British ships and troops for protection against the French. Taking advantage of this British forces took possession of the Cape of Good Hope, Trincomalee, Colombo and the Banda islands in the years 1795-6. On behalf of the 'free Dutch government' Britain occupied Malacca in 1795 ; and ultimately a British resident was appointed to superintend the Dutch institutions, laws and officials. Owing to the recurrent invasions by the Bugis and Malays the occupation of Malacca was, however, a positive liability to the English.

Once Malacca was occupied British advance to the Dutch Headquarters at Batavia seemed very likely. But the Dutch in Java were then divided in two camps on the two alternatives—French control or British occupation. Especially after the defeat of Admiral de Winter of Camperdown in 1797, the supporters of the royal house of Orange favoured the English side, while there was also a strong pro-French and republican party. Nevertheless, the English in India, orga-

nised two expeditions in 1797 and 1799 under Colonel Arthur Wellesley but they were abandoned to meet the demands of higher strategy in India and Egypt. The island of Ternate was, however, captured by the English in June 1801. Thereafter, they made an unsuccessful attempt to set up a centre of shipbuilding and repairs at Penang, after the breakdown of the Peace of Amiens in 1803. A plan was also made to evacuate Malacca, demolish its fortress and transfer the inhabitants to Penang. It was revised in 1809 at the request of Stamford Raffles. It was he who had the idea of making Malacca a base for an invasion to Java. Lord Minto, the Company's Governor-General in India shared his views after 1810, when Napoleon subjected the Dutch overseas possessions to direct French rule. The authorities at London were convinced of this plan and Minto himself arrived at Malacca in May 1811 to take over the command of the Java expedition.

Meanwhile, the Dutch Company had been suffering from difficulties. Its organisation was shaped of its vitality due to corruption and inefficiency, and defeat at Dogger Bank inflicted the final blow. It was unable to undertake the capital outlay, and in search of more profits it pushed into further interior of Java. It was a failure, and thereafter, its authorities at Amsterdam adopted a policy of cutting expenses down. It encouraged more corruption and weakened the Dutch commerce throughout the world. The Company's financial position was taken into consideration in its Charters of 1774 and 1776 and Committees were appointed to enquire into its affairs. Despite all these the Company's deficit rose to 85 million guilders in 1787. A half-measure was taken by allowing a limited admission of private enterprise. On the recommendation of a Commission, appointed by the States General, the Company's Board of Directors was replaced by a Committee for the Affairs of the East Indian trade and possessions in 1795 and its Charter renewed for four years. But in 1798 a Legislation was passed dissolving the Company, and the State,

acting through a 'Council of Asiatic Possessions and Establishments' took over its property on the expiry of the Charter. Its debts now amounted to 134 million guilders.

The liberal principles of the French Revolution, however, influenced a few Dutch officials in South-Asia. One of these officials, Van Hogendorp, wanted abolition of the Company system and introduction of free trade and free labour. He waited on the Commission of 1791 with his demands which also included abolition of forced labour and slave trade, and introduction of fixed tax and salary structures. The Commission did not, however, listen to his proposals, but due to his persistence, he was included as a member of a new Commission organised in 1802. But this was the time, when Napoleon was tightening his grip by destroying many of the liberal principles. Again it was desperate period of the Company and introduction of united methods might have evil consequences. So, Van Hogendorp failed this time as well. 'Limited administrative reforms were, however, introduced in 1803, within the existing system. But during Governor-Generalship of Daendels, 1808-11 'a much more regular, active, pure and efficient administration' was established due to measures taken by the Governor-General. His was a scheme which included division of the Republic of Batavia into prefectures and tightening up of the collecting system, building up of a military road and extension of law courts to even the remote provinces. Brian Harrison has remarked, "Daendels was the visiting expert of the time ; some what lacking in perception determined to introduce honest, businesslike and rational methods into the old administration in Java ; but at the same time inexperienced in the peculiar problems of such an administration." He was recalled in 1810, after the French annexation of Holland.

The British expeditionary force, however, appeared at Batavia on August 4, 1811: They occupied Batavia and Meester, and advanced as far as Cornelis, Cheribon, Semarang all fell before the British troops. The Dutch were obliged to

surrender Java, Macassar, Timor and Palembang. Minto's aim of 'the expulsion or reduction of the Dutch power, the destruction of their fortifications, the distribution of their arms and stores to the natives, and the evacuation of the island by our own troops' was thus completed. He appointed Raffles as the Lieutenant-Governor of Java and the dependencies and the former Dutch dominions were subdivided into four administrative units. The Governor-General returned to India on October 19, having impressed by 'the face of prosperity which every part of island wears'.

Java was under British occupation between 1811 and 1816 and it provided Raffles to set to work his political ideas and experiments. He was a successor to the liberal line of Van Hogendorp ; and he was a bit more practical and humanitarian. His ideas included entire abolition of all forced deliveries, Governmental assumption of the lands and their collections, and renting out of lands according to local circumstances. Under him money economy was introduced, and free markets replaced forced deliveries. Local rulers were made virtual pensioners and the Resident system made operative. His was a system of direct rule similar to that of Daendels in method, not in aim. His land revenue administration resembled that of the East India Company in India. He was aware of the responsibilities towards the inhabitants and thereby set a new pattern of colonial administration which had a bearing upon the days to come.

Meanwhile, the collapse of French rule in Holland in 1813, and the return of William Frederick of Orange culminated in the Anglo-Dutch Convention of August 1814. In her desire to restore the balance of power in Europe, Britain agreed to return the Dutch overseas possession taken since 1803. British occupation came to an end at Java in 1816 and at Malacca in 1818, which had already appeared to the English as a cause of their 'financial embarrassment.' But Raffle did not take all these developments very easily and landed at Singapore on January 29, 1819. He harboured in his mind that steps

should be taken to counterbalance the restoration of Dutch power in island of South-East Asia. His was an idea of setting up a new strategic and commercial base within the region, which found favour with the Governor-General in India. For that reason, he occupied Singapore, which embittered Anglo-Dutch relations in South-East Asia and which prolonged the discussions till 1824. A treaty was ultimately signed between the Dutch and the English by which the latter's claim to Singapore was accepted by the former, and by which the separate fields of colonial activities in South-East Asia were marked off.

Q. 2. Analyse the performances of the restored Dutch regime in Indonesia. What do you mean by the Culture System and why did it fail ?

The Restored Dutch Regime : Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig in 1813 encouraged the Dutch to join in the general revolt against him. This final defeat led to a recall of the exiled King William IV of Orange to Holland. In the Convention of London, (August, 1814) Britain agreed to return all the former colonies of the Dutch East India Company 'conquered from Holland since 1803', save the Cape Colony. Accordingly, the Dutch king issued a *Regerings reglement*, i.e., constitutional regulation appointing three Commissioners-General. After much deliberation that proposed transference took place some time after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo.

• But the restoration of Dutch rule in Indonesia did not imply a revival of Dutch commerce. Britain handed over its political control, but retained trade and shipping² in the area. Their port of Singapore after 1819 overshadowed Batavia as the central exchange market for island of South-East Asia. The Dutch in South-East Asia were to protect their trade and shipping from the powerful competition of British and British Indian goods, specially after 1824, when they were to forego their share in the import of Indian textiles into the East Indies. They developed a protective wall around Java by imposing a 25 per cent duty on all imports of foreign textiles

and forming the Netherlands Trading Company. The measures yielded immediate results. The Dutch, however, concentrated their efforts for the protection and development of their commercial interests in Java, while allowed a free competition elsewhere in their territories.

In the sphere of production within Java itself, the Dutch first attempted to apply liberal economic principles. The Commissioners-General found that the British 'taxation system' was much more profitable than the Dutch 'trade system', and therefore, they retained much of Raffles's land-rent system, using the desa method of assessment. The system would ensure a revenue for the government and liberate peasant agriculture from direct exploitation of the government. Free enterprise would be the basis of production and European capital be allowed for unrestricted development of production except at Priangan. As a part of the system, the regents were allowed to retain their feudal powers almost unrestricted. But a-sessment of land-tax was a tremendous problem, and required efficient hands. During the British rule the system did not yield results; but after 1816 the revenue showed a steady increase, while the principle of free enterprise seemed to be a paying proposition.

The Dutch, however departed to some extent from Raffles's policy of direct rule. The Javanese rulers were not dispossessed of their traditional feudal status. On the contrary, after 1820, they obtained some of their judicial and administrative authority over district chiefs and district headmen. The Dutch Residents, however, remained as official advisers at the royal courts. But these changes did not involve a restoration of the old equilibrium of Javanese society. The world of feudal relationships and services had already been invaded by cash nexus and free play of economic forces under Raffles. The Javanese peasant was set free from compulsory labour and he was inclined to produce little more than what was necessary for the subsistence of the family. So, for the payment of land-tax he was to borrow money, and the new economic policy thus

delivered him from the feudal and royal masters and into the hands of Arab and Chinese moneylenders, at times also to the district chiefs and village headmen.

But the Dutch had to abandon their liberal economic policy in Java and it did not stem out from the wanton miseries of the Javanese peasants. The policy led to a steady increase of land revenue ; but it did not suffice to meet the expense of the administration. Other sources of revenue were falling and overseas trade went mainly into foreign hands. So, there was an annual deficit from 1819 onwards. In 1823, there was a slump in the price of their most important source of revenue, i.e., coffee, which was produced at Priangan. The value of Dutch exports declined while its production began to fall off. The Dutch attempted by stimulating application of capitalist and monopolist organisation for the distribution of East Indies produce. The Netherland Trading Company (*Nederlandsche Handelmaatschappij*) was thus organised at The Hague in 1824, but it could not stimulate production. It was the latest of the economic experiments that had been carried out in Java since Raffles, and represented a positive move towards planning for general economic development. As a second step, the Java Bank was founded in 1827.

During the fifteen years after 1816, the Dutch made experiments in Java with new methods of organising productions which economists of western Europe had contemplated. They were the first among the Western Powers to shape a colonial policy in South-East Asia based on methods largely conformed to the principle of *laissez-faire*. But they found that these methods did not pay, and they were to call for a new direction of policy. Their already unsound financial position was further undermined due to the outbreak of war with Dipa Nagara, a prince of Jokjakarta. He was subjected to Dutch rule, but the economy of the Dutch worsened to such an extent that a new direction of policy became imperative.

Rise and fall of the Culture System : The Java war prevented any real restoration of the financial position of the Dutch in

South-East Asia. It had cost them some 20 million florins and had been financed entirely by loans. By 1830, the public debt of the East Indies administration reached 30 million when in Europe the revolt of the Belgian provinces marked the beginning of a nine-year period of heavy financial loss. Both the administration in Java and the home government were threatened with bankruptcy. They realised that some quite new approach must be made to the problem of Java finances, which lead to the introduction of the *culture system*. It was a new system of organising production which helped the administration to step down the financial crises.

The culture system was in many ways the old system of forced deliveries and contingencies with a new look; and reshaped by more effective and more direct methods. It replaced the policy of free enterprise and inaugurated a whole-hearted return to old Company system. In the word of Harrison, 'it represented a revision from liberal to mercantilist ideas'. The plan in its application to the cultivator was based upon the government's claim to one-fifth of arable lands for the cultivation of products suitable for the European market, or, as an alternative, sixty-six working days a year from all heads of families. The culture system thus led to an end of the land-tax inherited from Raffles, and in course of time to the closest control and supervision of commercial agriculture. It was accompanied by the fullest monopoly of Java's exports and imports by Dutch shipping. A very vast State-plantation was thus introduced in Java, and the export of its produce was solely consigned to the Netherlands Trading Company. Production expanded under the new system and as such not only the Netherlands government collected increasing revenues but the Company was also transformed into a most powerful commercial concern.

The Dutch brought under this system the cultivation of mainly coffee, sugar and indigo, and subsidiarily of tea, tobacco, cotton and pepper. Coffee, which had been enforced in Priagan, was now extended to other lands, but unlike

sugar and indigo nowhere it infringed upon rice-lands nor did it involve a factory system. The cultivation of indigo developed with greatest intensity during the six years after 1834; thereafter it gradually diminished yielding place to sugar and coffee. Production, and production following the culture system, were at their highest between 1838 and 1848. The system involved large-scale organisation of labour and cultivation, but it did not require any considerable investment owing to the co-operation of rulers, district chiefs and village headmen. Nor there were any attempts at improving methods of cultivation, and for crop failures the peasants were to suffer and not the State. As an auxiliary to the collection and export of the produce roads were increased in Java, while the Netherlands obtained an enormous cash return to the extent of 823 million florins between 1831 and 1877. The culture system, greatly strengthened Holland's shipping which became the third largest in the world.

A corollary to the full-scale exploitation of peasant production under the culture system was the development of an administrative policy of indirect rule. The Resident system was retained; but the regents were restored in their former position. It was in the interest of combining feudal authority with direct financial interest in support to a system of compulsory cultivation. Government Controllers (*opziëna*) were to supervise over native affairs and the cultivation in name only while native chiefs and headmen retained unrestricted local power. But native set of rulers enjoyed such power and authority as long as the government's demand for produce were satisfied. In a sense they became dependent upon the Dutch, as their interests were now married together. The culture system, however, facilitated the rise of the Chinese to power, as a middlemen dominating the internal trade and providing management in sugar and indigo factories.

The culture system led to an enormous expansion of agricultural production specially after 1850, at a time when the population of Java was rapidly increasing. Its indirect

results were, however difficult to assess. As a system of compulsory cultivation of commercial crops and forced labour put strains upon the peasant village organisation. In some areas it curtailed rice cultivation and caused famine. The regents and village leaders were allowed to take it as a demoralising system of human exploitation. But the culture system fulfilled expectations of Holland from the start. In fact, it was its financial lifebuoy. But it prevented the development of a commercially progressive outlook, because it was bound up with the maintenance of a exclusive commercial privileges by the Netherlands Trading Company. In effect the value of Dutch imports to Java fell considerably between 1840 and 1850 while those of the British rose during the same period.

The end of the culture system was caused by the revolutionary movements of 1848. A constitutional revision enabled the Netherlands States-General to establish some control over colonial policy and the Parliament was entitled to receive an annual report on the administration of the East Indies. There was a vector of liberal criticism against the culture system ; but there was a long road yet to be travelled before it was finally abolished. Not until 1860, when the *Max Havelaar* of Multatuli' (D. Dekker) was published, that the working of the culture system in Java was brought to the foreground. Thereafter compulsory cultivation was abandoned in favour of free agriculture. The feudal services allied with the system were removed finally in 1882, and the controllers were incorporated in the civil service. Cultivation of coffee under compulsion did not, however, end until 1920.

Q. 3. Account for the different stages of British expansion of Burma.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth British policy in South-East Asia had undergone important changes. The English Company remained a commercial concern, but as far as India was concerned it became a political power in fact. It had attained a new status by acquiring territorial responsibilities, while

in Britain it was more and more regarded as an instrument of State with many of the details. In South-East Asia, the Company's main interest was trade through the straits of Malacca to China. As the eighteenth century wore on, events in Europe had an effect on the British colonial policy. The Napoleonic wars with Great Britain extended to South-East Asia, while Lord Wellesley in India expanded British territories to a large extent. But then the British interests were confined in the commercial liability of the three Settlements of Penang, Malacca and Singapore. But before the first quarter of the nineteenth century was out situation in Burma drew the Company's intervention and War and by the close of the century it was made a province of British India.

Burma, during the second half of the eighteenth century was ruled by Aulungpaya who had a strong military force behind him. He established a dynasty after him and in course of his imperialist feat the Burmese troops overran Arakan and reduced it to a province under the court of Ava. Many of the Arakanese took refuge in Chittagong, was which then under the nominal jurisdiction of the English Company's presidency in Bengal. Thereafter, Chittagong became a base of Arakanese resistance against Burmese rule and the latter had to send several punitive expeditions in the region. A situation was thus created which required some sort of a consultation between the English Company and the Government of Burma. In addition to that, British suspicion of French commercial and strategic intension in that country, encouraged the English to make a series of futile diplomatic approaches to Burma between 1782 and 1811.

The frontier wars between the Burmese troops and Arakanese resistance were least affected by the diplomatic missions. The Court of Ava remained convinced that the Arakanese resistance was prolonged as a result of English connivance or support. So in 1817 it led an expedition to Assam and completed it by 1822. Already suspicious of the security of the frontier zone, the English Company now apprehended a

real danger that the Burmese troops would push forward into its territory. They conquered Manipur and Cachar, and the death of Badawpaya and the accession of Bagyidaw on the Burmese throne had a signal for an outbreak of further troubles on the Arakan frontier. The Burmese troops seized the Company's elephant hunters, and 1824 they were stationed on the Chittagang frontier. The Company's government in India was informed of the prospects of a Burmese invasion by David Scots, and the Governor-General, Lord Amherst, acted accordingly. Fort William declared War on Burma on March 5, 1824, and sent a sea-borne expedition to southern Burma. In May, the British troops entered Rangoon without a struggle.

The fall of Rangoon was followed a northward advance of British troops to occupy the Burmese capital of Ava, But they suffer from temporary deficiencies of equipment and supply as the rainy approached in a jugly and swampy country. But they renewed their operations early in 1825, and occupied Prome in April. They made it a base for a final advance against Ava, and in February 1826 the British Indian forces were approaching the capital. Their rapid success under the command Sir Archibald Campbell obliged the Burmese Court to sue for peace. Peace talks were resumed and Treaty of Yandabo ratified on February 24, 1826. In this treaty, Burma agreed to surrender her coastal provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim and to enter commercial treaty arrangements with the English Company. She also undertook to accept a British Resident at Ava. It marked the end of the first stage in Burma's subjection to British rule, and the English East India Company, unlike in regions, undertook a potentially vast political responsibility.

The Treaty of Yandabo offered to the English a vast potential market for the sale of British cotton goods. In fact, they had two of Burma's coastal possessions in their possession, and tried to establish friendly business relations with the rest of the country. But, for that end, the British Residents

met with no success in their prolonged negotiations to obtain a commercial treaty. The attitude of the court of Ava was generally, non-cooperative. In the face of opposition the English abandoned the Residency and frequent complaints of oppressive treatment of British merchants in Rangoon reached to the government of India. These were taking place a time when Britain's commercial, political and strategic interests were becoming more and more combined with her possessions in China and the 'Opium War' and when the steamship was making its first appearance in the Eastern waters. Therefore, it was not unlikely that the English would renew their forward movement in Burma on any pretexs. They did it in 1851.

Governor General Lord Dalhousie decided to support a charge of wrongful arrest made by two British sea-captains against Burmese Government of Pegu. Accordingly he sent a frigate under Commodore Lambart with a demand for compensation. The commodore was unable to obtain satisfaction and precipitated a crisis. He blockaded Rangoon, exchanged fire with the Burmese shore batteries, and destroyed Burmese shipping. These were followed by the despatch of a full expedition and the amount of compensation increased. Against the unresponsive court of Ava the second British invasion thus began. The British Indian troops occupied Rangoon in April 1852; and by November the main Burmese army was defeated. In December Pegu was proclaimed a British province, and after three years of guerrilla resistance the whole of Burma's coastline had been brought under British control. British Indian empire was thus extended upto the banks of the Salween, and a commissioner was appointed to administer the newly acquired province.

As a result of the two, Britain had occupied Arakan, Tenasserim and Pegu. In 1855, a British mission was sent to Ava which was received. The Burmese capital was transferred to Mandalay in 1857 and a British Resident was stationed there to establish trade relations on the basis of a

treaty. Britain at this time had developed a direct interest of trade through Burma with China. The Englishmen considered it a tradesman's entrance to South West China. Its realisation seemed to come nearer when a treaty was signed in 1862 opening trade with upper Burma. In a second treaty of 1867, the British subjects in Mandalay were brought under the extra-territorial jurisdiction of the British Resident. The river Irrawaddy was now open to British vessels and a commercial agent was permitted to reside in Bhamo.

In the meantime the opening of the Suez Canal created a wide market for Burma rice. It encouraged the peasants to produce a surplus, and inspired an expansion of the agricultural economy. But before they had taken place, the cultivator was deprived of his profits by the Indian middle, men and moneylenders. Alien landlords soon lay over many of the ricefields in lower Burma although production in general had increased. Upper Burma, although still remained free was not unaffected by these economic changes. These South East Asian countries provided a wide market for European finished goods. Britain and France, like elsewhere in the colonial world, had emerged as the rivalling competitors for the exploitation of this region of the earth.

In fact, the emergence of France was a new factor in far Eastern politics. She had established a colonial empire over Southern Indo-China and was pushing towards upper-Burma. Sandwiched between British and French powers Upper Burma lost her independence. It was precipitated by the Burmese King Thibaw, who gambled on the dangerous game of playing off the French against the English. He sent a mission to French in 1883 and his approaches were taken into consideration by the French government under Jules Ferry. In 1885, a trade treaty was signed between Burma and France and a French consul was stationed at Mandalay. The British apprehended that upper Burma might fall into the French sphere of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. European merchants had already pleaded for British annexation of the country

as means to remove trade difficulties. It was now supported by the fear that the French would getheres first.

The English were in search of a *casus belli* to begin interference in Upper Burma. It was provided by king Thibaw himself when he called upon a British timber firm, and fined it precisely by an *ex parte* judgment. The Government of India took up the matter, but Thibaw refused to allow any further appeal in the case outside his own country. He banked upon the French assistance who themselves were still involved with China over Tonkin. The English seized the opportunity and increased pressure upon Upper Burma. They demanded acceptance of a permanent British Resident at Mandalay, facilities for trade with Chinese province of Yunnan, and the right to supervise Burma's foreign relations. They were rejected by Thibaw which was followed by a British invasion of his country in 1885. Mandalay was quickly occupied and guerrilla warfare continued in the remainder of the country for five years. The suppression of the border tribes took six years more. However, the conquered territories, added to Lower Burma, formed a new province of British India, and it was directly administered from India until 1897.

Q. 4. Account for the various stages of British advance in the Malay peninsula and in i land South-East Asia during the nineteenth century.

As the eighteenth century were on, there were several developments both in Europe and in South-East Asia, which had profound effects upon British colonial policy. The outbreak of the French Revolution, rise of Napoleon, hostilities between France and England, and the extension of French rule over Holland all led to an Anglo-Dutch rivalry in South-East Asia. The English occupied most of Dutch territories there, and Java was brought within the purview of direct British rule. But the collapse of the French rule in Holland, and restoration of William Frederick of Orange as King paved the way for an Anglo-Dutch Convention signed in August 1814. The terms of the settlement indicated the

British government's desire to restore a balance power in Europe and overseas by rebuilding the power of the Netherlands. Accordingly most of the Dutch territories in South-East Asia were likely to be restored. Java was transferred in August 1816 and Malacca in September 1819.

But prospects of the restoration of Dutch rule had an effect upon the Anglo-Dutch relations in South-East Asia. To the English East India Company, protection and development of its trade in the Straits area, and through the straits to China, appeared more important than the British government's diplomatic policy towards the Dutch. For that, Penang was considered more important than Malacca and Singapore a valuable strategic cum-commercial base. The English were already established at Penang, and the idea of an occupation of Singapore was shared by Raffles and the Governor General in Calcutta. Although the Penang government did not ratify the scheme Raffles advanced with his scheme and established a base on behalf of the English company at Singapore. The Governor-General in Calcutta advised the home Government to retain this 'exceedingly important' commercial base. British occupation of Singapore inevitably increased the growing Anglo-Dutch tension in South-East Asia. After much deliberations the problem was solved by an Anglo Dutch treaty, in 1824, when the Dutch concurred in the British claim to Singapore. The English also exchanged Bencoolen for Malacca, and transferred the island of Billiton to the Dutch. The British now secured a sphere of influence in the Malay Peninsula, against that of the Dutch in island South-East Asia.

The English East India Company's interests in the three Straits Settlements of Penang, Malacca and Singapore extended strictly to commercial liability only. It avoided any acceptance of political responsibility in Malay Peninsula, and it was permitted to remain aloof by the political condition of the Malay States. Although the Sultans of Kedah had hoped to strengthen their position against Siam by securing military

aid from the English, the latter managed to avoid any such commitments. They demonstrated their diplomatic dexterity and evasion, and succeeded in raising an agreement with Siam in 1826. In it Siam undertook to refrain from intervention in the Malay States of Perak and Salangore, and in fact, Siamese southward pressure upon them was counterbalanced by the establishment of the Straits Settlements. By this time Britain's conversion from an agricultural to an industrialised country led to a change in her economic policy towards free trade and free competition, which helped the development of Singapore as the most valuable commercial base in South-East Asia.

From 1830 onwards British interests in South-East Asia were still confined to seaports and to certain limited coastal regions. But it was a time when Industrial Revolution was yielding its results at home, and other Western nations were presenting a steady competition. These developments rudely shocked the principle of free trade, which taught that rule over overseas territory was an unnecessary expense when all that was needed was free access to overseas markets. The Western Powers had to take resort to armed intervention and the theoretical distinction between commercial and territorial interests gradually reduced. They were to take the road that was to lead to the consolidation of colonial rule. Particularly Britain's commercial, political and strategic interests were becoming linked up with her commercial and territorial expansion in China. Against the rising competition of the Dutch and the French, British influence was extended into North Borneo, and the Indo-Chinese Peninsula became a stage of Anglo-French penetration.

Meanwhile the means of communication in South-East Asia and between Asia and Europe were revolutionised by the introduction of Western aims and techniques. European owned steamships took over the bulk of inter-port trade in South-East Asia after 1850. Rail-roads were built, and telegraphs made communications easier with Europe. The command of European business over Asian markets increased, and facilitated

the growth of new-colonialism in South-East Asia. Especially the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 made possible a great leap towards expansion of Western rule and trade. It strengthened Britain's hand in Asia, and sharpened a new international competition for overseas markets and colonies. Due to these improved means of communication emphasis was now gradually shifting trade to production. The natural resources of the region were to be utilised, and it would definitely quicken up the pace of Western penetration into the South-East Asia after 1870.

Only, three States in South-East Asia still retained their independence after 1870, Upper Burma, Siam and Vietnam. Again Anglo-French colonial rivalry over the region reached its climax during the same period. Most of these States tried to take advantages out of the conflict and played the French against the English. The policy succeeded in Siam, while in Upper Burma it failed. France had fully established herself in Vietnam. While Siam had survived as an independent buffer State between British and French spheres of control, she lost her border territories to both France and Britain. Meanwhile the Dutch concentrated their efforts in Sumatra, where the British by the agreement of 1871 gave them a free hand.

Great Britain, however, adhered to its original policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the Malay States until 1872 where they were to break away from it. The government was satisfied with the safe neutralisation of nine States by the limitation of Siam's suzerainty in the treaty of 1826. The policy of non-interference was maintained even after 1867, when the Straits Settlements had become separated from the India Office and created a Crown Colony. But the British Straits settlements had attracted a large-scale immigration of the Chinese and by 1860 their number rose to some hundred thousand. Their economic interests were mainly bound up with the commerce of the settlements and tin-mining became virtually their monopoly. But conflicts ensued between early

mining groups and the Chinese, and intensified by the Confucians and uncertainties of the 'system of land-ownerships among the Malays. After 1860, these conflicts led to a state of permanent warfare in Penang and piracy increased between Perak and Selangore. These made the operation of English commerce very difficult. A new Governor-General, arrived at Singapore in 1873 with an authority to take direct action in Malay. He persuaded rival Chinese leaders in Penang to submit their disputes to arbitration, and concluded the Treaty of Pangkor in 1874 with the Malay State of Perak. By this treaty Perak accepted a British proposal and agreed to follow his advice in all matters of general administration,

The British Government considered the treaty as a lever for 'unrestricted growth of commerce' and for a steady increase in the wealth and material prosperity of the Malay States. Similar treaties were signed with Selangore, Negri Sembilan and Pahang. These four central states of the Malay Peninsula agreed to form a federation in 1895, but without demarcating the respective powers of federal State governments. A Resident-General from Kuala Lumpur was to direct a unified policy of development throughout the four States. Otherwise there were no changes in their relations with the English, who had taken the federation as an administrative union. The other five States remained 'un-federated' but maintained British Residents as their courts.

In North Borneo a group of British merchants had secured a lease of territory in 1877 from the Sultan of Brunei. In 1882 it was taken over by the British North Borneo Company and thus the European Company system re-appeared. Six years later the Sultan of Brunei obtained British protection and agreed to British control over the foreign relations of his remaining territory. The Company system was however, maintained which led to a kind of diarchy. Boundaries between British and Dutch Borneos were defined by a treaty in 1891, and in 1906 Brunei accepted a British Resident. The

Sultan of Brunei fared the way very similar to that of one of the Malay States.

Great Britain, therefore, had extended her protective power over the Malay Peninsula and North Borneo. They were not *de jure* colonies, but they did not fare better than colonial administration. Extension of British influence in the region enabled the British Government to counter balance the French and Dutch spheres of influence in South-East Asia. Holland by this time, however, extended her control over the whole of Sumatra.

Q. 5. Examine the different stages of French expansion in Indo-China.

France renewed its attempts to open commercial relations with Vietnam when the Revolutionary and Napoleonic phase of its history came to an end. During the 1820's Louis XVIII sent a series of emissaries to the Nguyen emperor of Hue to conclude a commercial treaty with France, but they were of no avail. By this time, the French missionaries had made Christianity an established religion in Vietnam. The failure of attempts for a Franco-Vietnamese commercial agreement was followed by an order of Emperor Minh-Mang in 1833 for a general persecution of the Christians. Developments of Western Powers in South-East Asia and the outbreak of the 'Opium War' in China, however, made Emperor Minh-Mang that his rigid isolationist attitude might have dangerous consequences. He died in 1841, and his successor revived the policy of persecution with greater enthusiasm. In the meantime, British acquisition of Hongkong and opening of five Chinese ports for European trade had introduced a new era of Western penetration in the Far East. The French were no longer likely to submit to the merciless execution of their missionaries and traders.

But the French could not do anything more than making occasional naval demonstrations as the saviours of those who were condemned to death. France itself was stormed by a fresh wave of revolution in 1848. In Vietnam Tu-Duc

succeeded on the throne in the same year. He was equally a Confucian Zealot and even more devoted than his predecessors to the ideals of sealing his country against all European influence and persecuting Christian missionaries. The revolutionary tide in France was over in 1852, and the Third Empire was looking not only for safeguarding its subjects in Vietnam, but also for seizing territory in Annam. The murder of a French missionary in 1856, and the emperor's co-operation with the British against Commissioner Yeh of Canton provided the necessary pretexts for waging a French offensive. A French mission was sent to Hue in 1857 demanding a guarantee of religious liberty for Christians, permission to establish a French commercial agency at Hue and sanction for the appointment of a French consul there. These were flatly refused whereupon a Franco-Spanish force under Admiral Rigault de Genonilly started an expedition in 1858. Saigon fell in February 1859, and thereafter the French had to feel certain difficulties due to war on two fronts, in Vietnam and in China. They concentrated their efforts in 1861 at the end of the China war, and in the face of their renewed offensive Tu-Duc was obliged to open negotiations with the French in May 1862. A draft treaty was signed in June at Saigon by which Tu-Duc ceded to France three eastern provinces of Cochin China and agreed to pay a heavy indemnity. He also undertook to allow free exercise of the Catholic religion and to open the ports of Tourane, Balat and Huang-An to French trade.

France had thus obtained a secured foothold on the coast. It had a further important advance of influence in Indo-China. Cambodia under king Norodom was then rent by dynastic squabbles. The kingdom had an uneasy existence between her two powerful neighbours, Siam and Vietnam; and it maintained its independence by paying homage and tribute to both. In 1861 King Norodom was forced by his rebel younger brother, Si Votha, to take refuge at Battambang. He proceeded to seek armed support from the Siamese government for regaining his throne. But he was advised to return to the capital

and he did it without resistance. Now his second brother revolted against him and the French had an opportunity to assume the role of 'protector' of Cambodia. In July 1863, the French offered Norodom protection in order to safeguard his independence against Siam and accordingly a treaty of protectorate was signed. The publication of the agreement started a series of discussions between Paris and Bangkok on much vexed question of the status of Cambodia. In 1867, Siam consented to surrender her rights over Cambodia; and in the same year France obtained from Emperor Tu-Duc the remaining half of Cochin-China.

The French were thus well set for building up a new empire in Indo-China. But their real interests lay in the development of trade with south-western provinces of China. To explore the prospects of a trans-Burma trade route they had already sent a mission to the Burmese Court in 1855. Failure with Burma led them to explore the possibilities through the Mekong and Red Rivers in Tonkin. Between 1850-64, bands of T'ai-ping rebels escaped from southern provinces of China over the border into northern Tonkin. They began by making a living by terrorising the local population. Unable to cope with the problem so created Emperor Tu-Duc had called the Viceroy of Canton for help. It was complied with, but these regular troops also turned out to be regular robber bands. The French saw in this state of affairs an admirable opportunity for intervention. Garnier was sent in 1873, and from then onwards, the French used a combination of armed force and diplomatic pressure in order to gain control in northern Indo-China.

French activities in Tonkin evoked a strong opposition from China. In fact, the Chinese government had protested against opening the Red River to European commerce on grounds of the violation of the terms of the Treaty of Tientsin (1858). Meanwhile situations in Tonkin had further worsened. Now there were Black Flags, Red Flags and Yellow Flags besides the professional pirates, who rendered null and void

the freedom of navigation in the Red River. In 1881 Jules Ferry became Premier of the Third Republic in France ; in the same year the Minister of Foreign Affairs approved a new expansionist policy. The French were now planning an attack on Tonkin. China reacted very sharply against the French invasion. She responded with an explicit assertion of her suzerainty over Vietnam. Chinese 'volunteer forces' entered Tonkin by the Red River. But this did not deter the French from sending an expedition to Tonkin. Emperor Hiep-Hoa, successor of Tu-Duc had to comply with their demands on point of bayonets. Accordingly a French protectorate was established over the whole of central and northern Vietnam in 1883, and a French resident was placed in Tonkin.

China could not and did not remain inactive against the French offensive. Inevitably the steps taken by the French led to a state of war between French and China. Some fighting took place in Tonkin and the French troops underwent a serious disaster. At the news of disaster Jules Ferry's Cabinet fell in March 1883. It was immediately followed by a peace protocol signed between China and France. The agreement was finally signed in 1884 whereby China abandoned her claim to suzerainty over Indo-China and sanctioned trade between Tonkin and her southern provinces. In return France undertook to respect the boundary between China and Indo-China. But misunderstanding arose between them over the withdrawal of Chinese forces from Tonkin which led to a renewal of hostilities in 1885. Later, in the same year the whole matter was cleared up and a final settlement was reached.

While the French troops had been engaged in Tonkin, there were signs of trouble in Cochin-China and Cambodia. The former was threatened with invasion by an armed band of insurgents, and the situation in the latter made large demands of armed forces. The French regime counteracted them by brutal massacres, and continued until they were 'entirely

pacified'. In fact, in the new French empire unrest and rebellion became chronic factors for some years, but not until 1895, it was 'entirely pacified'.

In the meantime, the administrative arrangements were made by decrees issued in October 1887. All the Indo-Chinese territories under French control were amalgamated into a single administrative unit, the *Union Indochinoise*. It was placed in the hands of the Minister of Marine and Colonies in Paris. The higher administration of this was entrusted to a civilian Governor-General and it was divided into five departments. Cochinchina had a Lieutenant-Governor, Annam and Tonkin combined a Resident-General and Cambodia a Resident-General. Although they were under the direct control of the governor-general each had its autonomous organisation and separate budget.

Q. 6. Examine the economic aspects of European domination of South-East Asia.

In all the nine States of South-East Asia, the principal occupation of 70 to 90 per cent of the population was agriculture. The tenancy rights were various, and a peasant produced cereals for subsistence, and not for the market. His methods and tools of farming were antiquated, and so he did not receive a return commensurate with his labour. The yield per acre was anywhere between 2,464 pounds in Indo-China and 3,652 pounds in Indonesia, while it was 7,912 pounds in Japan. The peasant's poverty was increased by the fragmentation of land and the growth of his family. He did not recover it by the use of modern machines, artificial fertiliser, or improved system of irrigation. Mining was carried on by foreign enterprise or local government; but manufacturing was very small due to an acute shortage of skilled labour, technicians of all kinds and experienced business executives. Business operations were very largely controlled by the Europeans and Chinese and to a minor extent by Indians. Particularly the Chinese had a monopoly over the retail trade and produce-bearing from the peasant. Anyway, in a peasant economy,

the peasant, however, maintained a level of existence, although at times he fell into indebtedness to the Chinese or Indians.

There was a wide disparity between Asian and European standards of living. A general increase in prosperity of the Europeans after the Renaissance opened the gap. While the Asians remained static, the people of Europe had developed a scientific spirit in productive methods. The Medieval European towns were the strongholds of the middle class of merchants, master craftsmen and artisans, through whom the scientific spirit percolated to the whole of Europe. On the contrary, in South-East Asia, foreign trade was a monopoly of the ruler, which prevented the emergence of a native commercial middle class. Towns were the royal citadels, and taught their dwellers to conform with established custom. No scientific attitude could develop in such an intellectual climate.

The European powers had started to gain control in South-East Asia from the sixteenth century, but it did not extend to greater part of region until the nineteenth century. Then it covered the whole area except Thailand. It was because the Industrial Revolution had greatly increased the importance of colonies as markets for exports. It was closely followed by territorial expansion to ensure controlled markets. Again to procure raw materials for the expanding industries in Europe, it was necessary to open up the interior of the colonies. This is what has been termed as 'economic imperialism', and this enveloped the whole of South-East Asia, except Thailand, by later nineteenth century. It also radically altered the character of colonial rule. The European governments undertook to avoid excessive taxes, protect them from foreign invasions and civil wars, maintain law and order, extend Western education, and introduce a kind of self-government in the interest of exploiting the economic advantages of the colonies for a longer period.

So it was likely that the economic character of the countries of South-East Asia would change along the lines of

'economie imperialism'. In fact it was profoundly altered during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Handmade articles were considerably replaced by machine tools, and handicraft workers lost their traditional livelihood. Displaced workmen returned to earn their living as far labourers. This increased the burden on land and held down the rate of wages. Again, the peasant was forced to cultivate cash crops, like indigo, coffee, etc. in some areas. This was helpful for the time being but it scaled down the pressure on agriculture.

Lack of industrialisation was a factor in South-East Asian economy. Industries could have been established only with Western capital but the governments had subscribed to the doctrine of free private enterprise; and manufacture in the home country appeared more profitable. There were, however, semi-manufacture industries like smelters in Malaya, oil refineries in the Dutch East Indies, and sugar and coconut and oil refineries in the Philippines: but they were too few to provide much alternative employment to agriculture.

But colonial rule and Western capital built up an edifice of health and prosperity in South-East Asia. It was because a healthy population made more efficient workmen than a diseased one, and a prosperous peasant would be a better consumer. So, cause and cure of tropical diseases were discovered, and health measure introduced. Agricultural researches discovered higher-yielding seeds etc. and peasants were persuaded to adopt the results of the discoveries. New lands were brought under cultivation and large irrigation projects carried out. Attempts were made to emancipate the peasant from money lenders by providing him with loans at reasonable rates of interest. Roads and rails were built, which benefitted the peasants, foreign estates and mines. Production of commodities increased so much so that by 1941, South-East Asia supplied 95 per cent of world's natural rubber, 70 per cent of the tin, 65 per cent of the copra, and 40 per cent of the palm oil. The bulk of the world's rice exports came from Burma, Thailand and Indo-China. Besides large

quantities of sugar, tobacco and tea, and about 90 per cent of spices were produced in the region.

The economic changes developed a plural society, and broke the self-centented traditional village economy. Widening of the market for agricultural produces destroyed the isolation of the villages. The decay of handicrafts over-burdened the agriculture. Introduction of money economy increased a peasant's debt to the money-lender. Introduction of sedantic education opened up the possibility that his son might become a Government officer. On the whole, the economic aspects of colonial rule only made the peasants poorer, as a result of which was produced a discontent among them. Nationalists persuaded them that their poverty was the result of the imperialists ; but until the World War II they remained outside the political upheavals.

CHAPTER XXXIV

RISE OF NATIONALISM AND CHALLENGE TO EUROPEAN DOMINATION

Q .1. Examine the factors working behind the upsurge of nationalism in South-East Asia.

Emergence of nationalism in South-East Asia has been usually explained as a revolt against European imperialist control. But this cannot explain the upsurge of nationalism in Siam which has overthrown the absolute monarchy. The country was never a colony. On the contrary, the upsurge of nationalism may be discerned in the historical development of South-East Asia and it was a challenge to foreign revolution and a revolt against its own past. In fact, it was a process which is generally compared by historians with the European Renaissance.

Anti-foreignism had been a factor in the life of South-East Asia ever since the conquest of Malacca by Albuquerque in 1511. The early Europeans planted factories in the region ; but they are to be maintained by powerful fleets and forts with garrison. Among the European, the Portuguese came with a mission to wage a crusade against the infidels of South-East Asia. The scheme of Catholic missionary enterprise found favour in Louis XIV, who had an idea of making a political gain out of it. But all these only aroused an intense anti-European Xenophobia in Siam. The same view was shared by the people in Burma, Annam and Tonkin. In fact, the dwellers of South-East Asia had the greatest suspicion towards any type of European activity. The States were jealous against any infringements of their independence.

The nineteenth century brought a new phase of European expansion in South-East Asia. Economic developments at home compelled British, French and Dutch Governments to launch a more intense scheme of colonisation. Government officials replaced the great companies of commerce and furthered Western political and territorial interests. The project of intensive exploration of natural resources and import of foreign capital in the interest of economic imperialism had almost revolutionised the production system and output. But in a purely agrarian economy, producers became dependent upon external markets and foreign moneylenders. The colonised countries were gradually undergoing a total economic subjection and its effects badly affected the inhabitants. The South-East Asians came to know the plight of wealth from their countries, which gave them an impetus to the movements for national independence. It was a dominating factor in South-East Asian nationalism during the twentieth century.

Realisation of the drainage of wealth to Europe was also in a sense possible due to the spread of Western Education. In fact, the spread of western education instilled among the people of South-East Asia the political ideas and ideals implicit in Western culture. They studied Britain's constitutional struggles, the American War of Independence and the French Revolution and read John Stuart Mill and Shakespeare. But the flame of Western education could scorch the souls only of the urban people. So political consciousness of the urban intellectuals did not influence the rural people who composed the bulk of the population. In fact the peasants were largely illiterate and retained their traditional conception of government. So nationalism in South-East Asia could not be equated with democracy. But those who came to know of the adversaries of colonial life, had learnt it from the 'liberty' of Western literature.

The national movements in South-East Asian countries attained a pitch of intensity during the first half of the twentieth century. So the nationalists had the opportunity to draw

inspiration from the national self-assertion of the neighbouring Asian countries and contemporary Europe. The Boxer Uprising of China (1899) and Japan's emergence as a world power by defeating Russia (1905) created a deep impression upon the Asians and contributed most positively to the growth of national consciousness. In fact, Japan's example injected a change in Chinese politics and drove them into a revolution. The Chinese Revolution of 1911, in its turn, had a great impact upon the South-East Asian countries. Besides, in another neighbouring country, in India, the National Congress, founded in 1885, declared its professed aim of getting *Swaraj* or self-government for India in 1906. Again, the Allied victory in the World War I was widely represented as a vindication of the rights of small nations, and thus added a further stimulus to the growths of nationalism in Asia. Finally, during the World War II Japan's slogan of 'Asia for the Asiatics', her military success against Western colonial powers and Chinese Liberation of 1949 directly or indirectly attopinned the nationalists in South-East Asian countries.

As has been already stated, nationalism in South-East Asia, was not born out of the revolt against European colonial rule. It had its roots deep in the culture of South-East Asia. Amid powerful influences from two powerful neighbouring States—India and China—the people of South-East Asia retained their marked individuality. They assimilated aspects of Indian or Chinese cultures, but at the same time they showed their originality and developed their own national cultures. They resented against alien oppressive rule and its latest expression was against the Western domination and economic exploitation.

National movements in each country followed a largely independent course, and in each country gradualists as also the advocates of revolution. Against these movements, the governments of the South-East Asian countries responded each in its own way. The Dutch proclaims the 'New Course', which connoted that government of the Indies was to be for the

Indies. The French explained that their function was a *mission civilisatrice*. The British responded by promising the native people a training for self-government gradually and according to Western democratic methods. But these reactions failed to arrest the spread of nationalism, and after the World War II the wave of discontent with Western domination led to the emergence of a series of independent States in South-East Asia.

Q. 2. Give an account of nationalist movements in the Philippines.

The upsurge of nationalism was first felt in the Philippines among the South-East Asian States. It was not accident, nor surprising because Spanish colonial rule in those islands dated back to the sixteenth century. Indeed, Spain set up a single political administration and around it the Filipino people were united for the first time. Another bond of their unity was their religion, i.e., Christianity. Again, Western education had its beginnings in the islands much earlier than in any other neighbouring States. Therefore, the Philippines had reasons for their early awakening of national consciousness.

From the mid-nineteenth century, nationalism expressed itself in the Philippines in a variety of ways. There were hundreds of minor revolts, including a major one in 1872. Notable among the early nationalist leaders was Jose Rizal, whose facile pen drew a sordid picture of Filipino sufferings under Spanish rule. He led a somewhat mild and gradualist movement, and had a constitutional and intellectual outlook. He and his associates had organised the Young Filipino Party to press upon the government to improve the lot of the Filipinos. But this party lost control of the nationalist movement, when the Spanish Government refused to concede even moderate reforms. Rizal himself was tried on charges of rebellion, sedition and illicit association, and shot dead on December 30, 1896.

The failure of the Young Filipino Party paved the way for the armed revolutionaries to get the leadership for nation-

lism. A secret society the Katipunan, was founded in Manila in July 1892. Its twin aims were to win independence by force and to unite all Filipinos into a nation-State. The leadership of the revolutionary army was invested upon Aguinaldo and fighting began in August 1896. But the revolutionaries fared no better than the moderates, and Aguinaldo suffered no worse a fate than exile. In the meantime, war broke out between Spain and the United States, in 1898, and the latter used Aguinaldo and his associates as useful weapons against the former. On May 1, the Spanish fleet was destroyed in Manila Bay, and by arrangement with the Americans Aguinaldo returned to the Philippines to proclaim a renewal of the national struggle against Spain.

Manila fell to American forces in August 1898, but defeat of the Spain did not lead to independence of the Philippines. In the following February the American Senate took over the country from Spain in the peace terms. With the emergence of the United States as a South-East Asian Power, Filipino independence became a forlorn hope. The revolutionary nationalists carried on guerrilla operations against the new occupying power until 1901 when Aguinaldo gave in. The transition from military to civil rule took place in the same year, and the Philippines Commission proceeded to act as both supreme executive and legislature. It was a system of paternalist autocracy, which tried to work out a series of projects for the rapid modernisation as public works, hygiene, transport, education and justice.

The paternalist system was modified by the Philippine Organic Act passed in the American Congress in 1902. The Act provided that after a census a popular assembly with eighty members was to be elected by single-member constituencies. The Commission was then to become the Upper House of a bi-cameral legislature, but continue to be the Cabinet of a Governor-General, who was to exercise executive powers. The most significant provision was that two Filipino delegates were to sit in the American Congress but not to vote. The Act

made it practical for the nationalists to form political parties in order to revert to constitutional methods. Thus the Federal Party emerged, and its political aim was to get a federal union with America. A second one, the Nationalist Party was formed, and it made independence its supreme objective. The second party secured a complete victory in the election of 1907 which was held under qualified voting.

The Nationalist Party in its struggle for political independence met with an increasing sympathetic response from the United States after 1912. In that year, Democratic Victory brought President Woodrow Wilson into office. Between 1913 and 1921 there was rapid progress towards Filipinasion. In fact during the War-time enthusiasm for the principle of self-determination, representative government in the Philippines was carried to a stage further to responsible government. In both the Houses of the legislature the Filipinos secured a predominant though not a final voice. More Filipinos were taken into government services, and their legislature pursued a radical policy of economic nationalism and nationalisation. Moreover, the United States promised to recognise their independence as soon as a stable government was formed.

But after 1921, there was cooling-off in American enthusiasm for Philippine independence, when the Republicans returned to power in 1921. Their rigid application of the repressive Jones Law led to a deadlock in the administration as conflict cropped up between Governor-General Wood and Filipino leaders, Wood's successor settled the issue at stake. But after the world slump of 1931, there was a growing opinion in the U.S. in support of the aim of Filipino nationalism. It was more so after yet another democratic victory in 1933. The idea behind it was that political independence of islands would fairly entail the loss of special privileges in the American market. It would enable the Philippine products to compete with equal terms neither with American products nor with purely American commercial interests in other ways.

In accordance with the new attitude, the U.S. Senate offered

to the Philippines in 1935 a new Constitution of the American model. In it the islanders obtained the right of self-government. The Governor-General became America's first High Commissioner to the Philippines, and a government was formed by the Nationalist Party with Manuel Quezon as its President. But the Constitution did not confer upon them full political independence, and the price paid for it was not very heavy. Immigration of the people and products of the Philippines into the United States was limited, but not *vice versa*.

The Filipinos had to wait for another ten years to assume the responsibilities of full political independence. But during this period the country was exposed to the rigours of economic independence through the slow removal of American hegemony and the sheltering wall of American tariff protection was slowly removed. The period was also marked by a nationalist disillusionment, for although the Constitution was purely a democratic one in theory, the Nationalist government made it thoroughly oligarchic in practice which prevented growth of political parties. But these did not diminish the achievement of a measure of political independence, on the contrary, underlined the extent to which the Philippines depended upon American trade and investment, technical and managerial skill. To meet the realities of the time, some adjustments were made, and the United States agreed in 1939 to slow down the pace of raising duties on imports from the Philippines and to grant full political independence that had been promised for 1944.

But before all these were to be fulfilled, the Philippine had found themselves within the Japanese sphere of co-prosperity. Under Japanese occupation a Constitution was drafted and the Philippines was proclaimed a republic in October 1943. Meanwhile, President Quezon and his Cabinet were in exile at Washington and from there they were preparing the post-war reconstruction of the Philippines. With regard to their political status, the United States explicitly promised that the islands would receive full political independence on July 4, 1946. Meanwhile Quezon died in 1944, and the American

troops under General Mac Arthur drove the Japanese troops of occupation. Filipinos obtained their long-cherished full political independence on the specified time. The republic of the Philippines thus came into being, with Roxas as President.

Q. 3. Examine the different trends in the development of nationalism in Indonesia. How did its Dutch rulers reacted against it ?

The different trends. Awakening of national awareness began in Indonesia early in the twentieth century. Its first signs were felt in Java, where two-thirds of the population were crowded into one-fifteenth of the total area. Contemporary events, like the Boxer Rising in China, the Filipino Revolt against Spain, of the Japanese victory against Russian,—all had a marked effect upon tiny groups of Indonesian intelligentsia. In fact, the *literati*, which composed a microscopic minority in the society, were worried by the inferior status accorded to them under Western domination, and held that the spread of education was the only means of salvation. Accordingly a wave of native movements for the spread of education led by Raden Adjeng Kartini emerged in Indonesia in 1900. The idea was borrowed from Japan's progress which was taken as a proof that energetic Westernisation could enable an Asian State to assert itself internationally and to gain equality of status with Western Powers.

Nationalism in Indonesia was, therefore, a moderate and gradualist movement in its beginnings, and its professed aims was westernisation. The first national association, Budi Utomo (Glorious Endeavour), was founded in 1908 by Dr. Waidin Sudira Usuda. A group of Javanese intellectuals and officers, undertook to train its members for social and educational leadership. Infact, their's was a battle against poverty and ignorance rather than against 'imperialism' a programme of gradual and general advance under Dutch guidance towards the attainment of Western standards of living and of social and political conduct.

The movement inaugurated by the Budi Utomo had a

narrow basis and lacked popular appeal. It was followed by an association of a very different character, the Sarekat Islam, in 1911. The movement was organised on racial and religious emotions against Chinese exploitation, and aimed at promotion of Indonesian commercial enterprise, mutual economic support, the intellectual and material prosperity of Indonesians and the true religion of Islam. The movement gained early and wide popularity among the rural people, but like the Budi Utomo it was not directed against Dutch rule. Gradually the Sarekat Islam developed into a national movement and its earlier aims merged into the wider object of national independence.

The nationalists in Indonesia generally expected until the World War I that independence could be achieved in easy stages and by peaceful methods. The wartime self-determination, and post-war claims of nationalism in Europe injected a more aggressive and impatient attitude among the Indonesian nationalists. Doctrines of international socialism and communism also followed in its train. The new attitudes were reflected in the organisation of the Sarekat Islam Party on the one hand, and in the emergence of the Perserikatan Komunis (P. K. I.) on the other. The P. K. I. worked through labour groups and organisations and organised a series of strikes which culminated in a full scale communist rising in 1926-27. It was ruthlessly suppressed and communist leadership in the Indonesian movement came to an end.

In the meanwhile the Sarekat Islam Party drew support of the Indonesian graduates from Europe and adopted a policy of non-cooperation. It had also established relations with the Indian National Congress. The suppression of the Communist uprising left the Sarekat Islam as the main organ of nationalist movements. But by this time, a multiplicity of parties had arisen, and the Sarekat Islam's emphasis on education and economic conditions failed to satisfy the aspirations of the discontented students of the Indonesian Club in Holland. The latter organised a new political party, the

Perserikatan National Indonesia (P.N.I), in 1927 under the leadership of Djipto Mangum Kusuma, and Soekarno. It launched a big non-cooperation movement to achieve a kind of self government and rallied behind it all the nationalist organisations. But the Dutch authorities unwilling to execute any real transfer of power, interned the chief leaders of the P.N.I. in 1934. For the release of the leaders and invigorate the nationalist movement, the Indonesians had to wait until 1942 and the coming of the Japanese.

The Dutch response : Growth of nationalism in Indonesia during the early years of the century coincided with the evolution of a 'New course' in Dutch policy with regard to colonial affairs. The 'Ethical policy', containing a moral responsibility for the native welfare and 'decentralisation' of the administration, was promulgated in 1901. In its broad aspect, the policy implicitly supported the Indonesian cause for self-government. So there was much common ground between the Dutch rulers and Indonesian nationalists. In fact, the 'Ethical Policy' provided an incentive to the development of modern democratic institutions slowly and cautiously upon the basis of traditional institutions. It also required adoption of new political ideas in old forms and forces in Indonesian society. 'Decentralisation' envisaged delegation of powers from the Hague to Batavia, and a series of laws were passed thereof. These laws included the development of municipal district and local councils not only to encourage the development of local responsibility but also to train Indonesians in the art of local self-government. In the provinces and residencies they allowed a non-democratic self-government by native rulers under the benevolent supervision of Dutch Residents, and inaugurated indirect rule. The climax reached in 1916, when the people's Council (*Volksraad*) was instituted, to work as a national Parliament with a majority of Dutch members and nominated members.

But that the pious platitudes of the Dutch rulers were planned to 'kill home rule by kindness' began to express in

the post war years. The aggressive and impatient Indonesian nationalists demanded something more than slow political evolution and assurances of good will. They found a very wide discrepancy between political concession and economic progress. Although there was a boom in the production system during the post-war decade, it only expanded the immigration of a large number of resident Dutch population the *blijvers*) and Dutch civil servants, businessmen and technicians (the *trekkers*). It appeared to the nationalists that the Dutch were tightening up their grip on Indonesian's administration and economy, and had no intention of permitting any real shift of power. More positively, the Dutch inaugurated a policy of ruthless suppression of nationalist movements in order to safeguard their imperial interests in Indonesia.

The boom was followed by a slump during the thirties and it badly hit Indonesia among other South-East Asian countries. The Dutch faced the challenge there, and the international situation arising out of the depression made the Dutch conscious about the liabilities of colonial rule. Particularly after 1936, they felt the need of renewed partnership with the Indonesians to revive trade and independence. The idea of political independence assumed a new shade of meaning, and it became deeper with the outbreak of the World War II, when Holland became cut off from her overseas colonies by German invasion.

Q. 4. How do you explain the emergence of nationalism in French Indo-China.

The people of Indo-China under French rule were likely to absorb the political ideas of the West more rapidly than any other South-East Asian State. It was due to the fact that the French Revolution of 1789 had provided the ideological basis for nationalism in Europe. Therefore, it was expected that political contact with France was likely to result in a spread of liberal ideas. But this did not imply that French colonial policy as such would consciously foster nationalism and voluntarily prepare dependent territories for self-government. In-

fact, their policy was fashioned as 'the neat hierarchy of French colonial administration modelled on the Napoleonic pattern. The general purpose of French colonial rule was an assimilation of economic, cultural and political force rather than offer independence.

In accordance with these principles, the French reconstituted the administration of their South-East Asian possessions. The States of Cambodia, Laos, Annam and Tonkin were protectorates, not colonies. French rule over them was indirect and so designed as to preserve in a modified form native rule, and indigenous custom and institutions. But as elsewhere in South-East Asia, the facade of indirect rule did not hinder real development of centralised imperial power. Technically only Cochin-China was the only one to rank as a colony and to be under direct control. Its administration was left in the hands of a governor assisted by a Privy Council and a Colonial Council. Both in the colonies and protectorates the actual administration was carried out by native officers under the guidance of the French. The Native Consultative Assembly was also organised to make foreign rule somewhat less unpalatable. This policy of assimilation was advertised as Indo-China 'association' during the rule of Albert Sarraut.

The official policy of 'assimilation' provided for secular elementary schools in every village and canton and traditional village schools gradually disappeared. But Western education made very slow progress until 1906, when Paul Bean founded the modern educational system. Among the Indo-Chinese ethnic groups the Vietnamese were above the average mental and physical ability. They numbered about three-fourths of the total population, and among them developed a middle class based upon rice-growing and money-lending. They were most affected by Western education and their longing for political authority was denied by French paternalist policy. In the early twentieth century, political tensions arose in Indo-China 'out of the reaction of a comparatively intelligent people to the

apparent conflict between liberal revolutionary theory and conservative colonial policy'.

So, like in India, Nationalism in the Indo-Chinese States started from a middle class discontent. The early Vietnamese nationalists aimed at a whole process of modernisation and the demand for a training in Western political and social techniques preceded the development of a revolutionary nationalist movements. Developments in the neighbouring State, China, had a deep impact upon the Vietnamese, and the example of Chinese revolution and the founding of the Kuomintang pointed their aims more consciously towards national independence. Japan's example of successful Westernisation and her victory over Russia had nothing much to do with Vietnamese national movement.

Before the World War I, nationalist movements in Indo-China did not assume any definite shape. There were only minor skirmishes between Vietnamese intellectuals and students and the French administration. But French liberal policies were unable to prevent Vietnamese nationalism from taking the shape of a movement during the 1914-18 war. During the war many of the Vietnamese had been brought to France, who returned to Indo-China after 1918. On their return, these people extended support to the nationalist movement and imported communism. At the same time, the disappointment of educated Vietnamese also mounted high largely due to their exclusion from administrative and political responsibility. Due to all these nationalism in Indo-China inevitably lead towards radicalism.

The nationalists in Indo-China were not, however, an organised force. Various political groups and parties emerged among which many had changed their names, if not their programme, more than once. Some of them derived their programme from the principle of self-determination proclaimed by the victorious Allies, some from the Indian *swaraj* movement while others imbibed the teachings of the Cantonese Communists. The governments turning down a programme of mild

reform in early twenties helped the extremists to assume leadership in nationalist movements from the moderates. Of them, the left-wing revolutionary group under a Russian trained leader, Ho Chi Minh, showed most tenacity of purpose after 1927.

The Nationalist movement in Indo-China turned to terrorist campaign in 1929. It was followed a year later by a mutiny at Yen Bay of the Tonkinese garrison. Insurrections soon broke out in various parts until they were broken up by force. Nationalist leaders of diverse revolutionary categories were arrested or fled from the country. Ho Chi Minh was imprisoned at Hong Kong, and due to the ferocity of the suppression his communist group had to maintain continuity by developing an underground organisation. They survived to form the core of a new party, the Viet Minh or the league for the Independence of Vietnam, which came into being in 1939. During the Japanese occupation it became the spearhead of the Nationalist movement, and tightened its prospects of becoming successor to French colonial rule.

Q. 5. Review how the British rules oriented their administration to meet Burmese nationalism.

The final annexation of Burma in 1886 met with a stiff guerrilla resistance from the Burmese army. They melted away into the jungle villages and carried on their resistance movement in collaboration with the *thugyis*, who had been the backbone of the Burmese system of district administration. Abolition of the kingship added fuel to the fermentation, and evoked a nation-wide reaction against foreign rule. The British conquerors sternly subdued the country and made a standardisation of the Burmese administration by attaching the country to their Indian empire. This policy involved a disregard to the local custom and tradition but it was in consonance with the new policy of government interference, aiming at improved efficiency.

For purposes of civil administration, the British authorities divided the whole country in fourteen districts, each under a

Deputy or an Assistant Commissioner. Subsequently the village was made the basic social and political unit, as it was in India. Acts were passed in 1887 and 1889 accordingly, and a civil servant *myo-ak*, replaced the *myothugyi*, the traditional village administrator. A whole set of foreign legal system was introduced and a negative attitude was taken towards Burmese Buddhism. Meanwhile Gladstonian liberalism had its way in shaping colonial policies. Accordingly in 1897 the Chief Commissioner of Burma was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Governor, and he was to be assisted by a Legislative Council of nine nominated members.

From 1897 onwards a new policy, emphasising on the forms of constitutionalism, was set to work. But the process was very slow and there was no demand for a faster pace of constitutional advance in Burma. It was due to the fact that Burmese national sentiment did not recover from the shock of British conquest until the Japan's victory over Russia in 1905. The British did not, however, falter to make gestures of 'efficiency.' The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 increased the size of the Burma Legislative Council to a membership of thirty with a non-official majority. But the project was designed not to introduce, directly or indirectly, parliamentary system. Again under the stress of the World War I, Britain made promises of political advancement in India and Burma. In the Government of India Act, based on the recommendation of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, it was stated that Burma's case should be reserved for special consideration.

But Burmese nationalism sprang suddenly and fully into new life during the war-years. A storm of protest arose on the prescriptions of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Against the special proposals for political development the Burmese nationalists organised boycotts and raised a vociferous demand for Home Rule. The British Parliament decided to extend to Burma the dyarchical form of constitution as a counterpoise. Although the Burmese extremists condemned it as introduced, it was introduced in 1923. In the new

scheme, the Legislative Council was increased to 103, of whom 79 were to be elected by 2 million out of population of 11 million. The Reserved Subjects such as, law and order, revenue, finance, and irrigation should remain under the control of Governor-in-Council. The Transferred Subjects, like education, agriculture, public health and public works, were to be dealt with by two ministers responsible to the legislature alone. In addition Burma was given five seats in the new Indian legislature at New Delhi.

The first instalment of British parliamentary model was thus introduced in Burma in 1923. The Burmese nationalists under the banner of the people's party composed a solid block in the Legislative Council right from the start. There were other political parties who were either supporters of the government, or extreme nationalists and boycotted the Council. The reforms of 1923 were reviewed in 1928 by the Simon Commission. On the basis of its report, the question of constitutional separation of Burma from India was debated in a special Round Table Conference of 1931-2. The Government and Big Business gave unqualified support to separation, and it aroused the deepest suspicions among the nationalists. Under the leadership of Dr. Ba Maw they organised a strong Anti-separation League, which in the elections of 1932 won a sweeping majority. The antiseparationists did not, however, support permanent union with India. But against their protests, the Government of India Act was passed in 1935 providing separation of the two countries. It was to take effect on April 1, 1937.

The new Constitution 'was given body in the Government of Burma Act, 1935 and spirit in the Instrument of Instruction from his Majesty to the Government.' With a whole set of officials, Burma government came directly under British Parliament. It also provided a bi-cameral legislature—a fully elected House of Representative and a Senate, with half of its members elected by the House of Representatives and half nominated by the Governor. Executive authority was given

to a full cabinet of ministers chosen from the political party holding a majority of seats in parliament. Matters relating to foreign relations, defence, currency, and the special areas containing the Shans, Karens and other hill peoples, were, however, reserved for the Governor-in-Council. The right of franchise was extended to all males above the age of eighteen and to all females above twenty-one. The elections were held in 1937 and Dr. Ba Maw became the first prime minister.

But setting up of a democratic constitutional machinery did not automatically lead to full independent control over economic and political life. So, the Burmese nationalists did not remain complacent with the representative and responsible government. They were inclined to accept the British rule as a necessary ingredient for bringing out a modern Burma into the world. On the eve of the World War II, they now turned their attention towards agrarian distresses and began agitation to gain full independence.

Q. 6. How do you account for the late awakening of nationalist movements in Malay States.

The British administration in the Malay Straits were not called upon to deal with national movements before the 1930's. It was because of the fact that no such movement existed there. In fact, the upsurge of nationalism was comparatively delayed in the Malay states, while in other South-East Asian states it had already made a speedy resurgence.

The reasons may be broadly summed up into two : pluralism and prosperity. In fact there was a kind of political* and administrative pluralism arising out of the division of the Malay Peninsula into the three straits Settlements and nine Malay States. Under the straits Settlements, Penang, Malacca and Singapore, constituted a Crown Colony administered by a governor. The other nine states, however, remained, in theory and to some extent, in practice, independent under their native rulers. They maintained relations with the British, and they were British protectorates and not conquered colonies. The governor of the Straits Settlements was

the British Commissioner for the Malay States and through treaty relations separate British Residents or Advisers were attached to each state.

Again there was not a uniform pattern of treaty relationship between Britain and the nine Malay States. The States Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang organised a federation in 1895. The rulers of Kedah, Perlis Kelantan, Trengganu, after their exchange of Siamese for British suzerainty in 1909, and Johore separately agreed to accept guidance from British Advisers. Opposed as they were against a federations, they were called the Unfederated States. The Federated States also entered into uniform treaties providing British advice in all matters excepting those concerning religion and custom. So, all the Malayan rulers surrendered a considerable part of their independence to Britain, irrespective of their states; and due to a kind of superiority complex they and their people did not think in terms of sovereignty. In reality, the English took over ultimate power that lay behind British protection, and exercised it through influence.

Within the federation itself there was no clear demarcation of matters relating to the centre and the states; and the federation agreement of 1895 'virtually placed the centre outside the circle'. As a result the federal balance was usually unstable and the Resident-General with undefined powers increasingly assumed a fair amount of initiative and direction. It developed a trend towards shaping a union, and the creation of a Federal Council in 1909 virtually dwarfed the State Council leaving little room for independent action. This trend toward centralisation continued until 1930, when the State Councils were made more representative. Henceforward, they took after such matters, such as agriculture and education, within their respective borders.

Forms of independent rule with no real executive and legislative powers were thus retained by the Malay States. But while British protection, constitutional and administrative arrangements speeded up nationalist movement in Burma, they

had no important bearing upon the growth of political consciousness in Malay. It was because the population was racially diverse and included several transient elements. They were a virtual roadblock to the growth of a single national awareness ; and even if it was possible it was bound to be extremely slow. Within the framework of a social-pluralism, if there were grievances among the Malay people, they were economic rather than political. But among the diverse social atoms, the Chinese had developed a kind of patriotism but that was for their motherland.

Lastly, under the British regime, the Malay people lived in a state of general satisfaction. It was because, it brought sort of economic prosperity. Resources in these states were widely exploited and Malaya's foreign trade soared rapidly during the boom years of the 1920's. Its benefits reached to the people in general, and although they were not equally shared, they forestalled the economic awareness of the people until the early thirties, when depression reduced Malay's trade to a total value of £ 121 million in 1938. The economic debacle made the people conscious about their grievances which in due course assumed the shape of national movements.

Q. 7. Review the transition of Siam from a monarchy to a constitutional government between 1910 and 1942.

Among the South-East Asian States Siam with her national survival had escaped formal domination by Western powers. But she could not remain outside the general move towards Westernisation, and in this way her inhabitants had developed a degree of national awareness. Nationalism in Siam did not lead to anti-foreignism ; instead it turned against the political absolutism of Chakvi dynasty and economic domination of the Chinese community. But the latter was rather a symptom of nationalist feeling than a practical economic proposition. The Siamese middle class were bent on assuming political power.

The year 1910 was important in Siamese history for more

than one reason. It saw a riot in Bangkok arising out of the imposition of the poll-tax upon the Chinese. In the same year, king Chulalongkorn died and he was succeeded by Vajiravudh, the eldest among his seventy-seven children. The new ruler, was a graduate of Cambridge, and introduced a set of social reforms in order to bring Siam into line with the Western ideas and practices. He, like his father, appointed European specialists to advise on the modernisation of the various departments of the state and the public services. By relying his sympathy with the Allies, and declaring war against Germany during the World War 1, Siam gained German shipping as a booty, secured membership of the League of Nations and abandonment of certain extra-territorial privileges.

His death in 1925 was followed by the succession of his youngest brother, Prince Prajadhipok. Before him the most pressing problem was the financial bankruptcy caused by the extravagance of his eldest brother. He balanced the budget by taking resort to economy in public expenditure. He also revived the Cabinet and organised a Supreme Council consisting of the five most important princes to advise him. In 1927, he set up a Privy Council to widen the circle of his advisers. He also created a committee of forty to investigate into matters given to them and report. But his reign also experienced the great slump ; but it was in some ways, less hard than in other South-East Asian countries. The depression however, strengthened the nationalist demand for the removal of foreign hold on the country's economy, and created a havoc in the government finances. In fact, the financial difficulties to states and the resulting economics led the nationalist movement a step forward.

Nationalist movement in Siam had been inaugurated by a group of Western-educated Siamese youths, who longed for a share in government power. But all avenues of a brighter career were reserved for royal princes, the King's ministers and foreign ministers, and nominated members of the aristo-

oracy. Again, the king retained absolute discretionary power in all matters, and he was a despot, of benevolent type. The nationalists were advocates of constitutionalism, and so their movement were opposed to absolutism and therefore resentful against the monarchy. The drastic salary cuts of the members of the Civil Service and pruning of the army officers added fuel to the resentment against princely influence. Pridi Banomyong, a brilliant young lawyer trained in Paris and a Professor of Law at the Chulalongkorn University, united the discontented elements under his leadership in 1932, and in June 24, he drafted a constitution and with military help took over Bangkok,—and thus staged a bloodless revolution.

As a result of the *Coup d'etat*, the king accepted the provisional Constitution. He lost his prerogatives except that of pardon, and the princes were excluded from ministerial posts and the army. The People's Party of Pridi and his supporters took over the management of the Government. They nominated a Senate of 70 members, and it appointed an Executive Council with power to promulgate laws and control ministers. After six months the Senate was to be replaced by an elected Assembly and there was to be universal franchise after ten years. Thus the oligarchy was widened and democracy had to wait ten years more. The new government was a party dictatorship, but in order to appease the conservative opinion, Pridi and his lieutenant chose P'ya Manopakorn to take over the actual government. But P'ya Manopakorn increased the royal powers and prerogatives relaxed restrictions on the princes of the royal family and thus paved the way for conservative influence in the government. The People's Party was dissolved in 1933, and Pridi and his group were shaken of their control with the King's connivance.

P'ya Manopakorn, in a frenzy of conservative revival, aroused suspicion among officers leaders, headed by P'ya Bahol. They carried on a *Coup-d'etat* in June 1933 and P'ya Manopakorn resigned. A new Council was formed and the

Assembly recalled. The Government ratified the change and Pridi returned with all charges of Communism against him exonerated. Shortly the government was faced with a serious military revolt led by Prince Boveradej, the king's cousin. But Ruang P'ibun Songgram, in command of the government forces, supported the rebellion. The king maintained neutrality, but the support of royal princes to the rebels prevented him and the aristocracy from gaining confidence of the people. A rift between Pridi and P'ibun also divided the middle class movement. However, elections were held in November 1933 in order to counteract the influence of the rebel sympathisers, and Pridi's following secured an apparent majority of seats. But the new government had to resign in 1934 on the occasion of ratifying a rubber agreement with Britain, and P'ya Bahol returned with a vote of confidence. In 1935, the king abdicated in a haste to recover his right to veto any legislation, and his nephew Prince Ananda Mahidan, succeeded him. Meanwhile P'ibun's influence continued to grow, in December 1938, he formed a Cabinet, with Pridi as Minister of Finance. They adopted radical financial measures and developed a kind of Siamese chauvinism. They also changed the official name of Siam to Thailand in June 1939 and with the outbreak of the World War they joined the Japanese side.

In the Siamese political developments, leaders who took an active part in the government affairs during the period were the small group of men who had gained power through the bloodless revolution of 1932 and who intended to keep that power to themselves. The revolution did not, however, provide a basis for national democratic institutions in Siamese society. The great man of Siamese people were peasants, and they were undisturbed by the political developments and never trained in political ideas.

Q. 8. Discuss the impact of Japanese occupation on the nationalist movements in the South-East Asian States during the Second World War.

Nationalism in the South-East Asian countries had been

a vital force during the inter-war period, and it had derived much of its strength from the declining prestige of European civilisation in Asia, and from the Western ideas of self-determination. In fact, it had encouraged small groups of Western-educated young aspirants to assume political power. But hardly had the movements assumed a definite shape before they were caught up in the maelstrom of the World War II. The war swept the Western colonial and protective administrations almost completely away, and Japan emerged in the guise of saviour of Asia. The whole of South-East Asia went under Japanese occupation during 1942-45 and nationalists experienced a sudden jerk. One effect of the Japanese occupation was that it intensified the nationalist sentiment and accelerated the pace of independence movements everywhere.

During the early years of the twentieth century Japan was at the throes of an industrial boom. The amount of her surplus capital had been daily increasing, and she needed more food, more raw materials and a consumer's market. This compelled her to adopt an expansionist foreign policy. In fact Japan signed the Anti-Comintern Pact in November 1936 to satiate her designs in China against the prospective Soviet counter-move; and both Japan and Soviet Russia made huge concentration of troops on the borders of Korea, Manchuria and China. But then the situations took dramatic turns and the Munich Settlement was pointer that Japan might expand in South-East Asia without much resistance from Britain or France. She, therefore, began her southward push, when the European situation melted into a global war. She apprehended a big danger from the United States; but nevertheless she committed herself fully to the South-East Asian gamble.

Japan made a good stride in South-East Asia, and defeated the American troops at Pearl Harbour by a surprise attack on December 6, 1941. In the meantime, it appeared that German victory in Europe was certain; and so Japan

quickened her tempo of South-East Asian venture. In fact, after Pearl Harbour, her offensive went ahead with breathless speed. She invaded the Philippines, and moved down the Malay Peninsula to Singapore. Anglo-Chinese attempts fell in Burma before her decisive ground and air superiority and within five months after Pearl Harbour, the Japanese had conquered most of their 'Greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere'.

Japan, at the dawn of the century, had been a source of inspiration to the nationalists of most of the South-East Asian States by dint of her victory over Russia in 1905. But between the Russo-Japanese War and her invasion of South-East Asia, she had failed to stimulate any nationalist rising against Western colonialists. Now the Japanese moved with the slogan: 'Asia for the Asians'; and she sought the complete eradication of Western influence and culture. In the Buddhist countries, she made much play with the fact that she was also a Buddhist country; and in non-Buddhist States she loudly proclaimed a 'Three of Movement': 'Japan the Leader of Asia', 'Japan the Protector of Asia', and 'Japan the Light of Asia'. Finally, where these slogans did not seem very effective, the Japanese relied on racial hostilities.

Thailand was the first among the South-East Asian States to fall within the orbit of Japanese 'co-prosperity sphere'. It had been permitted to remain Independent, and on the eve of the World War II, in a commercial treaty, the Japanese businessmen were allowed to maintain a favourable trade there. The Thai government took the Japanese as a means for curbing the Chinese influence, and concluded a treaty of friendship with Japan in 1940. The treaty coincided with Japan's mediation 'when Thailand seized the lost Cambodian provinces at the expense of France. In return for this, the Thai government under Luan Pibun Songgram, consented to the Japanese in December 1941 a military transit to attack the British in Malay. It also allied itself with Japan and declared war against the Allies in January 1942. But from

the beginning, however, a civilian faction led by Pridi Phanomyong had opposed the Japanese demands. Now the government's declaration of War enabled them to form a resistance group that served the Western Allies.

Burma was overrun by the Japanese by June 1942. Initially they were welcomed and assisted by the Burmans. Particularly the extremists of the Thakin Party hallowed it as a chance to obtain their most cherished independence. The Japanese military administration exploited their anti-British sentiments fully, and recognised Burmese independence in August 1942. A puppet government was formed with Dr. Ba Maw at its head, which soon lost its initial popular support. Its subservience to the Japanese became clear; and the Japanese, contrary to their own propaganda that they were the saviours of Asia, inaugurated an orgy of loot, plunder and rape. As a result, the Burmans, who had welcomed the Japanese, now joined the growing resistance movement organised as the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL). The League was a union of many revolutionary, independent and Communist groups under the leadership of Aung Sun, and it was finally constituted in 1944 to overthrow the Japanese occupation.

Nationalists in Indo-China were long repressed by French authority; but on its fall in 1940 the Japanese converted their country into a puppet regime. Then the French in Indo-China agreed to serve organisational Japan; and this enabled the Vietnamese as a revolutionary force to strike at both the Japanese and the French. The Vietnam Independence League or the Vietminh provided the organisational basis for these attacks. It was a composition of diverse array of patriots under a Communist leadership headed by Ho Chi Minh. Similarly the Japanese organised in October 1943 a puppet 'Philippine Republic' under Jose Laurel. But soon the image of the liberator was belied by extensive looting, exploitation and destruction; and guerilla resistance under Taruc appeared throughout the islands.

The Japanese destroyed the Dutch empire in the East Indies in 1941-42 and discouraged political independence of Indonesia in the interests of Japanese colonial empire. The nationalist leaders were encouraged to assume authority under Japanese tutelage, and a puppet organisation was formed under the leadership of Sukarno and Hatta. The Japanese also organised a similar Consultative Council in Malay. But as elsewhere the pious platitudes of the Japanese were soon destroyed by their misdeeds. So, resistance was bound to arise, and they arose both in Indo-China and Malay spontaneously in spite of the Japanese inauguration of independent States.

In their invasion of South-East Asia, the Japanese were nowhere, save in Thailand, materially assisted by the nationalist movements. They inaugurated puppet regimes in several States with the active support of the more anti-Western among the nationalists. They did it as a means to combat the Western Allies, and in doing so they ravaged and plundered the occupied States. However, the Japanese occupation in South-East Asia did not last long, and by August 1945, the troops succeeded in expelling the Japanese out of the whole region. The States were again restored to their former authorities.

The Japanese occupation added immense stimulus to the national movements in the South-East Asian States in an alternative way. The rapid and almost incredible defeat of European forces by Asians appeared very spectacular. Although the Asian victory had brought a vile tyranny associated with plunder and famine, instead of the much-advertised 'co-prosperity', it did not make them anxious for the restoration of white rule. In fact, the Japanese occupation strengthened the desire of independence, and produced a belligerent and vocal nationalism. It assumed various shapes in the different countries, and various political principles and institutions were evolved to ensure the movements for national independence.

CHAPTER XXXIX

EMERGENCE OF NEW NATION

Q. 1. Write a note on the emergence of independent States in South-East Asia after the World War II.

One aspect of nationalism in South-East Asia, and the most important aspect so far, was to assume full political independence. During the World War II, the Japanese occupation and liberation made it more belligerent and vocal. There was a strong leaning among young nationalist politicians for free constitutional government and broad individual liberty. There was also a tendency towards central unitary control and a State planned economy within each country. As a result of these developments, South-East Asia experienced the emancipation from colonial rule, and this was achieved during the decade following the World War II.

The British returned to Burma in November 1941, but their former authority and control was never to be restored. Burma had already enjoyed nominal independence conferred by Japan in 1943. Bent on real and full independence, Aung Sun and his Japanese-sponsored Burma National Army welcomed the return of the British in 1945. They joined the Governor's Executive Council in 1946, and it was decided in January 1947 that a constituent assembly would be elected to determine the political future of Burma. This newly formed body resolved that Burma should become an independent republic. Accordingly, Constitution consisting of a President elected by a bicameral legislature, a Cabinet responsible to the Lower House, and an independent judiciary, was drafted.

An Interim Executive Council, with Aung Sun at its head was formed, and Burma's independence drafted from the Anglo-Burmese Treaty of January 4, 1948. But before it was achieved, Aung Sun and six of his associates were assassinated by the extremists attempting to take over the government. In the Republic of the Union of Burma, U-Nu. became the first Prime Minister.

The British forces not only liberated Burma, but also moved into Malaya and took over in Indonesia and Indo-China. It was because neither the French, nor the Dutch were in a position to send troops immediately to their pre-war South-East Asian colonial territories. In Indonesia, the British were faced with a twin problem: there were some 2 million Dutch prisoners of war and civil internees throughout the islands, and an organised, armed and potentially violent Indonesian republican movement was prepared to oppose the return of Dutch rule. The British first accorded a *de facto* recognition to the republican leaders, Sukarno and his colleagues and then moved to forge a compromise between the Dutch and the republicans with regard to the future political status of Indonesia. The Dutch attitude towards the Indies was something vague, and contemplated that the Dutch realm, including Indonesia, would enjoy "complete self-reliance and freedom of conduct" in internal affairs "but with readiness to render mutual assistance". They remonstrated against the British attitude of compromise, but failed to hold any consistent opinion. In fact, the Dutch policy fumbled between curt refusal to deal with the republican leaders and revert to her pre-war stand, and acceptance of the *de facto* position of the self-styled republican government and offer it immediate constitutional authority. They held on negotiations dragging until Sukarno and his associates fought their way in establishing the republic in world opinion as an organised political entity. The problem was taken up on an international level by the United Nations, and the final outcome was that in December 1949 full sovereignty over the Nether-

lands, East Indies, excluding West New Guinea and adjacent islands, was formally transferred to the republican government of Indonesia. The administration of West New Guinea was later transferred to the United Nations in 1962.

The French colonial administration in Indo-China had submitted to Japanese military occupation before the actual outbreak of war in the Pacific. Their post-war position was weak, and had to leave it to other forces to take over the defeated Japanese in Vietnam. Accordingly, the British assumed control in the South and centre, and the Chinese in the north. By the end of the war nationalism in Indo-China as a vibrant force, and the French opened discussions with the nationalist leaders as early as October 1945. But in August, the Viet Minh nationalist party had already declared an independent republic and set up a provisional government. So negotiations ended in a deadlock, and fighting began early in 1947. It continued for seven years till May 1954 when France was finally compelled to admit military defeat. By this time, Indo-China, itself was divided into two separate parts : a communist Viet Minh government under Ho Chi Minh was formed in the north, while in the south was organised the government of the French-sponsored 'associate States' of Vietnam. A cease-fire agreement was reached in Geneva in July 1954, where the division was formally acknowledged. The French forces were, however, finally withdrawn in 1955, and three separate independent States evolved out of the 'associate States', viz., South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. As an expedient for establishing subservient regimes, the French had already restored the exponents of traditional dynasties in these States.

In post-war Malaya, Britain proposed to replace the traditional machinery of separate Malay States by a unified system of government for the whole country. Although there was no nationalist movement in existence, the proposal unexpectedly aroused a vector of strong opposition from the Malay leaders. As a result of the currents and cross-currents

since the outbreak of the World War II, a new consciousness among the people in general arose. The British withdrew their proposal in 1948, and a modified form of pre-war federal system was restored. Meanwhile, a Communist movement had gained much ground in Malaya, and begun guerrilla operations from within the dense jungle. By 1960, the Communist bid for power was, however, defeated. But before that, Britain had withdrawn from her protectorate over the Malay States in August 31, 1957, The Federation of Malaya was formed and became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. The Federation was subsequently extended to two British Crown colonies, Sarwak and North Borneo, and British protected Sultanate of Brunei, and it was accepted by the British government. The enlarged union was renamed as the Federation of Malayasia and launched on September 16, 1963.

Historicolly, the Island of Singapore was a British as distinct from a protectorate. It was predominantly inhabited by the Chinese; and under a separate agreement with Britain, it obtained internal self-government in 1958. For political, economic and geographical considerations, a merger between Malaya and Singapore was forged and Singapore became a part of the Federation of Malayasia. But in 1968, it was, however, separated from the Federation and formed an independent State. Britain in her post-war adventures, also freed Thailand from Japanese occupation. But at the close of the war she proposed to impose an agreement that would have made it British protectorate. But it was strenuously opposed by the hitherto independent people of Thailand as also by the United States. As a result the Thai government lost the newly-gained territories and had to pay compensation for war losses of the British subjects. However, the Thai independence was retained.

The post-war political status of the Philippines was however, a straightforward one. In the Tydings-McDuffe Law the United States had undertaken to restore full independence

in 1946. The presence of President Quezon and his Cabinet in Washington during the Japanese occupation had only made it more sure. Quezon died in 1944, and his death was followed by a dispute between Osmena and Manuel Roxas for leadership in Nationalist Party. Roxas was the favourite of General Mac Arthur, and he won a victory in the contest for leadership. He became the first President of the new Philippine Republic, proclaimed by the United States on July 1946.

Q. 2. Give an account of the problems on South-East Asia during the period following independence.

The new world of South-East Asia created through the triumph of nationalism, assumed a new international States. But the different States had yet achieved their national unity, because self government not only meant the end of old sources of political conflict, but it also meant the beginning of new ones. That was the thing which was lacking ; and this again led to internal political squabbles between different groups aspiring for power. During the two decades following the World War II, the authority of Burma's government was challenged for several times. The Indonesian Republic had to face guerrilla warfare, armed communist revolt, political extremism and separatist movements. A communist-agrarian revolt overtook the Philippines in 1957. After the tragic partition of Vietnam along the 17° parallel, a breathless strife ensued between its northern and southern parts. The unresolved problem of balancing Malay political authority and Chinese economic power was inherited by Federation of Malayasia.

The post-war years in South-East Asia has been an era of nation building. Freed from their colonial masters, the new States have attempted to shape an independent existence with governmental institutions derived largely from their former masters. But in this area, independence did not necessarily bring democracy, even when democratic machinery existed. Army leaders played an important role in Burma, and they actually took over the government in 1958 and 1962. In

Thailand the oligarchic pattern of government established by the revolution of 1932 remained unchanged due to a series of post-war *coups d'etat*. Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam had to undergo personal or party rule of one political label or the other. A system of guided democracy left Sukarno all powerful in Indonesia. The governments of Malay, Singapore and Philippines were undisturbed by the army, but this did not ensure the operation of democracy as a working system.

South-East Asia in general, a peasant economy, fed by the peasant village communities. The achievement of national independence did not affect them much. This again prevented the development of a strong middle class. So, even where democratic government was allowed to function, that was marred by the lack of understanding the constitutionalism by the 'political parties and peasant parochialism. Hardly any political link was established between village and parliament. A wide political gap separated the ruling class from the mass of the people everywhere in South-East Asia. Even in the politically maturer State of the Philippines, political and economic power was wielded by a ruling class which formed not more than 5 percent of the total population.

Again, political independence did not imply speedy solutions of the economic problems which beset the South-East Asian countries. Their main problems were capital formation and diversification of production. Their mainly agrarian economy made them dependent largely on the foreign market. Shortage of rice in the world market in 1953, yielded prices for rice-exporting countries, viz., Burma, Thailand and Vietnam. But prices fell in the next year due to an increasing world surplus. So, was the case with the exporters of copra and Rubber. In fact, *South-East Asia's agricultural and mineral exports depended solely upon a fluctuating world demand. It remained a constant feature in the area's economy.*

This dependent status of South-East Asian economy, encouraged leaders and statesmen in general to look for a long-term solution. The most popular way was the development

of industrialisation, and diversification of production. But these require investment of capital and know-how, which the countries were lacking. They managed to procure them from the advanced countries of the West. But in the last resort, everywhere they were to depend upon the effort of the people themselves.

Independence of the South-East Asian countries placed them in a new international setting. The area's contiguity to China, India, Australia and across the Pacific to the United States, made it very important in international politics. As a result, it has been affected profoundly by the events and pressures from outside the area. On the various States of the influence of their former colonial masters was not destroyed entirely. Again, the newly-born States had to open too wide a door to the foreign political influence to procure foreign capital and economic aid. On the other, after the establishment of a communist regime in China, the overseas Chinese assumed a new significance. The old adage that "As China goes, so goes the Far East", might have influenced many of the politicians and statesmen of the region. Any way, South-East Asia became a focal region in power struggle between the Free World and the Communist World. It is very much intensified in Vietnam, and Indo-China in general. It again very much affected domestic politics of the States in South-East Asia, as it led a large-scale massacre in Indonesia.

The reformist new, Sultan brought all in their offices, who now took steps to make the promises effective in practice. Pressure of Pan-Slavism led them to re-organise the non-Muslim millets on the basis of gradual divorce of religion from government. In 1864 they reorganised the provinces into three tiers-Vilayets, Sanjaks and Kazas,—each to be governed by officials named from the Porte in Collaboration with the local representative councils an Administrative Councils a Civil and Criminal court and a General Assembly. This policy of combining centralisation with decentralisation

worked effectively at least in the Vilayets of Tuna and Baghdad under Midhat Pasha, who was an innovator of the scheme. The programme of Westernisation was pursued uninterruptedly in the years 1867—1871. In 1868, the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances was divided into a Judicial Council and a Council of State—a step towards the separation of the judiciary from the executive and introduction of parliamentary government. In the same year, mixed education on European lines was introduced; and the lycee of Galatasaray was established. To rationalise and secularise the educational system a set of comprehensive laws were issued for reforming the school system. The University of Istambul and a school of law were also opened. Several codes of law were formulated on lines of the Code Napoleon to be used in the mixed courts and a judicial Council was set up in 1869. Abuses in land tenure were detected and edicts were issued for their removal. These were meant to sabotage.

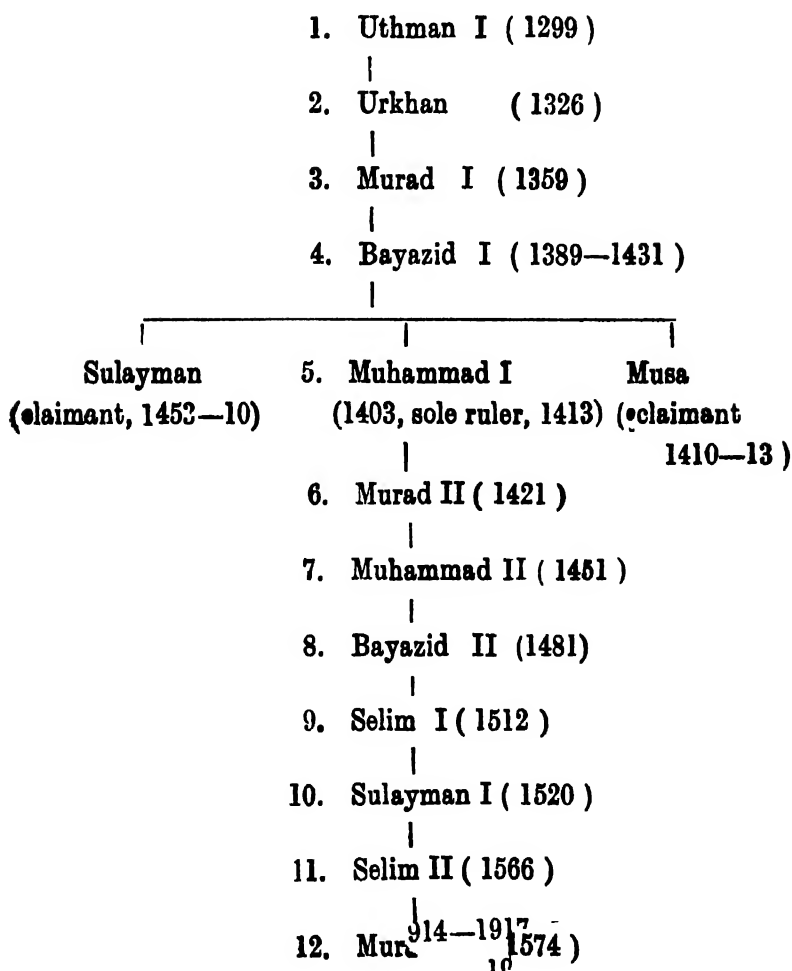
Due to the intensification of international strife between two worlds, the South-East States were at times brought together. Evidence of growing co-operation between them for good or for bad, might be seen in the origin of the Colombo Plan in 1950, in which Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Malaya and Indonesia had participated. The South-East Asian Treaty Organisation (S E A T O) was founded in 1954 for mutual defence, and included Thailand and the Philippines. There were also signs of discord and as a mark of protest against Malayasia's entry into the United Nations, Indonesia resigned from the U. N. membership. However, the States of South-East Asia have yet to find a solution of their political and economic problems, and for that they are to accept help either from the free world, or from the Communist world, or from both.

APPENDICES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

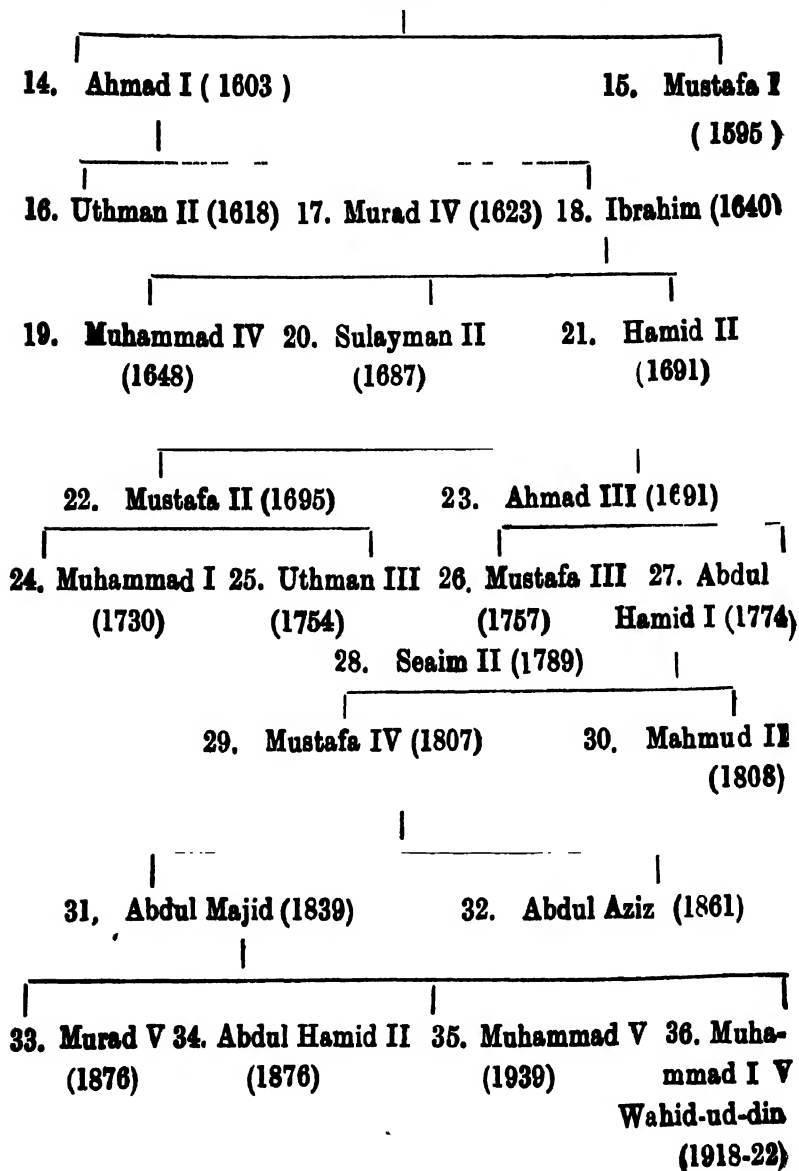
APPENDIX—A

Geneological Table

THE OTTOMAN SULTANS



13. Muhammad III (1595)



THE KAJAR DYNASTY

1. Agha Muhammad Khan (1779—1797)
2. Fath Ali Shah (1797—1834)
 - 3. Abbas (1834)
 - 4. Muhammad Shah (1834—1848)
 - 5. Nasirud-din Shah (1848—1896)
 - 6. Muzaffar-ud-din Shah (1896—1907)
 - 7. Muhammad Ali Shah (1909—1925).
 - 8. Ahmad Shah (1909—1925)

THE PAHLAVI DYNASTY

1. Reza Shah (1925—1941)
2. Muhammad Reza Shah (1941—)

THE EGYPTIAN FAMILY

1. Muhammad Ali (1805—1848)
 - 2. Ibrahim (1848)
 - Tusun
 - 3. Abbas I (1848—1854)
 - 4. Said (1854—1863)
 - 5. Ismail (1863—1879 Khedive, 1866)
 - 6. Tewfiq (1879—1892)
 - 7. Abbas II (1892—1914)
 - 8. Husain Kamil (1914—1917, (Sulan, 1917)
 - 9. Fuad (1917—1935)
 - 10. Farouk (1936—1952)

APPENDIX—B.
CHART SHOWING CHINESE ANTIQUITY

CHRISTIAN DYNASTIES CALENDER		CAPITAL CITIES
1300 B.C.	Shang or Yin (1523—1027 B. C.)	Anyang
1000		
900		
	Chou (1027—256 B. C.)	
200	C'hin (271—207 B. C.)	Sian
	Former Han	
A. D.	(202 B. C.—A. D. 8.)	Sian
0	Hsin (A.D. 8—23)	Loyang
	Later Han	
200	(A.D. 25—220)	
300	Three Kingdoms	
	(386—534)	
	Wei	Tsin
		Sung
500		
	Ch'i	Liang
600	Chou	Chen
	Sui (590-618)	
700	Tang	
900	(618—906)	Ch'angan (Sian)
Liao (907—1197)	dypastdes (907—960)	Later Liang
		Later Tang
1100	Chin	Later Tsin
		Later Han
1200 (1127—1234)	So Sung 1127-1299	Later Chou
1300	Yuan (Mangols) (1260-1368)	Kaiteng
		Hangchow
1600	Ming (1368-1644)	Peking
	Ching. (Manchus) (1644-1912)	Nanking
		Peking
1911	Republic	Peking
		Nanking
1949	Communist China	Peking

APPENDIX—C

PRIME MINISTERS OF JAPAN

Year	Names	Party Affiliation
1890	Kuruda Kiyotake	Oligarchy
Nov. „	Yamagata Aritomo	„
May 1891	Matsukata Masayoshi	„
Aug. 1892	Ito Hiroblumi	„
1895	—	„
1896	Matsukata Masayoshi	„
1898	Ito Hiroblumi	„
June 1898	Okuma Shigenobu	Constitutional Party
Oct. 1898	Tamagata Aritomo	„
Sept. 1900	Ito Hiroblumi	Association of Political Friends
June 1901	Katsura Taro	Seiyukai
Jan. 1906	Saionji Kimmochi	Seiyukai
July 1908	Katsura Taro	—
Aug. 1911	Sainji Kimmochi	Seiyukai
1912	Katsura Taro	Rikken Dshikai (Constitutional Fellow Thinker's Society)
1913	Yamamoto Combei	
1914	Marquis Okuma Shigenobu	
1916	General Terauchi Maatase	
Sept. 1918	Hara Takashi	Seiyukai Cabinet
Nov. 1921	Viscount Takashi Koreykiyo	Seiyukai Cabinet
1922	Admiral Kato Tomesaburo	Non-Party Cabinet
1923	Yamamoto Gombei	Non-Party Cabinet
1924	Kiyoura Keigo	Non-Party peers Cabinet.
1924	Kato Takaaki	Coalition Cabinet
1925	Kato Takaaki	Kenseikai Cabinet
Jan 1926	Wakatsuki Peijro	Kenseikai Cabinet

Year	Name	Party Affiliation
April 1927	Tanaka Geichi	Seiyukai Cabinet
July 1929	Hamagchi Osachi	Minseite Cabinet
1931	Wakatsuki Reijiro	Minseite Cabinet
September 1931	Inukai Tsyoshi	Seiyukai Cabinet
May 1932	Saito Makoto	Cabinet of member from principal parties.
July 1934	Okada Keisuke	„
Mar 1936	Hirota Koki	—
Jan 1937	Ugaki Kazushige	—
„ 1937	Hayashi Senjuro	—
May 1937	Konoe Fumimaro	—
Jan 1939	Hiranuma Kijchiro	—
1939	Kone Fumimaro	
Oct 1941	Togo Hideki	Imperial Rule Assistance Society
July 1944	Koiso Kuniaki	
April 1945	Suzuki Kantaro	
April 1946	Yoshida Shigern	Liberal-Progressive Cabinet
May 1947	Katayama Tetsu	Social Democrat —Democrat coalition Cabinet.
March 1948	Ashida Hitoshi	Democratic Cabinet.
Sep 1948	Yoshida Shigeru	Liberal Cabinet,
Dec 1954	Hatoyama Ichiro	Democratic Cabinet
Jan 1955	Hatayam Ichir	Liberal Democrat coalition Cabinet
Dec 1956	Ishibashi Tangan	do
Feb 1957	Kishi Nobuskue	do

APPENDIX—D

THE JAPANESE EMPERORS

1867	Emperor Meij	(Mitshuhito)
1912	Emperor Taisho	(Yoshihito)
1926	Emperor Showa	(Hirohito)

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